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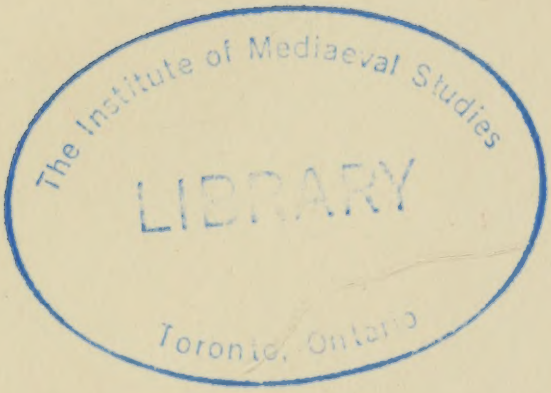
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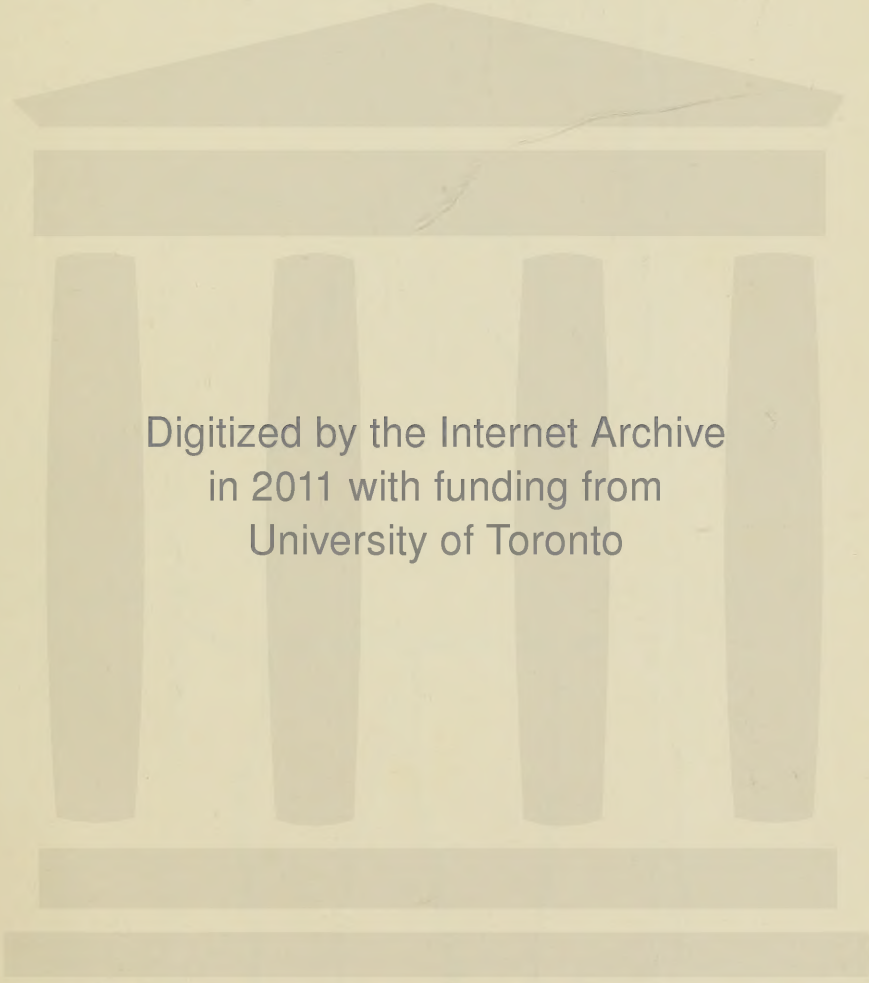
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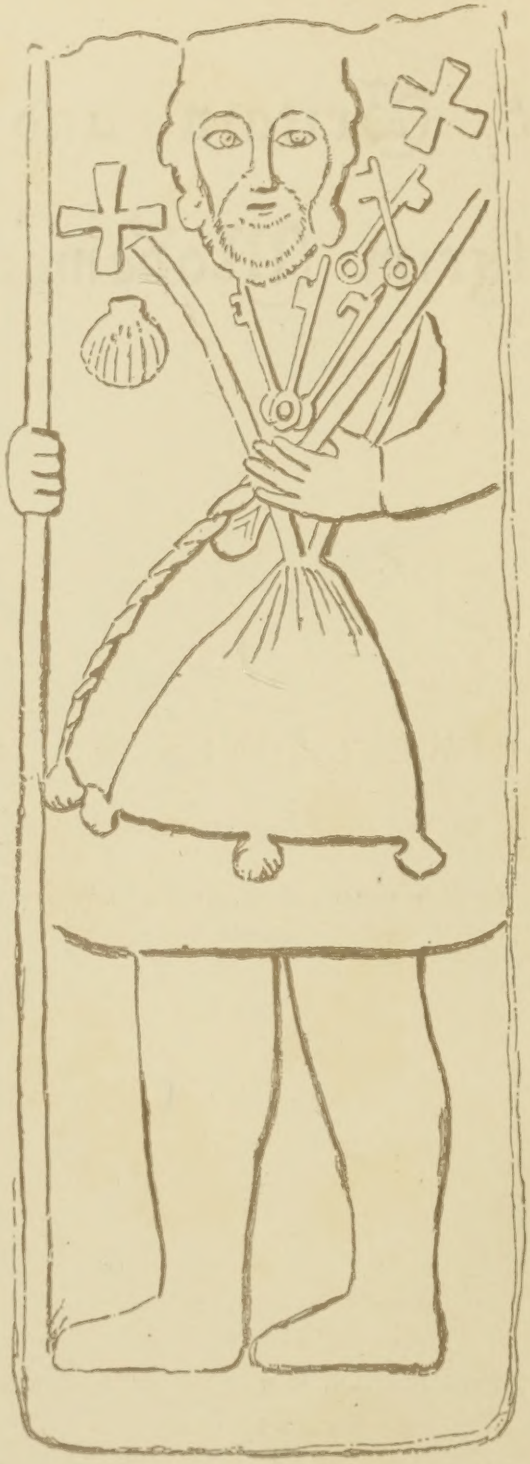

From a Sketch by T. H. Thomas, R.C.A. *Frontispiece.*

Pilgrim Effigy in Llandyfodwg Church, Glamorganshire.

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Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement.

BY

G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A., D.D.,

RECTOR OF NUTFIELD, SURREY,

Member of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The growth of religious thought, Ethnic, Hebrew, or Christian, besides being of supreme moment, is of an interest so perennial that no apology should be needed for presenting any evidence not hitherto easily accessible. It has been my custom for some years, whilst occupied with the study of ecclesiastical history, to jot down, or at least to make a mental note of anything that seemed specially to bear upon Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, or Scotland; and as I pursued my investigations (begun solely for the satisfaction of my own curiosity) the cultural significance of the pilgrim movement was strongly borne in upon my mind. Whether we consider its many-sided character, its human elements, its doctrinal import, its intellectual fertility, or the tenacity of this irrepressible instinct throughout the ages, it appears to challenge comparison with any other field of enquiry; and after a considerable amount of material had accumulated, it was more than once pointed out to me that the publication of what I had garnered might serve a useful purpose; a suggestion in which the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion readily acquiesced. The pleasure which the preparation of the work has afforded me will be enhanced tenfold, if it proves that my expatriation has not prevented me from rendering Wales some service by throwing light upon an obscure and neglected phase of her religious and mental evolution.

Whilst the work was being shaped, the question of method cost me much thought. Assuming that many

readers would be unfamiliar with both the Celtic and the ecclesiological aspects of the subject, I was obliged to steer between the Scylla of redundance and the Charybdis of compression and baldness. Just as I was speculating how to escape from this dilemma, I had an opportunity of discussing the main lines of procedure with an historian and literary critic, on whose long experience I could confidently rely, and he confirmed my views. When the work had been revised, he was kind enough to read through portions of the manuscript which might still be in doubt, and, as the following letter shows, saw no reason to change his opinion:—

> "Upon every occasion your method of proceeding has been fully justified on two grounds. The contents of the book are, in many cases, such as to require a careful preliminary preparation for what is to follow, and the work contains hardly anything that could be spared without detriment to the whole. You are obliged to give information for want of which the work would be positively unintelligible to most people. Though I am not unacquainted with ecclesiastical history, I often found the sort of focussing of general principles, before adducing the new evidence in which the work abounds, of great assistance in forming a comprehension of the fresh material. On the other hand, it is certain that among those whose keenest attention will be directed to its Celtic features, there will be many as ignorant of ecclesiology as others are of Celtic history. The Celtic scholar's need of some guidance, when ecclesiastical history is put before him, is in fact not only excusable, but a phenomenon that will appear natural to anyone who has ever seriously studied anything."

The reproduction of Welsh poems presented no slight task. Those who have explored the wealth of mediæval manuscripts, and have tried their hand at collating the various readings, will realise the difficulty of obtaining a satisfactory text, owing partly to the obscurities consequent upon the exigencies of *cynghanedd* and the poetic license claimed by the bards, partly to the vagaries of

spelling, and partly to the well-meant efforts of successive generations of scribes to decipher or embellish these effusions. The result has, in many cases, been, that the original has been improved out of recognition. The best and fairest plan therefore was to steel oneself against the temptation to amend or reconstruct, and taking one transcript as a basis, to notice the chief variations. When I came to the interpretation of these poems, rehandled, and often mishandled by egotistical emendators, some lines proved as dark as Erebus, and called for a second Oedipus to solve the enigmas which they presented.

To avoid any misapprehension with regard to the scope of this work, two features should be explained. First, the terms "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage" are used, as were the Latin *peregrinus* and *peregrinatio* in the Middle Ages, to denote an ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical errand, in fact, practically any mission or journey accomplished under the sanction of Holy Church.[1] Viewed from another standpoint, the following pages deal with the foreign influences operating in the mediæval Churches of Britain. Secondly, the work treats of the Celtic inhabitants of the British Isles, inextricably interwoven, as they were, originally, by ties of blood, and subsequently by constant intercourse, but displaying, in the course of time, marked idiosyncrasies. More particularly I have endeavoured to throw into relief the special parts played in the pilgrim movement by the Cornish, the Welsh, the Irish, and the Scotch, and the typical events, and the salient characteristics exhibited by these branches of the Celtic race in the history of the Church, as it toiled up the slope of progress.

It remains for me to tender my thanks to the Cymmrodorion Society for undertaking to bring out the book,

[1] Cf. pp. 80-81, and Appendix, p. 547.

and the Secretary, Sir Vincent Evans, for piloting it through the press; to Mr. Henry Jenner, formerly Senior Assistant in the Manuscript Department in the British Museum, for valuable advice; and to Mr. J. Hobson Matthews, at one time Public Archivist of Cardiff, for verifying doubtful readings in Welsh manuscripts at the British Museum and collating some of my transcripts with those made by himself, chiefly his excerpts from the Llanover Library.

G. Hartwell Jones.

In fest.
S. Joannis Baptistæ,
1912.

Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement.

By the REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, D.D.,

Rector of Nutfield, Surrey,

(*Member of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire*).

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The religious evolution of Celtic Britain has exhibited several phases and encountered various influences, at one time intersecting and conflicting, at another intermingling and combining, but, in the whole cycle of changes, none has been more sweeping, none more striking than that which occurred in the sixteenth century. Protestantism has now become ingrained in the nature of two of the chief Celtic races, has sunk deeply into their social structure, and become ~~woven into~~ entwined with their civil institutions.[1] A visitor from the planet Sirius would find

[1] There are, however, large districts in the Highlands of Scotland where the Reformation never came, such as the Macdonald, Fraser, and Chisholm countries, Barra, S. Uist, Benebecula.

it difficult to conceive that Catholicism, using the term in its widest sense, at one time permeated Welsh habits of thought; that its beliefs were jealously cherished, that its theological terminology are woven into the very warp and woof of the Welsh language. Indeed, from the third century to the sixteenth Wales adhered to the Old Faith as rigidly as Spain or Italy at the beginning of the nineteenth. This revulsion of national temperament and reversal of a national bias is one of the strangest psychological phenomena in English history.

The reason for the intensity of Catholic feeling that once prevailed in this part of Britain is not obscure. First, it is to be sought in the pronounced conservative instincts inherent in the race. The sentiment lasted far into the seventeenth century. In the sixteenth, Parsons, the Jesuit, cherished high hopes of recovering Wales for the Catholic Church.[1] It was the Civil War that dealt Catholicism its death blow.[2] Some time between the year 1580 and the invasion of the Armada, one of Philip the second's political agents reported as follows:—

> "Los moradores desta prouincia son differentes totalmente de los Ingleses en el hablar, en los costumbres, en las leyes, usan de las leyes imperiales como las moradores de Walsche, que estan en prospectiua con Irlanda, y la mayor parte dellos son tambien reputados por Catholicos."[3]

[1] See Parsons' letter to the Cardinal of Como, 1581, in Roman Transcripts. Vol. xv, No. 477; *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xiii, p. 428, and *Transactions of the Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1901-2, p. 50. He died in 1610.

[2] See Recusant Rolls.

[3] Brit. Museum Add. MSS., 28, 420, f. 52. "The inhabitants of this province (Cornwall) differ entirely from the English in language, customs, and laws; they use the imperial laws like their neighbours, the Welsh, who face Ireland, and the majority of them likewise are considered Catholics". The writer must mean Roman Civil Law, but

"Most of the inhabitants from the coast of Wales", says another foreign writer in the year 1594, "are, in religion, Catholics", and he proceeds, "This country is strongly Catholic". This was not all. Catholicism appealed to the poetical temperament of the Welsh. Underneath the surface, there lies in the Welsh nature a vein of mysticism, which three centuries of Puritanism have not succeeded in eradicating. A love of symbolism also, an eye for the artistic aspects of the Christian religion, a fervid imagination, and an impressionable temperament would naturally find satisfaction in the Catholic creed and Catholic ritual, in the stately epic of the Christian Year, the unbroken round of services, the religious acts by which Christian truths were expressed, and in the warm colouring of Catholic ceremonial. Many instances might be cited from modern Welsh literature, by the pens of writers who would repudiate any sympathy with Catholic belief or practice, yet betray an instinctive harmony with the Catholic spirit, a susceptibility to the sombre aspects of religion and the[4] traditional trappings of Death,[5] a responsiveness to the

was probably misinformed. There does not seem to be any reason for saying that the Cornish and Welsh used Roman law, but the law of Scotland is founded on it, and differs in many respects from the law of England. The only peculiar laws of Cornwall were those of the Stannary Courts. These are obsolete now, but went on until quite recent times.

[4] Cf. the *gwylnos* or wake, which has now resolved itself into a prayer meeting, but is really a lineal descendant of the *Officium Defunctorum*, namely, the *Placebo* and *Dirge*; the exclamation *Nefoedd iddo* at the grave on the Sunday following the burial, the Welsh equivalent of *Requiescat in pace*, and the common Irish exclamation, "Heaven be his bed".

[5] The Death faith of the Welsh finds a parallel in the Breton Ankou (angeu). *Ankou* (Cornish *Ankow* or *Ancow*) is a personification of Death—the conventional skeleton with the dart—and is also

appeal of the litany of anguish, of choral chanting, of soothing dirge or passing bell distant, solemn and saintly. Witness the following poem :—

"Mynachlog neu yspytty, mor swynol swn dy gloch !
Mae'n seinio dros y cymoedd cudd "Yn iach, yn iach y boch".
Mor hyfryd i'r pererin ar ol ei ludded maith
Fydd clywed clir wahoddiad hon i orffwys ar ei daith ;
Caiff yma gartref tawel ; a phawb fydd yma'n frawd
Yn ceisio dysgu'r naill y llall i wrthladd byd a'r cnawd.
Yr oriau gedwir yma i ymbil am y rhad,
A gluda'r egwan, er mor llesg, i dawel dy ei dad.
Ty gweddi, ty elusen, ty cariad, cennad Iôr,
Na foed i'm aberth bythol mwy gael gwawd o fewn dy gor ! "

Glasynys, *Llyn y Morwynion.*

Under the category of Catholic usages falls the pilgrim movement, which was simply the outcome of an instinct implanted in human nature. St. Augustine once said, "The soul finds rest nowhere until it rests in God". The pilgrimage is an expression of this feeling, and is in its essence nothing but a search after God in different places and through different acts. It was, therefore, natural to visit scenes or objects, sacred and venerable for their arresting associations ; to honour and to imitate characters conspicuous for virtue or piety. Pilgrimage combined all these various features, and offered scope for these manifold activities. It represents an endeavour to localise, as it were, to collect and to concentrate the thoughts on the Deity. Undeveloped intellects experience a difficulty in grasping the omniscience

used for the death agony. Cf. *emma enn ankou* (*y mae yn angeu*, he is in the throes of death). In the Cornish drama of the Creation (1611) Death enters to summon Adam, and announces himself with the words, "Me yw cannas Dew Ankow" (myfi yw cennad Duw Angau). Later, speaking of Adam and Eve, Ankow says that if they had not sinned "mernans ny wressens tastya", "death (the act of dying, cf. Breton *maro*) they would not have tasted". M. Anatole de Braz has dealt with the Death Faith in *La légende de la Mort.*

and omnipresence of God; such truths being too abstract and vague for popular comprehension. For this reason the institution may be traced back to a vast antiquity, in visible historical continuity, to a primitive stage of culture among the rudest communities, to their habit of localising incidents in the history, real or fabulous, of eponymous heroes. The vitality of this belief is demonstrated by the fact that it lived on after Christianity came. The probability is that to the minds of the disciples, being absorbed with the Second Advent and other pressing concerns (while the consummation of all things seemed to be at hand) any vehement longing for one spot of earth more than another appeared inopportune. St. Jerome dwelt on the futility of pilgrimages and the absurdity of supposing that prayers offered in one place could be more acceptable than the same prayers offered up in another.[1] St. Augustine likewise bade Christians remember that righteousness was not to be sought in the East, nor mercy in the West, and that voyages were useless to carry a man to Christ, since faith should make Him immediately and subjectively present. The right explanation of the equivocal meaning of some passages in the Fathers is doubtless to be sought in the partial victory of Christianity over Paganism, and the circumstance that the purely spiritual faith proclaimed by the Doctors of the Church was in advance of the feeling of their age. But various causes may have co-operated to this end; for example, controversy on the mystery of the Incarnation and the persons of the Trinity, which fill the pages of early Christian writers, may have helped to fix the mind on the land where the Saviour had walked. The steps by

[1] Jerome, Ep. 48, *ad Desid.*

which ethnic customs regained, to some extent and under fresh guises, their hold over the lower strata of Christian society, and the revival of the natural instinct, which three centuries of Christian teaching had not completely stifled, proceeded on the following lines.

The germs of the cultus of the Saints may be found in the ideas prevalent in the Jewish world after the Captivity; for example, in the veneration of Elijah. Still more, it is a natural deduction from the doctrine of the "Communion of Saints". But ethnic usages contributed to its growth. Among these extraneous influences must be reckoned the Graeco-Roman deification of heroes. It is possible, too, that the apotheosis of the Cæsars may have imparted an impulse to the cult. The Church had at the outset set its face against this mythical impersonation of the Emperor,[1] which had become common during the second century in the form of adoration paid to the Imperial images. That cultus was a product, not of Greece and Rome, but of the East. In consequence of the sagacity and liberality of thought which marked Roman policy in matters of religion, this worship of the dead or living Cæsar had readily found a place in the *Cærimoniæ Romanæ*. But the Christian Church, in the persons of its leaders, gave the cultus no quarter, refused to countenance any attempt to attribute to the Emperor a superhuman nature, and pronounced the practice a phase of idolatry with which it could not palter.[2] Uncompromising, however, as was the Christian attitude towards the Imperial cult during the third century, the apotheosis did re-act upon the new

[1] Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 281, on the proposals to admit Christ into the Roman Pantheon.

[2] But loyalty to the Emperor was inculcated as one of the first duties of a Christian. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 30, 39.

faith; and the practice filtered back into the Church through the veneration of the martyrs.

The effect of this re-action in favour of an Olympus showed itself in the externals of the Church. Already, towards the close of the third century, chapels had been dedicated to the memory of patriarchs, apostles, and martyrs. These shrines became the centres of devout homage. Eusebius[1] refers to the remains of Polycarp, whose ashes had been collected and placed in a convenient receptacle, to which the faithful might repair on the anniversary of his death, celebrated as his birthday. Paulinus in like manner records that the Christians made pilgrimages to the tomb of the holy martyr, Felix of Nola, to implore his aid. "We are witnesses every day", says the writer, "how whole troops crowd from all sides, convalescents in order to discharge their vows, invalids in order to entreat different cures".[2] No small merit attached to the practice of passing the night at the graves of the Saints. The consequence was that an array of intercessors bearing a semi-divine character thronged a Christian Church, and a host of local cults arose. Popular enthusiasm did not terminate there, but assigned different departments of life to different guardian spirits. Singular revulsion! The religion which formerly, in its lofty spiritual temper and its first burst of enthusiasm, had rebuked any leaning towards materialism, now adopted the old material means of bringing God and man

[1] *Hist. Eccles.*, c 14. Cf., the custom of passing nights in the temple of Asculapius at Epidaurus. Also the Night Vigil Services (the παννυχίς of the Eastern Church) preparatory to the festival of a Saint. A παννυχίς is now ordered at times as a Mass might be in the Western Church (though the latter is used also in the Eastern) for the repose of a soul. It is more usual there than the corresponding "Vigils of the Dead" are now in the West.

[2] Muratori.

into relationship. The truth is, that a tender sentiment, which pilgrimages gratified, was too deeply embedded in the human heart to be easily eradicated, especially among the unlettered adherents of the Church, who were most prone to superstition and could not dispense with the concrete symbol. The effects of this syncretism soon showed themselves. The whole of the wanderings of the People of Israel in the wilderness were interpreted in this light, and the final entrance into the Promised Land was pictured as the goal of one long pilgrimage, attended throughout by Divine signs and wonders, clear tokens that the Divine benediction rested upon the undertaking. Rugged Horeb, and weird Sinai were, and indeed still are, the resorts of multitudes of devout souls intent upon seeing for themselves the mysterious regions which had witnessed the thrilling episodes and stirring scenes connected with the childhood of their race, where lightning-blasted cliff and towering mountain spoke of Heaven's dealings with mankind. The Tabernacle afforded a pattern of what a pilgrimage should be.[1] Such sacred spots, summoning up as they did memories so august, belonged to the earliest epochs in the history of the Church of the Old Dispensation. Other centres, which sprang up after Israel entered into possession of Canaan, and finally the Temple, were conclusive proofs of the antiquity of the practice and of the Divine approbation of pilgrimage. The Scriptural instances that were invoked in support of the practice, however, faintly adumbrated what pilgrimages were destined in after ages to become. Under the New Christian order, certain holy places became the sources of supernatural gifts and graces, irresistibly evident to the recipients. Ignatius Loyola

[1] Cf. *Deut.*, c. xvi.

did but sum up the thought that had dominated the whole of Christendom through a long course of centuries, when he adduced among the characteristic tokens of the true inspiration of the Church, her recognition of Stations and Pilgrimages. The efficacy of pilgrimages as an exceptional means of grace was thus established beyond controversy!

The first result of the reversal of what may appear to be the trend of the teaching of the New Testament, and the revival of the tendency towards localisation, was a longing to behold those scenes which had been hallowed by the presence of the Author of the Christian religion, particularly Bethlehem and Jerusalem. St. Jerome[1] encourages Rusticus by saying that it was a part of the truth to have worshipped where the Lord's feet had trodden, and informs us that St. Alexander of Cappadocia made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. St. Nicholas, a native of Patara in Lycia, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem also, and on his way back was in a marvellous manner elected bishop of Myra, the capital of his native country.[2] St. Cyril writes that Christians from all lands came on a similar errand to Jerusalem, adding that it had been always so.[2] The action of the Emperor Hadrian furnishes eloquent testimony to the popularity of this pilgrimage. He erected over the gate of the city a swine carved in

[1] Epistle 6. Certe adorasse ubi steterunt pedes Domini pars fidei est. The expression "ubi steterunt pedes ejus" which recurs in all Bulls relating to the Crusades is taken from the Septuagint Psalter, the original of which must have differed from the Masoretic. The Septuagint was the standard Old Testament of the Early Church. Jerom. *Ep.* 17, *ad Marcellam.* Cf. Ep. 88, to Eustochium; Aug. *De Civitate Dei,* XXII, c. 8; Sermo V, on St. Stephen's birthday, and Ep. 137.

[2] Brev. Rom. Dec. 6.

[3] Cf. St. Jerome's Letter to Marcellus.

stone (probably directed against the Jews), on Mount Calvary a statue of Adonis, on the tomb of the Redeemer a statue of Jupiter, on the scenes of the Lord's birth a statue of Venus, in order, as Sozomenus, Rufinus, Eusebius, and Jerome testify, to prevent Christians from visiting those places.[1]

In the fourth century writers traced the custom of pilgrimage to the Holy Land to a sub-Apostolic custom, but no clear evidence exists that any definite pilgrimage was undertaken before A.D. 212. The first well-authenticated visit of the kind relates to the *Inventio Crucis* of Queen Helena. This event, itself the result of a pre-existent enthusiasm, evoked passionate veneration. It was in the year 326 (so ran the account) that the Empress in obedience to a vision set out to discover the True Cross. She arrived at Mount Calvary to find it polluted by abominations placed there for the avowed purpose of deterring devotees from repairing to the Holy Land, and of concealing from them the spot (to them the most sacred in the world) hallowed for all time by the sacrifice of Christ. But Hadrian's studied desecration of the precincts were of as little avail as the celebrated decree of the Senate at Ephesus which doomed to oblivion the incendiary of the Temple in their city, and had the effect of perpetuating his memory. For the Emperor's hostility only stimulated pilgrims the more to come to the Holy Land.[2]

[1] *Epist. ad Paulin.* J. Gretser furnishes a long list of names of famous persons who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

[2] St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom relate that the discovery of Pontius Pilate's title or superscription over the Cross supplied the key to the solution. Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret say that it was solved by the restoration of a sick woman to health. Paulinus and Sulpitius maintain that the woman was dead.

The institution of the Festival of *Inventio Crucis* in the Calendar, affords a criterion of the importance that Helen's action assumed in later times. The story goes on to mention that the Cross was divided into three principal parts, each one being bestowed on three leading cities of the empire. Whatever may be thought of the legend, whether (with Newman, for instance) we regard the discovery as well accredited, or, as has been suggested, it was intended to restore to Jerusalem its former fame and to enhance the dignity and extend the influence of that See,[1] there can be no doubt that the event added fresh fuel to the passion for visiting Palestine. From that time forth pilgrimages became the fashion. St. Jerome, who had cooled the ardour of devout souls contemplating the journey, if he did not actually dissuade them from the enterprise, himself took up his abode in a cave at Bethlehem, and his example was more potent than his counsels.

About the same time, owing to a variety of causes which will arise for discussion later, Rome emerged as a centre of pilgrimage and was destined in time to supplant Jerusalem in public estimation. The temper of the age was not a very critical one. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the veneration once inspired by the names of the heroes of the Christian Faith, owed some of its fascination to the legendary lore that gathered around the heathen Pantheon. The very Catholicity of the Imperial religion encouraged the adoption of the gods

[1] The finding of the Cross did very little in furthering this object. It was not until the Council of Chalcedon (451) that Jerusalem was made a Patriarchate and then only the lowest of the five. St. Helen no doubt found something, and if a fraud was committed she was probably deceived herself. But whether what she found was the real Cross is another matter.

and demigods of subject races. There were but few of these which had not their counterparts at Rome; and the scenes associated with their reputed exploits possessed their own consecrating legend. To this familiarity with the forms of worship among various nationalities which made up the complex dominions of the Emperors, must be added a fresh factor, which stimulated mythopoeic ingenuity not a little; a few of the sanctuaries connected with these indigenous or extraneous divinities, were themselves already the resort of crowds of votaries, a circumstance which must have tended to heighten the importance of the awe and devotion felt for the martyrs who supplanted them. To Protestants at the present day the passionate admiration for the martyrs appears somewhat disproportionate to the part that they really bore in the shaping of the fortunes of the Church. They would attribute the triumphs of Christianity to the intrinsic value of the simple elements of the new Faith, and would lay stress rather on the preaching of the fatherhood of God and the imitation of Christ. The standpoint of the early Christian was different, and historically there is a profound truth in the dictum, "sanguis martyrum semen Ecclesiae". The battle of the faith was not won so much by the reasonableness of the new creed as by the enthusiasm of those who died for it. A martyr's heroism not only offered a powerful incentive to embrace Christianity, by creating a revulsion of popular feeling in favour of the Faith, but cast a spell on the imagination, and supplied just that element of enthusiasm which was needed to inflame the soul, to steel the heart under stress of persecution; and after Constantine had set his seal on the Faith and guaranteed peace to the Church, there was no longer any reason for concealing the reverence secretly cherished towards these ancestors in the

Faith. Many families could point with pride, not only to the statues and *stemmata* of a long line of forefathers, but (what was a source of equal or greater satisfaction) to their own kith and kin who had with their blood borne witness to the reality of their belief. This consideration gave a personal as well as a corporate religious interest in the illustrious beadroll of martyrs. Martyrdom became a patent of nobility.

CHAPTER II.

Motives. Relics.

The Venerable Bede, in alluding to St. Fursey (or Fursa), strikes the keynote of Celtic Christianity and hits off one of the leading characteristics of the Celtic Saints. He describes Fursey as "cupiens peregrinam ducere vitam".[1] The Celts carried their imagination into the sphere of religion and aspired after an ideal perfection, which they thought attainable only by ascetic life.

A quaint and quixotic notion underlies the following entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 891: "And three Scots[2] came to King Alfred in a boat without any oars from Ireland, whence they had stolen away, because they desired for the love of God to be in a state of pilgrimage, they recked not whither. The boat in which they came was made of two skins[3] and a half, and they took with them enough food for seven days,

[1] Book II, 171. See Plummer's note *in loc.*

[2] Namely Irish.

[3] Similarly Columba and his companions embarked in a coracle for the West of Pictland (Scotland). The consent of ecclesiastical superiors was required before fulfilling a vow of pilgrimage. This condition was a salutary safeguard against indiscreet zeal. Cf. Samthann's saying: Si citra mare Deus inveniri non posset, utique nos transfretaremus.

and then about the seventh day they came ashore in Cornwall, and soon afterwards went to King Alfred. Thus were they named: Dubslane, and Macbeth and Maclinmun."

The Quest of St. Brendan, which occupies a large part of his Vita, affords an illustration of this sentiment. In its earlier form it resolves itself into a search for a secluded spot where he could pursue his devotions undisturbed. The later conception is that of a voyage in search of the ideal Earthly Paradise or Land of Promise,—a narrative which doubtless rests on some historical basis. But side by side with this ascetic motive for pilgrimage there grew up a thirst for gaining and imparting knowledge, above all, a passion for saving souls. In short, the pilgrim movement awoke a peculiarly responsive chord in the Celtic temperament.

The general theory of pilgrimage may be briefly expressed as follows:—religious impressions, blunted by the rough rubs of market-place and street, in most minds needed to be refreshed by influences from without, and this end was secured by realizing or dwelling upon localized objects of faith. Yet the Fathers found it necessary, even in their day, to administer a salutary warning. Pilgrimage was an aid to salvation if duly and conscientiously performed; but it was not enough to have seen and visited the sacred places; the pilgrim must display Christian virtues and graces;[1] and it was not expedient nor allowable for all to undertake a pilgrimage. Many also undertook a journey of this kind as a tyrocinium or apprenticeship served in various places for the purpose of acquiring a stock of ecclesiastical novelties

[1] "Non Ierosolyam vidisse sed Ierosolymis bene vixisse laudandum est", said Jerome.

with which to enlighten or impress the barbarous populations to which they ministered. But while, as a rule, pilgrims were animated by motives of piety, more practical reasons often entered into their calculations when, as was not infrequently the case, pilgrimages were performed by proxy, and, in return for a pecuniary reward, a class of pilgrims adopted pilgrimage as a profession.[1] There was yet another class who went under compulsion. It was not unusual to condemn delinquents to a perpetual or temporary pilgrimage, as a condition of absolution which, if they attached any value to it, presupposed a desire of reformation; and the sight of a prisoner dragging his chains in expiation of his offence was common on the main routes to the great shrines of Christendom. The journeys of these unhappy pedestrians in some cases occupied years. While the expedient was no small evidence of the power of the Church,[2] the presence of wretches—not a few—who had escaped the gallows, with no other check but the moral persursion of

[1] This class of vicarious or professional pilgrims still exists in Ireland and in Brittany. The latter, for a consideration, make pilgrimages for others The payments are (I think intentionally) not profitable, but merely defray out of pocket expenses. The idea of a transference of the benefits of indulgences is at the root of it. It is always an understood thing that if you gain an indulgence you can apply it if you like, not to yourself, but to the souls in Purgatory in general, or to some particular soul, or to some other living person or persons. In Islam everyone is expected to make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in his life, but he can do it by a paid deputy, who, I think, must have already made one on his own account.

[2] The case of Frotmond, a noble Breton of the 7th century, affords an illustration of the power of the Church. With chains riveted around his body and arms, a coarse garment, bare feet, and his head sprinkled with ashes, he was commanded to visit the holy places and wander until God relieved him of his burden. He set out directly for the coast of Syria and the Holy Land and there practised rigorous austerities. He then took up his abode with the

Holy Church, until the Bishop was pleased to remove the ban or abridge the penance, became a menace to society.

But the real pilgrimages were those undertaken for purposes of devotion. The motives actuating genuine mediæval pilgrims may perhaps be summarized here, as follows:—

First, emotional and intellectual. A very natural desire, as we have seen in the first chapter, arose, to see the places where events happened which excite an absorbing and enthusiastic interest. This, with the addition of the religious and devotional frame of mind produced by it, was the motive of the early pilgrims in visiting the scenes of the Passion and Birth of Christ. They trod softly, tracing and retracing the steps of their Redeemer and His saints in the desert or on the mountain, gazing at the scenes of their labours, their orisons and their preternatural privations. The anonymous author of the Bordeaux Itinerary states his object in making the journey. Like Origen he desired to search after the footsteps of Jesus, His disciples and His Prophets. Like the mother of Constantine he wished to seek knowledge of the land so worthy of reverence and so full of reminiscences. There were others who went thither to lay their bones in the earth which was, according to the theory of the age, sacred soil. It is, however, noteworthy that the

monks of the Thebaid, and afterwards went to pray at the tomb of St. Cyprian, near Carthage. Even this penance failed to placate the Pope (Benedict III.); and Frotmond returned to Jerusalem and travelled through Galilee and Armenia. Plundered and maltreated by infidels on his way, but unshaken in purpose, Frotmond proceeded to Mount Sinai where he spent three years, after which he returned to Italy and finally to France.

Provision for post-obit pilgrimages was often made in wills;—in the earliest to Rome or Jerusalem;—in those of the 12th down to the 16th century generally to domestic shrines,

earliest pilgrims went not only in the character of devotees, but also as earnest seekers after knowledge. Some followed the example of Paula and longed, in the spirit of St. Thomas, to obtain some visible and tangible evidence of the Lord's Passion to confirm their faith.

Secondly, with the above motive was associated the idea of visiting relics of the True Cross or of Saints renowned in the annals of the Church—incontestable proofs of spiritual pre-eminence.

The wide-spread belief in the supernatural virtue residing in relics, which grew up from the fifth to the fifteenth century, is one of the most striking features of the pilgrim movement, and we shall but imperfectly understand the religious history of the period, unless we realise the importance attached to them by antiquity. The estimation in which they were held is based on the natural desire to preserve memorials of those who have been honoured in former ages; a sentiment that lies deeper than any religious enactment and is by no means confined to the Church. "This manner of devotion", says St. Jerome, "is far from being a worship of the dead, as the pious faithful are well aware; for while paying reverence to these relics, their hearts are lifted up to the Saint in Heaven now living in God, who is the God of the living and not of the dead."[1] There was then the wish natural to man, to possess objects belonging to the person of someone specially beloved or venerated. The more sacred or interesting the personage, the more holy or valuable the relic. In these, however, there was only a subjective but nevertheless a real, potency. No doubt objective powers were and are often attributed to relics of Saints,

[1] *Adv. Vigilant.* Opp. II. 387 sq.; ep. 61. *ad Vigilant.* cf. 109; *ad Riparium.*

and miraculous cures are supposed to have been wrought by them.[1] But it is not quite clear whether any but the very ignorant believed that the healing virtue resided in the relics themselves. It seems rather that they were means, so to speak, of focussing the intercessory powers of the Saint. This reverence paid to relics resembled that due to crucifixes, and holy pictures, "a relative honour, as they relate to Christ and His saints and are memorials of Him".[2] But it is formally stated, "we do not pray to relics or images, for they can neither see nor hear nor help us".[3] If in times of ignorance relics were put to a superstitious use, the Church always understood the by no means subtle distinction between direct and relative honour, intelligible to anyone in matters outside the province of religion. There has been, and, we believe, still exists another idea which approximates to some of the modern "psychic" and "magnetic" theories. Notions of this kind, that material objects were charged with the magnetism of persons to whom they belonged, were sufficiently common, though not expressed in those terms, in the magic and medical science of the Middle Ages. But whatever theories may have been held (and they were generally implied rather than formulated), relics were inevitable.[4]

[1] The belief in the mystic virtues of such hallowed remains was supported by Scriptural testimony and Patristic tradition, II Kings xiii, 21; Acts, XIX, 12. St. Jerome believed in relics and attacks Vigilantius, the Gallic divine, for denying their virtue. But in *Adv. Vigilant*, c. 5, he uses the somewhat contemptuous expression "pulvisculum nescio quod in modico vasculo pretioso linteamine circumdatum".

[2] *Catechism of Christian Doctrine.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] There were no doubt such things as sham relics, but conscious impostures were probably rare. Far commoner was the mistaken attribution by incompetent antiquaries. Also the incongruity of

The two incentives to pilgrimage already discussed developed into a third, the physical, curative motive. So far as relics were concerned, the same effect might be produced if the relics were brought to the sufferer, as was often done in the case of the sacred Phiol of Strata Florida,[5] and is still done with a Russian icon or Italian Bambino; but there was always an inducement to visit them in their own proper surroundings, and many had to be visited there, if they were visited at all. St. Winifred's Well in Flintshire, is said to have been the scene of a martyrdom and the site of a medicinal spring. Whether the effects were (or are) supposed to be subjective and of the nature of faith-healing, directly objective by some virtue inherent in relic or spring, or indirectly objective through the prayers of the saint, does not affect the motive.

The following tract defining the theological import of pilgrimages, "shewing that it is good and godly to go on pilgrimage to holy places", reflects the Welsh feeling on the subject in the Middle Ages. The author cites the instance of Naaman and the Jewish maiden, and proceeds to illustrate his principles from the cult of St. Winifred:—

> "megis pe bae gymraes yn trigo yn eitha lloegr gida sais yn gweled ei meistr yn glaf ag yn dwedyd; mae santes ynghymry elwid gwenfrewi yn gweitho gwrthe mawr drwy

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the same relics being found in several places is easily explained. A "relic", for example, of the head of St. John Baptist meant not the whole head, but any part of it. Thus, at Amiens they claim to possess the "Head of St. John Baptist." But it consists only of a part of the top of the skull. Other parts are said to be found elsewhere. But the elliptical expression of popular phraseology would make it seem as if each part were the whole head. They may or may not be really parts of the head of St. John Baptist, but each known portion is traceable to the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204.

[5] See ch. xvii.

ddwr y phynnon lle torred ei phenn hi, pe bae fy meistr yno drwy rinwedd y santes hon y galle gael iechyd. gwrando a wnaeth y gwr claf ar gyngor y forwyn * *

"gwelwch debycked oedd chwedl y dyn hyn i ymadrodd yr heretikieid[1] yn gwatwar rhai yn myned i ffynnon wenfrewi gan ddwedyd, nad oes yno ond dwr teg, mae yna gartref ddwr or teckaf; am hynny ffolineb yw myned o dre i ffynnon gan nad yw vn dwr fwy rinweddol nar llall * *

"dyma etto le y atteb gwatwargerrd yr heretikieid yn chwerthin wrth weled pobol dduwiol yn dwyn gida hwy adre beth o ddwr ffynnon gwenfrewi: rhai or kerrig ar lliw gwaedlyd ne beth or mwsswngl sy'n tyfy o amgylch y ffynnon. Chwardden am benn y gwr ffyddlon hyn yn gofyn cennad y proffwyd y arwen dau bwnn o bridd y tir yr addewid gidag ef. kyn credy i dduw nid oeff ef yn tybied fod na dwr na dim yno well nag mewn gwlad arall * *

"yr heretikieid a geisan ddangos rhesswm naturiol am ddwr gwenfrewi a dyrfe ereill rhag adde fod duw yn rhoi rhinwedd yny byd iddy greadurieid ef, ond gwaith ofer yw i ddyn geiso dangos rhesswm naturiol y brifo[2] fod dwr oer yn ffrwythlon y iachau pob math ar glefydau, ie, rhai cloffion a deillon yr hwn bethe a wnad yn wrthfawr yn fynych yn ffynnon wenfrewi a ffynhonne ereill: fal y gwelwch yma yn yr Efangel, fod y dwr hyn yn iachau clefyde modd ag amser. Am hynny pan chwarddon wrth glowed som[3] am fyned i ffynnon wenfrewi santes: gwarentwch yny herbyn fod rhinwedde ar ddyrfe drwy air duw yn yr Efengil. * *

"hefyd, pan feio'r gwyr newydd[4] arnoch am gadw amsere, y fynd i berina, megis ar ddydd gwenfrewi yn bennaf ag ar wilie ereill; canys meddant, mae duw yn barod bob amser kystal ai gilidd y helpy dyn; Attebwch iddyn wrth awdurdod yr Efengil yny mann hynn yn dangos, fod y rhinwedd ar y dwr hyn yn fwy ar ryw amser nag amser arall; yn enwedig y rhinwedd a fydde bennaf ar wilie vchel canys y Pasch ne'r Sulgwyn oedd y pryd hyn pan gasglodd kymeint ynghylch y dwr. Allan o rifedi yw'r gwrthie a ddangossodd duw wrth ffynnon gwenfrewi er dechreuad y dwr hyd yr awrhon, ie, allan o rifedi yw'r amal glefydae a iachauwyd wrthi yny dyddie drygonys hynn er pan ddayth y gau ffydd newydd i ddirnas loegr. Mae digon yn fyw heddiw a fedran fanegy

[1] Protestants. [2] Brofi. [3] Sôn.
[4] The adherents of the New Faith.

gwrthie mawr nodedig a welson ai llygaid wrth ddwr gwenfrewi * * Mae'n hynod drwy gymry fann elwid kroes oswallt yn shir y mwythig mae'r dre etto yn dwyn yr enw y goffau'r groes.[1] Mae St. Beda yn scrifenny fod kroes Oswallt mor wrthfawr a bod y dynion yny amser ef yn dyfod yno ag yn torri asglodi o bren kroes oswallt frenin, ag y taflyr asglodion i'r dwr, yno rho[i y] dwr hyn i'r dynion cleifion ar [ni]feileid iddy yfed, ne daflyr dwr [ar] eu kyrph ag yno hwy gaen iechyd."[2]

There remains a fourth motive, that is, penance. As might be expected from the ascetic tendencies of Celtic Christianity, the Celts furnish many instances of this trait. St. Brendan, seized with conscientious scruples, on account of the death, from drowning, of a youth

[1] Oswestry (Oswald's tree), about three miles from the Welsh Border. The acclamation of Oswald left a deep impression on Welsh, as well as English minds. He was defeated at Maserfield on August 5th, 642, by Penda and his ally Cadwaladr, son of Cadwallon. Gleemen sang how

"White with bones of saints
Lies the plain of Maserfield".

The site of the battle, however, cannot be certainly identified. According to the barbarous manners of the age the victor cut off and exposed Oswald's head and arms, which were afterwards rescued by Oswin of Bernicia and buried by Aidan at Lindisfarne.

The story ran that soon after the battle, a Welsh wayfarer, noticing an unusually green spot, guessed that a holy man lay there, and took away in his girdle a few handfuls of turf, believing that they possessed virtue. Arriving at a village where a party were feasting, he joined them, hanging his girdle, containing the precious earth, on a post of the sleeping quarters. Through the negligence of the revellers, the house was burnt to the ground, all but the post and the girdle. The news spread rapidly and pilgrims flocked to Oswald's grave, which continued for centuries to enjoy a wide celebrity.

[2] Cf., Gore vn bwyd bara
gore un enllyn halen
Gore vn llyn gwin
Gore vn llaeth llefrith . . . .
Gore vn pererindod kyrchu
vfferen sul.

Cardiff Free Library, MS. regn. Eliz., chapter viii, circa 1550.

whom he had reproved, consulted all the Saints of Ireland about the scriptural sense of the word penance. At last, he obtained from the holy virgin Ita the desired information: "Thou must needs visit foreign lands to teach others and win souls for Christ".[1] St. Coemgen[2] —interviewed one day by two schoolmen, who, for envy, had slain a companion—condemns them to "go on pilgrimage and live religiously ever after".[3] St. Mochaemoch predicts that the guilty hand of Suibhne of Eile, who has treacherously slain Foelanus (Feidlimid) will drop off. The prophecy was duly fulfilled. Struck with remorse and terror, the murderer's father supplicates the holy man and invites sentence. He promises to "suffer matyrdom or go on a distant pilgrimage". This is probably the latest development, and depends on the doctrine of "satisfaction" for sin and indulgences. In a sense it exists still, but in these days of improved locomotion and "personally-conducted" tours, labelled as pilgrimages, the achievement does not involve much abnegation, at any rate as regards great pilgrim resorts. The Russian and Eastern peasants still endure considerable hardship to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and though they have no system analogous to the Western system of indulgences, they still possess a general idea that they not only acquire graces but also atone for sins by the process. The ordinary Western pilgrim of to-day, except when there is a curative intention, as at Lourdes, is doubtless animated primarily by the same devotional and intellectual motive as the early pilgrims. But the further consideration of this subject of penance must be reserved for another chapter, and we return to the cult of relics.

[1] *Vita Prima*, § 82. [2] St. Kevin, *Vita*, § 38.
[3] *Vita*, § 18. For instances from Wales, see ch. x.

The argument in favour of relics was reinforced sometimes by insisting on the providential manner in which, as it was confidently reported and implicitly believed, many of them had been preserved from destruction (for piety forbade the belief that they could perish like common bones), or sometimes by alleging the miraculous power that others had displayed, either on the persons of friends or enemies of the Faith. It must also be always borne in mind that Christianity, while still an exclusive religion, and in the height of its vigour, was, in the middle of the first century, yet syncretistic; it assimilated ideas from other sources,[1] but invested the borrowed exotic elements with fresh meaning and a higher connotation.

It has already appeared that one consequence of this power of adaptation to the spirit of the age was the importation into the Church of saints and intercessors, and the institution of local cults. The passion for relics of the saints, amulets, and charms was another direct result. The very particles of objects of this kind were prized and were sought with an ardour, compared with which the modern practice in Roman Catholic countries fades into insignificance. Nor were religious reasons the only motives that operated in this direction. The hunt for relics corresponded in a large measure to the present taste for antiquities, and gratified the feelings which now expend themselves on collections of statues,

[1] Origen's doctrinal system, which dominated thoughtful Christians in the East during the second half of the third century, affords an example of this combination of the Gospel and extraneous elements. Similarly, Gregory Thaumaturgus illustrated the tendency towards a reconciliation between Christian and Pre-Christian thought, and revealed a remarkable aptitude for accommodating himself to the pagan tendencies of those whom he brought into the pale of the Church.

pictures, manuscripts, or other curiosities. A mediæval virtuoso occupied his energies in obtaining relics,[1] and when the supply ran too low for gratifying the passion legitimately, imagination came to the assistance of fact. The prospect of securing them nerved the pilgrim to the endurance of any discomfort or danger, while to fling upon the gale in a neighbourhood the faintest whisper of a miraculous manifestation of a Saint's power, ensured the fame and prosperity of a shrine. So much store was set upon the possession of relics that the discovery of the body of an eminent saint caused far-spread excitement and often prolonged controversy, as for example, the notorious contention that arose over the bones of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, of Milan, in the year A.D. 386. Churches, bishops, chapters, and whole communities vied with each other for the possession of a finger-bone or cerement-cloth of a lesser luminary in the Church Calendar. What miracle might not be achieved by such media of Divine manifestation and graces? But the acquisition of a relic of the Blessed Apostles was an occasion of loud rejoicing, a badge of distinction, and a source of wealth. Induced by so great a hope, many cheerfully undertook the journey from the far West to the sacred Sepulchre at Jerusalem or the great shrines on the Continent. It was in the East, in the first instance, that the custom of dismembering the bodies of the saints arose. Hence, St. Augustine, on his departure from Rome, took care to equip himself with relics, among others ecclesiastical gear,[2] which were considered essential for

[1] Acca, for example, was a great collector of relics of the blessed Apostles and martyrs, and spent no pains in the quest. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 219.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* I, 29, Sanctorum etiam ac martyrum reliquias necnon et codices plurimos.

the effective establishment of the Faith in heathen lands. Hence, the impulse imparted to pilgrimages in the ninth and eleventh century by the discovery and disinterment of relics, with the consequent foundation of new churches, oratories, and monasteries all over the Catholic world. Hence the solemn processions, the pomp and ceremonial, which attended the translation of those spiritual treasures, the vigils observed at the shrines in which they were housed, and the precautions taken against robbery or desecration.[1] Hence also the procedure, enforced since the Council of Trent, for a due authentication of relics.

Taken altogether, the cult was not harmful. Apart from the influence that it exerted on the minds of the faithful, two results may be mentioned. Relic worship re-acted on architecture. To preserve them, reliquaries were constructed. Some of these were elaborate and costly, and offered scope and stimulus to the genius of artist and sculptor. The honour paid to relics led to the practice of erecting altars over the remains of martyrs—a practice for which Scripture was supposed to afford sufficient warrant[2]—while the earliest samples of this use of martyrs' tombs were probably those of the Catacombs. Whether the usage dates from the period of the persecutions may be open to doubt, but there exists clear evidence for it in the fifth century. Not only in churches,

[1] The relics were watched day and night, and in some places dogs were employed. At Canterbury, the shrine was guarded day and night by bandogs. Ellis, *Original Letters*, ser. 3, iii, 64.

[2] *Revelations*, vi, 9, "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." This argument is all the more forcible if we accept the view that in *Revelations* we have an early description of the arrangements of a Christian basilica. It is almost the sequence of an early Eucharistic service (chapters iv and v). See articles by Dr. J. R. Gasquet in *Dublin Review*, 1889-90.

but by road-sides, or wherever indeed martyrs had died, memorial altars were set up[1] and came to be recognised as the shrines of the departed.[2] The virtues of the saints were said to pervade the whole shrine and were believed to be communicated to the votary who touched the reliquary with unquestioning faith.[3] Some shrines controlled the plan of the whole church; for the prestige of the saint necessitated an adaptation of the building to the throngs of worshippers who trod his courts. Again, relics were carried on the person as a protection, and acted as a wholesome deterrent against evil-doers. Their use in confirmation of oaths is attested by language and law. To this day words like the Irish term *minnaim*, to take an oath, or the Welsh *cynghrair*, *cynghreirio*, and *cydymgynghreirio*, to strike a treaty,[4] survive as evidence of the custom. The violation of so solemn a vow was certain to bring down condign punishment upon the offender.[5]

[1] This is certainly true of Africa. Canon 83, *Codex Can. Eccl. Afric.*, A.D. 419, in Brun's *Canones*, i, 176.

[2] In early times they were called *martyries*. Council of Chalcedon. A.D. 451, Canon, vi.

[3] The visit paid annually on October 13th by Roman Catholics to the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey affords a modern illustration of the practice.

[4] From *minn* and *crair*, a relic.

[5] The description of Harold swearing to Duke William, with his hands on two altars, on his right and left, in the Bayeux tapestry can be paralleled in Wales. Maelgwn swears in the presence of monks that he will deliver up the castle of Aberteifi to Gruffydd ap Rhys. A.D. 1198. *Liber Landavensis* and *Brut y Tywysogion*. There are several allusions in the *Liber Landavensis* to swearing on the tomb of St. Teilo at Llandaff. Cf., the expression used in the *Life of St. Ciaran*, c. v., with regard to that saint's bell, bardan Ciarain ("Ciaran's little bard"), as it was called on account of its musical tone: Ducitur per regiones ad coniuraciones principum. The technical term in Irish for the violation of an oath taken was *sarugud*, "outraging".

It must be obvious, therefore, that the cultus of relics exercised a humanising effect.

The cult rapidly gained ground in the Celtic portions of Britain. Ireland became famous for its reliquaries,[1] which were characterized by beauty of design and richness of execution.[2] The importation of relics into that country was traditionally ascribed to the founders of its Church. Palladius, the "first bishop" consecrated for work in Ireland by Rome, is stated to have established three Churches.[3] Of these, the most celebrated was that of the Tribes (Cell Fine), where he deposited the casket containing the relics, real or reputed, of St. Peter and St. Paul,

[1] The form is given by Wall, p. 10. Cf. the article on the Book of Kells in *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie*, x.

[2] Professor Zimmer has collected a number of instances in Ireland and has analyzed the technical terms, but under-rates the influence of relic-worship in the period anterior to the submission of the Irish Church to Rome. The Annals of Ulster mention relics under each year and notice the date of their arrival, their translation, or their deposition. The old Irish name for relics has been perpetuated in several place names, for example, *Martorthech*, the house of the martyrs (in Latin "*domus martyrum*") and affords a parallel to the Welsh *merthyr*. But, unlike the Latin *martyrium*, *merthyr* probably refers not to a church erected over a martyr's grave, but to a cemetery which has been sanctified by the presence of relics, with, perhaps, a small chapel attached.

Reileag in Irish denotes a churchyard. An Old Irish treatise on the great cemeteries of Ireland in heathen times bears the title *Senchas na relec*, namely, the "Ancient history of burial places". Reeves, in his edition of *Adamnan*, gives *Relig-na-paisde*, "children's cemetery", and *Relig-na-fear-gonta*, "Cemetery of the Slain Men".

Reileag is not necessarily derived from relics (or the Latin *reliquiæ*). *Reidh-leaca* is a smooth, even or level slope. *Reidh*, even, level, plain. It would be pronounced "ray" (English). *Reidhlic* is one of the Scottish Gaelic ways of spelling Reileag—Reilig is another.

[3] The second Nicene Council (787) decreed that no churches were to be consecrated without relics.

the books and tablets which he had brought from Rome,[1] and the board on which he used to write. Donard was honoured with the custody of the relics of Sylvester and Solinus.[2] Antecedently, it might be conjectured that Patrick, an alumnus of Lerins and Auxerre, and in many respects a true son of his age, would avail himself of such adventitious aids for evangelising the land of his adoption, and as the clearest credentials of his commission. When he betook himself to Rome, and was "approved" in the Catholic Faith by Pope Leo, the most precious "spiritual treasures" that he carried away triumphantly to his Church in Ireland consisted in a goodly pile of relics, tangible tokens not only of the good will of the Bishop of Rome, but also of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. Around this nucleus of fact, posterity wove a tissue of legends which reflect the ideals of the period. It was said that the Saint threw the inhabitants of Rome into a deep sleep, and bore away surreptitiously the most valued relics in their possession—a queer, but not unparalleled, instance of the standard of mediæval ethics.[3]

A curious story, relating to St. Abbanus, will further illustrate the sentiment with which relics were viewed in that country. The Saint had confided to the Prior the hour of his approaching dissolution. The latter, a native of Ceall Abbain,[4] determined to secure the Saint's body ("steal" is the actual word by which the biographer stigmatizes the action) for his own native place. Accordingly, he sent messengers to his fellow-townsmen,[5]

[1] *Vita Trip.* [2] *Vita Trip.*

[3] Cf. Eginhard, Charlemagne's biographer, *The Translation of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus.*

[4] Abban's Cell.

[5] The word ciuitas is sometimes synonymous with cenobium or monasterium, but is here distinct from them. For civis as the equivalent of monk, see the Life of Lugid, § 35.

instructing them to rally the Northern Leinstermen, and to meet him on a certain date at an appointed place. The night on which the holy father predicted his "migration to Heaven", the archplotter had two pet oxen and a cart stationed at the rendezvous. Angels were seen visiting the man of God. The traitor bade all the brethren retire to rest, except a few intimate associates, whom he took into his confidence. No sooner had the Saint breathed his last than the Prior conveyed the precious burden to the cart. The oxen, conscious of the nature of the freight committed to their care, and the party of conspirators set out on their journey, facilitated by a flood of light (radiating from a choir of angels) as bright as that of the rising sun. Meanwhile, the brethren arose, and proceeded to the place where they had last seen their patron, but failed to discover him. There was no need to tell them what had happened. They realized that the Prior had escaped with his prize. They burst into tears and loud lamentations. They rang the bells. The townspeople ran together. The whole town was plunged in mourning. Clergy and people were "more grieved at the theft of the Saint's body than at his death, because they doubted not that the relics of so great a man would be as powerful to free them from all ills and to promote among them all good as he himself had been during his life".[1]

Thus, at a very early date, the cultus had rooted it-

[1] *Vita Sancti Abbani Abbatis de Mag Arnaide*, § 49. Similarly a religious community, entertaining a saint, press him to stay, in order to secure the reversion of his relics. Mr. Plummer, in his valuable Introduction to *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, quotes an instance of certain villagers in Afghanistan, "strangling a saint who abode among them, in order to secure his tomb within their lands", Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, p. 22. The translation of relics was justified by the precedent set in Genesis, l, 25-26.

self in Ireland. Few, if any, of its distinguished churches lacked costly shrines. Testimony to the interest and importance attached to relics in Celtic Britain is forthcoming from another quarter, which throws light on the movements of the Celtic monks, and is evidence for the wide range of their missionary activities. Irish reliquaries and manuscripts, both marvels of cunning and costly craftmanship, are to be found in various parts of the Continent. St. Fursey, a native of South Munster, in the latter part of the sixth century, visited the Valley of the Somme, and died at Mézerolles.[1] His body was conveyed to Péronne. It so fell out that a new Church, of magnificent proportions, on Mount Cignes was, at the time, awaiting dedication. There, under the high altar, Fursey's relics were entombed. In course of time, the Church was called St. Fursey's; a monastery of Scots was formed, and the citadel of the town gained the name Perrona Scotorum.[2] One of these Irish receptacles, discovered in Norway, is preserved in the Museum at Copenhagen, and similar spoils of Celtic art repose in other towns. The presence of some of these is to be accounted for by the raids of Danish invaders in their periodical descents on the coasts of Ireland, but they admit of another explanation. The host of Irish missionaries who passed over to the Continent during the outburst of missionary enthusiasm in the sixth and seventh century took with them, partly for the sake of security, partly as valuable adjuncts to their evangelistic work, some of the relics and their repositories from their homeland. St. Gall, one of Colum-

[1] Bede, H. E., Book ii, gives a considerable account of him. He was also in East Anglia.

[2] Fursey's brother Foillan was murdered in France, and his remains were deposited at Fosses-la-Ville.

banus's companions, who was left behind stricken down by illness, devoted himself to the conversion of a part of Switzerland.[1] His first step towards that end was significant; choosing the neighbourhood of a mountain stream, he made a cross of twigs and hung up some relics.[2] This was the origin of his famous abbey of St. Gall, the resort of Celts for several centuries.

No less store was set on relics in Pictland. St. Columba adopted the same method as St. Palladius and St. Patrick in the task that he had set before himself. An old Irish life of the saint states that he had made the whole circuit of Erin and sowed the seeds of faith and religion, founding churches and religious establishments in which he left relics of martyrs. It was but natural that the remains of the Apostle of Pictland should be the object of the pious solicitude of his fellow-countrymen, and natural, too, that invaders should hunt after them. His remains appear to have been disinterred in the eighth century and placed in a shrine. This was the object which, in 825, especially awakened the cupidity of the Northmen.[3]

[1] A companion of St. Columban, he followed him to Italy, but, prevented by sickness from pursuing the journey, remained behind with the Alemanni, one of whom hospitably tended him and nursed him back to health. Work lay ready to Gallus's hand in the immediate neighbourhood. Gathering round him twelve kindred spirits, according to Apostolic precedent, he, in 613, founded his mission at Steinachtal.

[2] Cf. De benedictione et impositione primarii lapidis pro ecclesia aedificanda, in *Pontificale Romanum*, p. 282 (ed. Mechlin, 1845): "Pridie igitur lignea crux in loco ubi debet esse altare, figatur". Also, the Σταυροπήγιον Πατριαρχικὸν, in the Greek *Euchologion*, p. 337 (Ed. 1839).

[3] Walafridus Strabo has commemorated the event of the murder of St. Blaithmac for refusing to divulge its hiding-place in his verses on the martyrdom :—

Wales also could parallel the depredations of these heathen sea-rovers as the following quotation shews

"Dialedd ar y Saeson am losgi creiriav ag esgyrn seintiau a difa llawer or eglwysau."

"A chodi treth yn ei gwneythyr
Dawn ei gwaith a dwyn ei gwyr
a throi byd eithr oi ben
ai nwyf liw yn aflawen
ef a ddaw cyn treiaw treth
i alw fo ddaw eilweth
"ar pab y mae'n gofalv
am ei fod yma a fv
ar brenin llin yn y llv
yn cymryd parti Cymrv
gwn ddiwedd hafwedd hyn
y dylir losgi Dulyn.[1]

"Taliesin."

That country possessed shrines of awful sanctity to which strangers flocked from Britain and the Continent. The personality of St. David is wrapped in considerable mystery, and falls within an era in which nebulous figures flit across our path like shadows in a mist. He probably appropriated to himself in popular legend achievements of a supernatural order ascribed formerly to other personages.[2] Be that as it may, no doubt exists concerning the homage paid to his memory. It was confidently stated that the gifts which St. David had received from the patriarch of Jerusalem were preserved at Llangyfelach.[3] The popularity of his own shrine in Menevia doubtless derived a fresh impulse from his canonization, a step deliberately intended to enlist the sympathy of the native population. His relics (to faith at least preserved) attracted crowds of worshippers, but have long since

"Ad sanctum venere patrem, pretiosa metalla
Reddere cogentes, queis Sancti sancta Columbæ
Ossa jacent, quam quippe suis de sedibus arcam
Tollentes tumulo terra posuere cavato,
Cespite sub denso gnari jam pestis iniquæ:
Hanc praedam cupiere Dani."

[1] B. Mus., MS. Add. 14, 192, f. 99.

[2] But see Baring-Gould and Fisher, *British Saints, art.* St. David.

[3] Giraldus Cambrensis, iii, 39.

disappeared. In 1086 the reliquary was stolen and despoiled outside the city.[1] In 1275, Bishop de Carew ordered a new feretory to be made for the relics,[2] when the offerings of the faithful enabled that prelate to rebuild the cathedral. The importance attached to the possession of relics, and the precautions adopted against sacrilege, as well as the power imputed to saints are well illustrated by an anecdote in the history of this Cathedral. In 1248, a thief broke into the Church of Menevia, carried away vestments and ornaments, and hid his spoils on a cliff on the rock-bound coast. The custodians called upon God and the Blessed David not without effect; for soon after, when the sacristan, Madawc by name, went from his lodging to the Church and opened the door, lo! he found the thief, treasure and all. Madawc drew his knife at his belt and took him prisoner. The affair enhanced the glory of St. David[3] and raised popular enthusiasm to a high pitch. Some parts of the shrine have to this day survived the ravages of time and the looting agents of later generations. The Reformation saw the destruction of the Saint's relics. His power to restrain lawlessness and relieve disease is evidenced by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog:—

> "Dichones rhag gormes gormant greireu
> A phenna un Dewi a'i ffynhonneu
> Llawn llawdd o'r un rhadlawn ffrwythlawn ffrydeu".[4]

North Wales also possessed relics of no mean celebrity. The pupil of St. Kentigern,[5] an original founder of

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion* places this in 1088. "The shrine of St. David was taken by stealth and completely despoiled close to the city."

[2] Inceptum fuit feretrum Beati David in ecclesia Menevensi, *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 1274.

[3] *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 1248.

[4] In *Cân Dewi, Llanstephan* MS. 133, poem 831.

[5] Called by the Welsh Cyndeyrn, by the Scots Mungo (Mwyngu); whence St. Mungo's Cathedral in Glasgow.

Llanelwy, Asaph attracted by his Christian piety and graces a continuous stream of worshippers. The question of preserving his ashes gave rise to much anxiety in turbulent times, and a letter of Edward I bearing on the subject affords an instructive insight at once into the sentiments, the social conditions, and the lawlessness of the age. The document probably dates from 1281. The king proposes the transference of the relics from the Cathedral to Rhuddlan for fear of pillagers. Under the walls of the castle, he urged they would be safe;

> "tanquam illa quae in nullius bonis sunt, prædonum incursibus et latronum insidiis, una cum corpore sancti Assaphi gloriosissimi confessoris, subjacent periculis infinitis".[1]

A legend connected with another British saint affords an interesting example at once of the importance attached to the mortal remains of saints and the competition for them. St. Beuno's body was coveted by three communities, Clynnog, Nevin and Bardsey. The name *Ynys yr arch* in the parish of Clynnog is supposed to preserve a record of a thrilling incident in the course of this memorable controversy.[2] The legend ran that as the saint's body was being carried to burial, the procession halted at this spot, while a sharp contention arose about its ultimate destination. Such was the posture of affairs when the dispute was happily solved to everyone's satisfaction. The bearers having fallen asleep awoke to

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, p. 530.

[2] A very similar legend is told about the body of St. Paul Aurelian (St. Pol de Leon). He died at Batz Ile (or Ile de Batz), off Roscoff. The people of Castel Paol (French, St. Pol de Leon) disputed with the people of Batz for the body. Two coffins, one empty, were put into two carts, each drawn by oxen. The oxen were left to their own devices and took the empty coffin to Batz and that containing the body to Castel Paol.

find three coffins resembling each other in every respect. Clynnog secured the true one.[1]

CHAPTER III.

Motives *(Continued)*. Penance.

The acquisition of relics and visits to shrines containing them afford an instance of the objective side of the pilgrim movement. Its subjective aspect next claims our attention.

A proper explanation of the theory of indulgences is necessary to a clear comprehension of a great part of the motives underlying pilgrimages. To understand it one must go back to the early practice of canonical penances inflicted by the Church for mortal sins, a debt of punishment which remains due after the guilt of the sin is

[1] Not only the remains of saints but objects which had been in any way associated with them were carefully treasured and regarded with veneration. This was especially the case with objects used in the exercise of their functions and, like corporeal relics, these mementoes were kept in reliquaries. Ireland could boast of many of the kind, e.g. St. Patrick's crozier, St. Bridget's shoe, S.S. Cainnech and Moloch's staves. St. Curig's crozier has survived to this day. St. Patrick's bell, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and St. David's bangu were credited with special virtues. Cynog's torques was another of these objects which commanded the reverence of successive generations of the faithful, and were jealously preserved. These relics were viewed with feelings almost approaching fetichism.

Giraldus declares that relics such as bells or croziers which had belonged to saints, were held in higher esteem than the Gospels, "and hence they enjoy more than common tranquillity" (ii, 158. For Scotland see Anderson, *Rhind Lectures*, vol. i, pp. 167, 216). The Gospels were also viewed with reverence. Peckham, in one of his letters, 555 (A.D. 1284), commends to the notice of Oxford certain clerks who were bearing the Gospels of St. Asaph through the country. He describes the book as "a text of the Gospels of the Church of Assav, commonly called Eueggultheu, which, as we have learnt, is universally held in greater reverence in parts of Wales and

forgiven. It is evident from old Penitentials, especially the Celtic and Spanish, that unless the sentences "run concurrently", even a very moderate sinner might incur a debt which he could never hope to pay in this life and would have to carry over into Purgatory; in regard to this the penance would not necessarily be expressed in the same terms of days or years, Purgatory implying primarily the idea of purifying as well as of clearing off a debt. At a very early date, before the cessation of persecution, this difficulty (or some other) was felt, and confessors (in the sense of those who had confessed Christ but had escaped martyrdom) were allowed to "beg off" penitents from some or all of their penances. If living confessors could do this, why not the dead likewise, and, *a fortiori*, dead martyrs? Again, it would be obvious

the Marches, and is, for various reasons, sometimes carried about by certain clerks of the aforesaid church, through their native country with honour like a sanctuary".

The false knight in the Man of Law's tale swears on "a Briton book written with Evangels". Motogh o'Loghlin, supreme king of Ireland, swore before the Primate of Armagh on the most solemn of all relics, the staff of Jesus, given to St. Patrick by no other than Our Lord Himself (there are several references to this staff in Welsh poems), to refrain from hostilities, but this did not prevent him from violating his oath in his dealings with the Irish chieftains; upon another occasion not only this venerated relic, but also the altar and shrine of St. Cieran of Clonmacnois, the bells of St. Fechinand of St. Kevin had been solemnly invoked as witnesses and guarantees for the preservation of peace. Neither of these solemnities, however, acted as a deterrent. Irish relics of importance were preserved by the heads of particular families as *maers* or hereditary guardians. A few are still in their possession; others were relinquished by impoverished descendants of these families as late as the time of the Famine. See *Monumental History of the British Church* (S.P.C.K.). Miss Stokes, *Early Christian Art*, pp. 59-62, 96-101. In Ireland some of these sacred relics were carried about by representatives of monastic houses to collect dues, and were used as title-deeds in support of the demand.

that a period might be shortened by intensification, and by the acceptance of bodily austerities beyond what was laid down in the rules. These two ideas entered into pilgrimages, the invocation of the prayers of a saint and the intensification of penance by a long and toilsome journey. The conception of attaching indulgences, plenary or limited, to the shrines of saints is probably connected with the above-mentioned privilege of confessors. The system of indulgences grew gradually. The present definition is, "An indulgence is a remission, granted by the Church, of the temporal punishment which often remains due to sin after its guilt has been forgiven".[1] A plenary indulgence is a remission of all the debt due, up to the date of gaining it. The requirements of an ordinary plenary indulgence are apparently simple, but it is not possible to gain one by merely formal compliance with the conditions. Confession with sincere repentance and worthy reception of Holy Communion, which are attached to all these plenary indulgences, are no doubt the difficulties, for the other conditions, almsgiving, praying for certain specified objects and works of mercy or charity, may be more easily fulfilled. The limited indulgences do not appear to have any conditions. They may be gained by the simple recitation of certain prayers, or short ones (forty days for instance) are even given to a whole congregation by a Bishop after some great function, such as the consecration of a church or of a bishop, as, if one may so express it, a sort of polite compliment. Probably the performance of some great task, such as a pilgrimage, would gain a larger share of a plenary indulgence than would, *caeteris paribus*, (as regards mental dispositions), the easier conditions of acts attached to the

[1] *Catechism of Christian Doctrine.*

annual periods. Pilgrimages at stated periods, *e.g.*, to Rome during the Jubilee year or "Anno Santo", would probably be more effective than at ordinary times. The distinction between the forgiveness of sins as regards ultimate destination, Heaven or Hell, and the remission of temporal penalties, to be undergone in this life or in the Intermediate State, was perfectly well understood by the mediæval Churchmen.[1]

This thought of undertaking some arduous task by way of atonement, found intellectual expression in the second part of the great mediæval Pilgrim's Progress, in which Dante brought the doctrine of Purgatory into life on earth, symbolised by his own ascent up the Mountain of Purification :—

"Noi salevam per entro il sasso rotto
E d'ogni lato ne stringea lo stremo
E piedi e man voleva il suol di sotto.

* * * * * *

"Lo sommo er'alto che vincea la vista,
E la costa superba più assai,
Che da mezzo quadrante a centro lista."[2]

The same idea of the repentant soul's painful return is figuratively conveyed by the Sacri Monti and Calvaries of Italy, up which the *contadino* toiled laboriously ; by the Santa Scala, climbed on the knees ; by the wearying ascent up to the Capilla del Cerrito[3] of our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico ; and no less by the hill sanctuaries on the steeps or craggy heights scaled by the

[1] The theory, with its profit and loss conception of religion, may or may not be true, but there it certainly was, and it was certainly not kept up to produce wealth for the clergy. No doubt it gave some opportunities for abuses, and bad ecclesiastics took advantage of them. But the Council of Trent ended all that.

[2] *Purgatorio*, Canto iv, 31.

[3] "Chapel of the Hill."

shepherds of Wales. It was by means of such object lessons that illiterate peasants learnt the cardinal truths of Christianity.

Here may be appropriately introduced an example of a pilgrimage in which the expiatory element is prominent. For Wales it possesses a special interest, not only because she furnished contingents to swell the cosmopolitan crowd that thronged thither, but also from the circumstance that at least one of the chief authorities on the subject hailed from that country. The name of the resort is Purdan Padric, Patrick's Purgatory, situated on one of a group of islands on Lough Derg. This pilgrimage has been ascribed to insatiable greed and wilful deception on the part of monks, who fostered it with an eye to their own advantage; but the matter cannot be so summarily dismissed. The usage lies, doubtless, in the deep-rooted beliefs of the pre-historic period, and is a reflex of the old Druidic doctrines colouring Christianity.[1] Alike by legendary associations, by physical formation, and by the weirdness of situation (amid dreary, barren mountain and moorland) the scene where the Purgatory lay was calculated to inspire awe and to suggest to the minds of a primitive people supernatural agency. The origin of the pilgrimage must be therefore sought, partly in the geological features of the island (suggestive to the credulous in Ireland, as in other European countries, of an entrance into the Nether Regions) and partly in a native pre-Christian mythology, the implicit belief in the existence of spirits of woodland and water,[2] and the

[1] Yet further, the legend is paralleled from non-Celtic races. Among the Finns Pohjola, among the Esths Kalewa, among the Quichos Xibalba and among the Scandinavians, Nifl or Nibelheim, present similar traits. See Eckleben, *Die älteste Schilderung vom Fegefeuer des heil. Patricius, Halle*, 1885.

[2] Cf., Giraldus, *Top. Hib.*, c. 5.

supposed communication carried on between them and mortals. The prevalence of such a creed, indeed, serves to account for the cloud of superstition in which at an early period the whole island became enveloped. A feature in Purdan Padric recalls the old Celtic belief in the existence of a bridge in the lower world, which souls were compelled to cross if they hoped to attain to the mansions of light. The following passage occurs in the Welsh version :[1]—

> "Thence they dragged the Knight with them by terrible chains to a broad, fetid river, kindled in one flame of brimstone fire, and full of devils. And then the devils said to the Knight:—
>
> 'Below this river is Hell. Thou seest a long bridge across the river, and thou must needs go across along that bridge. We will stir up the great winds and thunders, to hurl thee from the bridge into the river, and our companions shall take thee and shall sink thee in Hell, but we will lead thee first, for thee to see how safe it will be for thee to go over the bridge.' And they led him by his arms and held his hand and hurried him. Three things were awful to any one that had walked over that bridge. First, for the narrowness of the bridge; if one found room to set his foot thereon, hardly could he obtain footing a second time. Such was its breadth that it was doubtful whether anyone could stand on it by reason of its narrowness. The third is because of the height it rose in the air; it was awful to behold. And then the devils said to the Knight: 'If thou wilt obey us and turn back, thou canst come safely to thy country out of that danger'. The Knight, however, trusting in Christ, bethought him from how many dangers Jesus had saved him by calling upon his name, and walked to the bridge with measured steps, and called upon the name of Jesus Christ, and putting his trust in the Lord walked stoutly without feeling what was the breadth of the bridge under his feet. And the higher he walked, the larger and larger he found it, and at once the breadth of the bridge increased, so that a wheeled carriage might pass on it. And the devils that led

[1] Peniarth MSS. *White Book*, f. 58a-65a.

> the Knight there stood at the end of the bridge without going further, but longed that the Knight might slip over the bridge. And when they saw him go freely, they shook the air with yelling, until it was harder for him to bear the howling and yelling than all the torments he had suffered at their hands. And when he saw them unable to walk over the bridge, then his passage was sure, as he remembered his gentle Master."

It was but a short step to link the Purgatory[1] to the patron saint of Ireland,[2] whose ancient office contained the following verse :—

> "Hic est dator benevolus
> Hibernicorum apostolus
> Cui loca Purgatoria
> Ostendit Dei gratia."

For several reasons, therefore, the environment of Purdan Padric was favourable to the development of a pilgrim resort. The fame attending the galaxy of saints who lent lustre to the annals of Ireland riveted the hold of Patrick's Purgatory on the European imagination.

The earliest form in which the legend appears, as might be expected, is marked by simplicity of treatment. Accretions gradually gathered around it and the story betrays an elaboration of descriptive details in the hands of successive generations of monkish chroniclers. Jocelin, one of the Black Monks of Furness and a Cambro-Briton,[3]

[1] Mr. Baring-Gould mentions an old Breton ballad which describes how Tina passes through the Lake of Pain. *Myths*, p. 248. Cf. *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, iii, *Die Kelten*, p. 29.

[2] It is a striking proof of the reputed holiness of Irish saints and of the learning of Irish schools, that the most famous visions of Purgatory and Paradise are associated with Ireland. The earliest of which we have any knowledge appears to have been that of Fursey, Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. ii, c. 19. *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. i, p. 276. Cf., *Breuddwyt Pawl*, and Turnbull, *The Visions of Tundale*, Edinb., 1843.

[3] Colgan, p. 108.

composed his life of St. Patrick between the years 1180 and 1185, at the the request of Bishop Thomas of Armagh.[1] The biographer speaks of the Purgatory on Cruachan Aigle in Connaught, as follows :—

> "Referunt etiam nonnulli, qui pernoctaverunt ibi, se tormenta gravissima fuisse perpessos, quibus se purgatos a peccatis putant, unde et quidam illorum locum illum Purgatorium S. Patrici vocant."[2]

The allusion proves that in Jocelin's time a belief in the Purgatory existed. He makes, however, no mention of the Knight Owain's descent into its labyrinthine windings, and evidently in his time various places claimed the title, one a hill, another a cavern.[3] Apparently Jocelin had never heard of the Knight's exploits, for that he purposely or inadvertently passed it over is highly improbable. On the other hand, Giraldus Cambrensis, almost a contemporary of his, does refer to the Knight's enterprise, but only speaks of a hill. That writer's evidence shows that when he wrote his *Topography of Ireland*, the belief was associated with the cavern and that pilgrimages thither were already being undertaken. By the twelfth century, therefore, the legend was related with a wealth of circumstantial detail and for the first time written down by Henry[4] of Saltrey.

The hero of the story in Henry of Saltrey and Matthew Paris is Owain, one of King Stephen's knights and an Irishman, who returning to his native country was seized with remorse for a life of violence, rapine and sacrilege.

[1] It is included in *Florilegium insulae sanctorum*, by Thomas Messingham, Paris, 1624, p. 1-85.

[2] 172, Colgan, p. 1027.

[3] Both were near the place where tradition tells that King Echu was awakened by Patrick and bidden to relate what he had seen in Heaven and Hell.

[4] Or Hugo. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit. Hibernica*, 1748, p. 397.

An idea of the nature of the legend, as well as of popular theology, and of racial prejudices in the Middle Ages, can be gathered from a few extracts from a Welsh manuscript:—

> "Patrick, a great saint, is said, when he first preached the word of God in Ireland, to have laboured to call the souls of men of that country from evil by the terror of the pains of hell, and confirm them in goodness by promising to them the joy of Paradise. Truly does the historian speak that likens the men of that country to wild beasts. For when I was in that country, there came to me before Easter an aged bald man, whose hair had fallen off from old age, and he was greatly enfeebled, and he said that he had never received the elements of the body of Christ and His blood. And on that day, namely, the next day to Easter, he would receive them; and as he saw that I was a monk, and a priest, he would shew me his life in confession, so that he might approach the elements of the body of Christ in security; and as he was not acquainted with the language of that country, I received his confession through an interpreter. And when he was making an end of his confession, I asked him through the interpreter whether he had ever killed a man. He said that he knew not for certain whether he had killed more than five men, and those he had killed not wilfully, and he was not grieved, because he had killed so few."

The next passage illustrates the motive for Owain's enterprise and the preliminaries to the ordeal:—

> "It happened, by the grace of confession, that one of King Stephen's Knights came, namely, Owain. He came to the Bishop, in whose diocese the purgatory was, to confess. The Knight, when the Bishop was rebuking him for his sins, gave a groan, in evident repentance of heart. And when the Bishop was assigning him a penance in proportion to his sin, the Knight Owain said: Since I have committed so much vexation to God, I will undergo a penance that is heavier than all the other penances; with thy counsel, Lord, and Thy blessing, I will go into Patrick's Purgatory."
>
> There he sees in panorama, "men of every dignity and every religious order, men and women, young and old, some

> like Bishops, others like Archbishops, others like Abbots, others like Canons, Monks, and Priests, and Ministers of Holy Church in every religious order, clad in consecrated garments, as befitted every one according to his degree. But the same fashion was on the garments of all of them, both clergy and laymen, as when they had lived on earth".

The sight of the region of bliss and congenial company made him reluctant to leave :—

> "Then the Knight began, fearfully and sadly, to entreat the Archbishops that he might not be forced to return from that joy to the pains of this world. What thou sayest cannot be, said they, but God knows what is fixed for everyone according to his reverence for Him. But after receiving the blessing he went his way sad and wretched, whether he willed or not. And then, faint and melancholy, he returned the same way that he came without being molested by any of the pains that he had seen before. And the door of the cave he found open, and he came among the monks of the convent, and told them how he fared from the time when he went into the cave till he came out of it. And then the Prior caused his adventure to be written. And there it remains to this day."

According to some versions, Owain, after emerging from the cave set out on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The resemblances between the accounts of Patrick's Purgatory and those of entrances to the Lower World at Avernus in Italy,[1] at Hermione and Taenarus in the Greek Peloponnese, but especially to the cave of Trophonius, which occupied so prominent a place in the popular mysticism of Greece,[2] is unmistakable. It is not necessary to conclude, however, that the parallel incidents are directly derived from Greek or Latin sources.[3]

[1] The sixth book of the *Aeneid* greatly influenced all the Purgatory visions. Virgil was about the only popular classical poet in the Middle Ages. St. Fursey's visions seem to have been the earliest.

[2] Pausanias, ix, c. 39-40; Plutarch, *De genio Socrat.*

[3] That incidents from classical literature were sometimes borrowed by mediæval writers appears from a vision referred to by Vincent of

They belong, rather, to floating legends, common to heathen races, which especially appealed to the Celtic imagination. The final Latin version of Purdan Padric was caught up with alacrity, and the causes of its popularity are not obscure, namely, the deep-seated desire inherent in the human breast to fathom the secrets of death and to lift the veil enshrouding the future, a longing which is well-nigh universal, and at the present day is voiced in the efforts of Spiritualism. Strongly felt in the Middle Ages from the 12th century onwards, the longing for a solution of the mystery went on increasing in intensity.[1] Alleged visions of St. Paul,[2] Tundale, Thurcill, and Drithelm were in constant demand. But there

Beauvais (13th c.). A boy who visits Purgatory sees there adults boiled till they become children again. This is clearly a reminiscence of the Greek story of the sorceress Medea.

[1] Jacopo Passavanti, *Specchio della vera penitenza. Dist.* 3, ch. 3, p. 43, and Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 158, *de commun. omnium fidelium animarum*, f. 113, recount the following sensational experience of a Parisian professor, who exacted an oath from a dying pupil to send him word concerning his condition in the other world. Some days after his death, the disciple appeared in a mantle of parchment, scribbled over with sophisms and lined with fire. "This awful mantle" said the pupil, "I am bound to wear for pluming myself upon my hair-splitting subtleties." He therefore bade the professor beware.

Caesarius of Heisterbach relates that two youths studied necromancy at Toledo. One of them, on his deathbed, promised to appear to his comrade, and did so while the survivor was at church. He informed his terrified comrade that for dabbling in the Black Arts he was eternally damned, and strongly advised the survivor to become a Cistercian, since that order had fewer representatives in Hell than any other. *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Dist. i, c, 33, Vol. i, 39. The writer was a Cistercian.

[2] This fiction spread all over Europe in Latin, and was translated, among other languages, into Welsh, under the title *Breuddwyt Pawl Ebostol.* It probably arose from the phrase used in II Corinthians, xii, 2 fol. There are several copies of the *Ebostol*, e.g., in *Llyfr yr Ancr* and *Llyfr Llewelyn ap Offeiriad.*

is another explanation beside this inquisitiveness regarding the future. The Crusades had loosened the bonds of society, and induced a moral recklessness. Many Crusaders who had vowed not to draw bridle or sheath sword until the Holy Sepulchre was won, regained their homes with health broken, lands laid waste, and followers dispersed. A deterioration had set in at home before they started, and on their return some of the pilgrims pointed out the invidious contrast between the turbulence of the Western Christians and the well-regulated government of Arabs, which had come under their notice in the East. Nor were the Eastern Christians much worse than those of the West, where the masses were demoralized by the failure of the campaigns; while at all times (as the fuliginous discourses of the period testify) the moral condition of the Middle Ages demanded an unflinching literalism in a description of a Hell and its terrors. Ecclesiastics, therefore, casting about for some means of curbing the knightly bandits and lawless rabble, who were let loose upon society on the abandonment of the Holy Wars, to restrain excess called to their aid lurid pictures of reward or retribution for which they found warrant in Classical mythology or Mediæval theology.

The Blessed Patrick's flock, says the Welsh version of the *Purgatory*, required ocular demonstration :—

> "When the blessed Apostle would that the tribes in Ireland should turn from the terror and perdition of torments to a love of joy, they said that they would not turn, either for the wonderful miracles that they saw him doing, or for his preaching, until one of them saw the torments of the wicked and the joy of the good."[1]

[1] *Purdan Padric*, as before. Cf. *Brut y Tywysogion*, A.D. 1107, Madog, son of Rhirid, returned from Ireland, not being able to endure the savage manners of the Gwyddelians.

In like manner, wrote the author of *Breuddwyt Pawl*:—

> "Let them declare to the people that they may believe in the special day, Sunday, and may merit the mercy of heaven, for God himself sent his written warning to sinners unto the altar of the Church of Peter and Paul at Rome, to admonish them concerning the work of Sundays and Feast-days."

Still, Patrick's Purgatory must have possessed some striking merits before it could have eclipsed and outlasted its competitors in popular favour. Its superiority doubtless lay in the circumstance that, while other Descents into the Underworld recorded only the experiences of the rapt spirit, here the hero suffered in the body and lived to tell the tale. To this must be added the facts that the scene was in Ireland, beyond which loomed the Celtic Land of Shades, that Ireland afforded an admirable historical background for such scenes as the Purgatory portrayed, and yet again, that it was associated with no less a personage than the glorious Apostle of Ireland!

The fame of St. Patrick's Purgatory was now established,[1] and its prosperity assured. The appearance of Henry of Saltrey's final edition gave the signal for an outburst of fervour which knew no bounds, and impelled crowds to the lake in the wilds of Donegal. In the thirteenth century, the enthusiasm rose to fever heat. Of the multitude no record has survived, but the visits of several notabilities are incidentally chronicled. Edward III certified that Maletesta Ungarus,[2] a Knight of Arimi-

[1] Cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach. *Dial. de mirac. sui temporis*, lib. xii, c. 38.

[2] The pilgrimage of Maletesta (probably a translation of the Hungarian name) is given in *Revue Celtique*, vol. ii, p. 482. An account of an Hungarian nobleman's pilgrimage in the same century to Patrick's Purgatory appears in the *Transactions of the Hungarian Historical Society*, April 1871, pp. 229-247. A Latin version has been preserved in two MSS., one in the Codex Asceticus

num in Italy, and a Lombard, Nicholas de Beccariis, had duly accomplished the customary penance, having been shut up in the cave for a day and a night continuously.[1] Nicholas of Ferrara received a testimonial to a like purport on the same date. In 1328, Ramon, a Spaniard, arrived on a similar errand. In 1365, Milo, Archbishop of Armagh, writes to the Prior of Lough Derg, commending to his notice John Bonham and Guidas Cissi. In 1397, Richard the Second grants a safe conduct to Raymond, viscount of Perilhos, knight of Rhodes, and chamberlain to the King of France, with twenty men and thirty horses.[2] In 1485, Octavianus, Archbishop of Armagh, certified that John Garhi, Francis Poly, and John Burgess, gentlemen of France, had in like manner discharged the obligation. In 1517, Francesco Chieregato, Apostolic Nuncio in England, writing to Isabella d'Este,

(fifteenth century), in the Imperial Library at Vienna, No. 1398, the other in the Benedictine Monastery at Melk. Vatican M.S., No. 122, is said to be a German version of it. The pilgrim, George by name, had not been idle in his day; born in 1329, he accompanied King Lewis of Hungary to Naples, where he signalized himself by his talents and cruelty. Before attaining the age of twenty-four he had committed 250 murders. Under an access of remorse, he travelled on foot to Rome to confess. He was sent by the Pope to live six months as a hermit at Compostela, where he heard of Patrick's Purgatory, and turned his steps thither also. His certificate was dated December 7th, 1353. The adventures of Jirzikovo Videni (Georges), the son of an Hungarian nobleman, in Purgatory and Hell form the subject of a MS. in the town library of Prague. See *Revue philologique tschèque de Prague* and another sixteenth century MS. at Vienna. The hero of the exploit is evidently identical with the one mentioned above. It is worthy of note that the Shaky Bridge (vrtkavy most) is a feature of this version as in the Welsh.

[1] The testimonial was given by Almarick of St. Amand, Knight, Justice of Ireland, A.D. 1357, and the Prior and Convent of the said place. *Fœdera III*, part i, p. 174.

[2] *Fœdera III*, part iv, p. 135. After his return he wrote an account of his visit in the Limousan Language.

Marchioness of Mantua, announces that he is going to Ireland to see "St. Patrick's Purgatory and all the other wonderful things which are said and written about it".[1]

The glory of St. Patrick's Purgatory, after being in the ascendant for 200 years, had by the 15th century passed its meridian. The growth of abuses now loudly demanded the interposition of civil authority; nay, more, the pilgrimage was repudiated by persons of note within the pale of the Roman Church. Consequently, it fell into disrepute and in 1497 was abolished "with great solemnity" by command of the Pope. Again, on September 13th, 1632, an order was issued by the Privy Council for the suppression of the pilgrimage and the abolition of the resort, probably as an obnoxious manifestation of Popery. Still the usage died hard, and legal enactments proved powerless to quench popular ardour. In the second year of Queen Anne's reign, it once more became necessary to forbid the practice, on the ground that many thousands repaired there at certain seasons, to the menace of the public peace and the danger of the government of the realm. The pilgrimage is still made every year under strict ecclesiastical regulation.

Hitherto those motives for pilgrimage have been considered which enjoyed the respectable sanction of the Church. The facts already adduced show that these motives were not unalloyed with worldly elements, and others which had little or no connection with religion. A love of adventure was one contributory cause; to incur danger on a religious errand was in itself meritorious. To those imbued with a military spirit a pilgrimage presented temptations of another kind; it offered the prospect of challenging strangers to mortal combat, and threw a veil of

[1] *Mantuan Archives*, July 10th, 1517.

romance over their enterprises by transforming their foes into the enemies of God. To others, and not least to Celts, at all times ready to chafe against restraint and to react against the despotism of fact, such an excitement was an outlet for exuberant energy; the chance of escaping from the bondage of routine and seeing strange lands acting as a powerful inducement. Thus, it will be seen that the underlying motives varied as widely as the interests of race or individuals, and not seldom were illogical. The pilgrimage, which in many cases resolved itself into an orgy, might be coupled with prayers devout and tears unfeigned. Most of the devotees were satisfied with a single visit; the more ardent and enthusiastic went twice or even three times; others made it their business to travel from shrine to shrine and spend their lives in this occupation. Again, occasions arose which suddenly communicated an impulse to the *wanderlust*. Plague, or a like mysterious awe-inspiring infliction, or a feeling of restlessness sometimes fell upon entire communities; a whole people was seized with a nervous exaltation, and longed to start for the scenes of the Lord's earthly pilgrimage. A political movement, or the initiative of a popular leader frequently gave the signal for outbursts of the kind. The Crusades at once arose from and added force to the passion for seeing and treading the soil of Palestine. As the tenth century drew to a close a widespread belief existed that the end of the world was at hand. To the strained senses and high-wrought imagination of the faithful, the fire of destruction, as it were, glared through the chinks, and men hastened to the Holy Land. The contagion spread; in the hope that when the hour of doom struck they should be found watching on sacred ground, multitudes poured into the East. Nor was the movement of short duration; the best testimony to its vitality being the indisputable evidence

that even in the unsettled periods of European history pilgrimages continued uninterrupted, and that at the close of the thirteenth century no less than ten thousand Catholic sanctuaries existed, all more or less celebrated, exclusive of innumerable images of the Virgin, themselves centres of a special cultus.

CHAPTER IV.

Routes and Communications.

The nomadic instinct inherent in the Celtic nature revealed itself in the earliest epochs of the Christian era. *Britones peregrinabundi*, the term used in the Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti,[1] happily expresses the traditional trait. "To voyage over seas", says Gildas, "and to pass over broad tracts of land was to them not so much a weariness as a delight". Montalembert remarks upon this aspect of Celtic character: "What stamps all the saints of Celtic origin with a uniform and readily recognisable character is their unbounded passion for distant and frequent travel. It is one of the points in which modern Englishmen most resemble them. At that remote epoch, in the midst of the barbarian invasions, and the local disorganisation of the Roman world, that is to say, in the face of obstacles of which nothing in the Europe of to-day can convey the slightest idea, we see these wanderers covering immense distances; and no sooner have they returned from one laborious pilgrimage than they start on

[1] III. 10, 157a. "Most of these men seem born under a travelling planet; seldom having their education in the place of their nativity, ofttimes composed of Irish infancy, British breeding, and French preferment; taking a cowl in one country, a crozier in another, and a grave in a third; neither bred where born, nor beneficed where bred, nor buried where beneficed; but wandering in several kingdoms." Fuller in Adams' *Chronicle of Cornish Saints.*

a fresh one. A journey to Rome, or even to Jerusalem, figures in the legendary accounts of almost all Welsh and Irish saints and seems to have been mere child's play to them".[1] The statement is borne out by contemporary historians. In the thirteenth century, the Scottish passion for travel had passed into a proverb, "Le plus truant en Escoce".[2] The consensus of evidence relating to these sons of Wales, Ireland and Scotland is, in fact, conclusive.

The best evidence of the Irish Saints' inveterate propensity for wandering, and of the wide range of their labours is to be seen in the shrines and churches on the Continent dedicated to the honour of these self-sacrificing evangelists. Several Celtic reliquaries, on which humble craftsmen had lavished their skill, as we have seen, containing the remains of these pioneers repose still upon the altars of obscure continental villages. They are an enduring testimony to the disinterested devotion, and to the charitable toil of these primitive saints, outlasting the centuries, while those whose remains rest in them have been forgotten in the land of their birth. Walafrid speaks of their engrained habit of travelling, *consuetudo peregrinandi*.[3] St. Bernard once described the influx of Irishmen as "a flood"; and the stream continued to flow

[1] Montalembert, *Les Moines d'Occident*, p. 43. Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 229 *(Bonifacius)*, 255, *(Servanus)*; Haddan & Stubbs, *Concilia* I, 35, II, 86. The word *Écot*, (Scot), was embodied very early in the French language. It appears in *Le Roman des Aventures de Frejus*, p. 121. *Le Chevalier au Lion*, part ii, 183, col. 1.

[2] Crapulet. *Proverbes et dictons populaires*, pp. 78-79. Cf Cardinal de Richelieu's *Mémoires*, A.D. 1634, t. xxviii, p. 99.

[3] Natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conversa est. (Ninth century), *Life of St. Gall.* Perz, ii, 30.

without pause and almost without diminution down to the Reformation.[1]

So much for the Irish contribution to the Continent. That Welshmen were caught by the enthusiasm of the hour, and would not be content to stand outside the movement while the other Celtic missionaries swept on, would be antecedently probable. A well-authenticated array of names exists which confirms the anticipation, and while not so numerous as their Irish kinsmen, the Welsh too bore a part in missionary endeavour. Their memories also are cherished and their deeds chronicled in place-names and church-dedications abroad. The first bishop of Rouen was St. Melo, said to be a native of Cardiff; he is said to have been the first missionary from the British Church to foreign parts.[2] Marbod is commemorated at Rennes. Rouen marked its appreciation

[1] *Papal Registers* iv, 308, 414, 522, v, 331, 435. Cf. *Pierre de Jolle, Description de la ville d'Amsterdam*, p. 25.

"Vous saurés qu'on dit en proverbe
Que d'Escossois, de rats, de poux,
Ceux qui voyagent jusque'au bout
Du monde, en rencontrent partout."

Acta Sanctorum, Vita et mirac. S. Galli, ii, p. 47. Hist. S. Rudherti, c. 2, in Canisius, Thesaur. Monument., eccl. et hist., ed J. Basnage, t. iii, pt. ii, p. 319, and Du Cange.

The following incident in the French Wars will occur to the reader. St. Fiacre, the son of the Scotch king, Eugene IV, lived and died in the seventh century, a hermit at Meaux, in France. Henry V's troops are said to have pillaged the chapel of the Highland saint. The saint had his revenge and retaliated by assisting his countrymen in the French service to defeat the English at Bauge, and inflicted on the English king a malady which caused his death. This led him to remark that he was "not only plagued by the living Scots but even persecuted by those who were dead". For Fiacre, see *Acta. SS.*, August 30th, p. 598-616.

[2] A parish near Cardiff is named after him. It was called by the Welsh Llanlleurwg, after St. Lucius or Lleurwg; the Normans changed the name.

of the philanthropic endeavours and eminent virtues of a British saint, Bishop Audoenus. David, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, has left traces of his influence at Würzburg, which he had made a base of operation among the Bavarian Highlands.

The movements of these emigrants raises the question, what means of communication were available? The difficulties of intercourse are liable to exaggeration. Freedom of movement was at that time much easier than is generally supposed, and facilities for travel were afforded by two vast organisations, world-wide in their extent and imposing in their duration, namely the Roman Empire and its successor, the inheritor of its tradition, the aspirant to the exercise of its Imperial power, the Church of Rome.

The prestige of the Roman name inspired awe, not only in nations subject to Roman rule, but even in those who lay on the borders of civilisation. To races within the pale of the Empire, and even outlying populations, the Majesty of Rome appealed by its power, its public utility and universality. Claudian did but express Rome's ecumenical aspiration in the line:—

"Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit".[1]

This feeling did not leave the Celtic races of Britain unaffected. Virgil might speak rhetorically of them as

"Toto divisos orbe Britannos."

The orator, Eumenius, on the other hand, in his glowing eulogy on the British Province, pronounced it well worthy of an independent monarchy.[2] The full effect, indeed, of Roman influence had not made itself felt in Britain, before Rome, in her death agony, was obliged to recall her legions

[1] *De Cons. Stil.* Lib. iii, i, 151.

[2] *Panegyrici Veteres.*

to the rescue of a crumbling civilization. Still, the afterglow remained. The departure of the Roman legions in 410 did not involve a cessation of Roman culture, which lasted on among the Romanized Britons after the withdrawal of their masters, nor did it sound the knell of the military traditions of Rome. It should also be borne in mind that a frequent exchange of recruits went on during the second and third centuries between Britain and other dependencies. From the Notitia Imperii, the Bluebook of the Empire, we learn that bodies of Syrians, Cilicians, Thracians, Dalmatians, and Frisians, together with other foreigners, formed the military colonies in Britain. To this evidence a further consideration must be added. The Emperors were in many cases not of Italian extraction, and their subordinates were provincials or even barbarians. Moors are known to have served under the Eagle at Aballaba (Appleby); Thracians at Bowes; Batavian, Dalmatian, Spanish, Syrian, and Taifalic Cavalry in other parts of these islands.[1] The profession of arms must, at that early day, have possessed an attraction for British youth. This supposition is borne out by historical proof. The revolt of Maxen Wledig, who contested unsuccessfully the purple with Gratian and Valentinian, was fraught with disaster to Britain. The flower of its population were drafted abroad, and the country, denuded of its natural protectors, was left a prey to invading hordes of barbarians. The Notitia records the presence of regiments of British cohorts in Illyria, in the Thebaid and, perhaps, also at Petra in Arabia. Thus far, documentary evidence is available. The inscriptions that have come to light from time to time in various parts of the old Roman Empire attest

[1] *Cohors I. Thracum* served in Britain in the second century; for a considerable time it was stationed at Bowes, South of Hadrian's Wall.

the presence of British troops in remote regions. Celtic soldiers were quartered in the following garrison towns in Italy, one at Camerinum, another at Firmum, a third at Pisaurum, and a fourth at Arminum.[1]

Not only Britons served. Irishmen were distinguished for their fighting qualities, and inscriptions prove their presence also in various parts of the Roman dominions. St. Jerome is a voucher for the existence of a Scotic legion in his day.[2] Writing from Trèves in North Germany,[3] the Saint bears unequivocal testimony to their warlike propensities, and adds that their bravery was popularly attributed to the practice of feeding on human flesh. His statement of the courage of the Scots is con-

[1] *Cohors I. Britannica Miliaria* C.R. (Civium Romanorum, so called because the franchise had, at some time or other, been conferred on members of the cohort). In Pannonia and Dacia, a tombstone with an inscription in memory of a native Briton belongs to this detachment.

Cohors II. The name occurs on tiles in Dacia. A *Cohors Britannica* is mentioned in the *Cursus honorum* from Attaleia. Le Bas-Waddington, 1364. Lanckoronski I, 158-9.

Cohors III. Britannorum. Tombstone of last century, from Augusta Bagiennorum in Upper Italy; Catavigni Ivomagi (a native-born Celt). Caecina sent among others the Britannorum Cohortes in advance to Italy. Tacitus, *Hist.* i, 70.

Cohors I. Brittonum Miliaria (*equitata?*) served in Wallachia, and was stationed at Bumbesti.

Cohors I. Aelia Brittonum (Miliaria) served at Noricum, Firmum, and Picenum.

Cohors I. Ulpia Brittonum (Miliaria) served in the time of Pius and belonged to Dacia Superior, as appears from a Diplom. lxx, A.D. 145-161, referring to a native Briton.

Cohors II. Brittonum served in Mauretania Caesarensis, Diploma xxxvi, of the year 107.

Cohors III. Brittonum (equitata), called Veteranorum, to distinguish it from a troop of younger men (perhaps the *Cohors III*, Brittonum), which since Trajan's time served on the Lower Danube. Pauly.

[2] *Adv. Jovin.* ii, c. 7 (Migne, t. xxiii). Ammianus Marcellinus also mentions it.

[3] Augusta Trevirorum.

firmed by witnesses from the Irish side. For when the Empire was in peril, and Aetius was entrusted with the task of defending Gaul against the Franks, Dathi, the High King of Ireland, led an Irish contingent in person to support the fabric, reeling under repeated shocks, and to hurl back invaders from the Eastern frontier. He met his death beyond the sea. These circumstances justify the assumption that in those turbulent times, and amid these stirring scenes, when the Empire resounded to the tramp of armies marching and counter-marching from one province to another, the sturdy, thick-set Welshman and the red-haired Scot constantly fought shoulder to shoulder with blue-eyed Gaul and swarthy Spaniard against the Goth, Hun, and Frank.[1]

[1] This constant ebb and flow in peace and war could not fail to promote the fortunes and advance of Christianity, and bring into touch with each other the Christian communities which were springing up in all parts of the Roman world.

Whether the Army as a whole was instrumental in spreading the Faith is open to doubt; the evidence rather points in the opposite direction. A military life and a profession of Christ were incompatible in the eyes of an orthodox patriot; to an adherent of the State religion, the new-fangled creed constituted treason to Cæsar and the gods. The Christian, on his part, could not help being repelled by the emblems of office which were mixed up with idolatry, and there was always a danger lest duties might be imposed upon the Christian officer which would wound his conscience or violate his cherished convictions. The question whether a Christian might even enlist in the inferior ranks was dismissed by Tertullian on the ground that it was unbecoming in God's faithful soldier to be a soldier of man as well; no one could bivouac in the camp of light and also in the camp of darkness. Tertullian, *De Idololatria.* The Army appears on the whole to have thrown its weight in the scale against the Faith. That Christians served in the ranks is evident from Tertullian's *De Corona,* the story of the Legio Fulminatrix, the martyrdoms of soldiers, and other accounts; but as a rule the Imperial army, recruited from the peasant and barbarian population (pagani and gentiles), contained but few Christians. (O. Seeck, *Untergang der antiken Welt* i, 57, and

The series of cataclysms which, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, followed the departure of the Romans from Britain, undid the work of the soldier and the statesman alike. Beyond the Northern mountain barriers of the Empire, lurked the gathering avalanche of Vandal, Goth, and Hun. Bursting their bonds of ice and snow down swept these black masses of wild hordes from the North of Europe, the "Northern Hive", or the *officina gentium*, as Pliny the Elder called it, on account of the successive swarms that emerged from that quarter of the globe, and poured over the plains of the South. Tired of slaying each other in the dark on the outskirts of the habitable world, they burst upon civilized communities

Domaszewski, *Religion des römischen Heeres*, pp. 63-67.) Under Diocletian and Licinius Christians were excluded from military service. Julian the Apostate (A.D. 360-363), notes with satisfaction that the mass of his army worshipped the gods. So far as Britain is concerned, at Caerleon, Deva, and on the military frontier which extends from the Humber to Hadrian's Wall, the traces of Christianity are hardly recognisable. On the other hand, the cult of Mithra, the Holy, the Blessed, the Invincible, the Eternal, the Sun-king, was popular in the army, and owed its extension largely to its agency. (See Cumont's fine work "Les Mystères de Mithra", 1900.) In Britain it numbered many adherents, and in the third century Rome was simply the headquarters of the Mithra cult (Harnack, *Die Ausbreitung*, ii, p. 449). Its rapid spread dates from the reign of Commodus, and the patronage of the Emperor lent it such a powerful impulse that it bade fair to rival Christianity, had not Constantine by embracing the Faith given a quietus to any hopes entertained by its adherents. But if the army quartered in Britain did little towards the establishment of the Christian religion, the frequent removal of recruits from one end of the Empire to another was in all probability a bridge between Paganism and the New Faith.

Merchants, as may well be imagined, and the services which they, consciously or unconsciously, did the Church, must not be left out of account. This class profited largely by the security afforded by facilities of travel. An inscription on the tomb of a Phrygian merchant states that he voyaged to Rome no fewer than seventy-two

like a tempest let loose, spreading havoc and devastation before them. Rome was now sufficiently engaged in keeping the enemy at bay, in fighting for her own existence and saving the remnants of a tottering Empire. The outlying portions of that vast organization were left to their fate. Roman civilization disappeared in smoke and ruin; and intercourse between Britain and Italy ceased for centuries. The very mention of culture was a mockery; only to exist was occupation enough for mind and body.

The centuries rolled by. After a period of blank bewilderment in men's minds, of widespread ignorance even among the clergy, the repositories of knowledge at that

times in the course of his life. The ubiquitous, cosmopolitan professor might also be encountered from Antioch to Cadiz, from Alexandria to Bordeaux.

The means of transit were not lost upon the Church. Justin, Hegesippus, Julius Africanus, and Origen were accomplished travellers, and had visited a large number of the Churches or corresponded with them. So early did the passion for familiar intercourse seize Christendom. St. Jerome from his cave at Bethlehem maintained an active correspondence with churches in the west. His aid was often invoked and his advice solicited. His intervention in the case of Vigilantius, a Gallic divine, against whom the saint launched an abusive treatise, is well-known. His name was specially venerated and his authority revered in Ireland. Jerome employed as his messenger a certain monk named Sisinnius, of whom the saint speaks in the following terms:—"My brother Sisinnius hastens his departure for Egypt, where he has relief to give to the saints, and is impatient to be gone." The intermediary was constantly on the road between Marseilles and Bethlehem. His love of gossip and clerical news led to an estrangement between Augustine and Jerome. A position similar to, if less prominent than, that of St. Jerome was occupied by Cassian on the other shore of the Mediterranean. Educated at Bethlehem, trained among the monks of Syria and Egypt, he migrated to Gaul, where he wielded a far-reaching influence in proclaiming the monastic ideal, and his *Collations of the Monks* throws a flood of light on the life of the Nitrian ascetics. It is a noteworthy fact that Cassian succeeded so far in spreading a knowledge of Egypt in France that not a few bishops and presbyters retired to Nitria.

age, hope began to revive. The work of Old Rome was over; her laws had been upset, her civilization quenched, and her Empire torn into fragments. It was at this point, namely, the era of slow attempts at reconstruction which began in the seventh century, and the settling down of new nationalities, that the Celt emerged into prominence and revealed his native vitality. To him must be ascribed no small measure of the success in rebuilding the social fabric fallen into material and moral ruin. The unquenchable ardour of these Celtic students and teachers carried them, even at that early day, far afield. Their spirit was deterred by no obstacle, daunted by no peril.

In happier circumstances, when comparative peace reigned in the intervening districts, the land route to the Continent was doubtlessly preferred. The British pilgrim accordingly followed the direction prescribed by immemorial usage, and bent his steps towards Sandwich or Dover. His Irish counterpart (desiring to visit the shrines on the Continent) found two courses open to him. In time of tranquillity, he took ship for South Wales. This was the usual route in the Middle Ages, and was adopted by the successive conquerors of Ireland down to the twelfth century. The reasons for this are obvious. St. David's Head lay only forty-five miles distant from Ireland, and offered the greatest advantage for embarkation; before a favourable breeze, a boat would cross in four or five hours. North Wales possessed at that day no great centres of population nor openings for trade. Consequently, Irish saints, like Finnian of Clonard, are represented as spending long periods for purposes of study (in Finnian's case as much as thirty years!) under the tuition of St. David,[1] in

[1] The picture of the Welsh and Irish Churches drawn in the pages of Giraldus and Tirechean's *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ* proves their close resemblance both as regards constitution and customs,

Menevia, or somewhere in Britain. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, intercourse had become very frequent, and an Irishman with his face set towards some English or foreign shrine, was a common sight on the road between St. David's and the Severn Channel. He then struck the old Roman road from Bath to London across the South of England.

There was, however, another route which he might take from Ireland to England and the Continent. Bristol owed not a little of its importance, as a leading seaport and emporium, to the Irish traffic. It had been associated with Ireland from an early period. This association was symbolized by a local shrine dedicated to the Irish Brendan, the choice of the saintly navigator well befitting

the engagement of the clergy in secular pursuits, the transmission of livings from father to son (*Descr. Walliæ*, ii, 6), anchorites attached to churches (i, 89, 90; ii, 246) and the reverence for sacred bells and croziers (*Itinerar.*, i; *Topog.*, iii, 33, 34; iii, 34). The same writers point out that the Welsh and Irish Churches exhibited a close correspondence as regards ecclesiastical ordinances. Tirechean, c. 1, tells us how the Irish received a Mass from the Britons, David, Gilla (Gildas), and Docus (Cadoc), and the *Vita Gildae* describes how King Ainmerech sent for Gildas to restore order in the Irish Church. St. Rioc or Righocc, a Briton born in Wales, was the companion of St. Finnian at the monastery of Rosnat or Whitherne, and subsequently passing into Ireland became Abbot of Inisbofinn, an island in the Shannon. Todd's ed. of *Liber Hymnorum*, part i, p. 109. British monks resided at Clonfert, Rahen, Lynally, Taghmon, Clonard, Ferns, Tallaght. See Plummer *Introd.*, p. cxxiv, Cadoc, Gildas, Carantoc, Cybi, Petroc, were claimed as disciples of Irish Schools.

Cf. the reproaches of two British suppliants to St. Brigit: "infirmos generis tui sanas, nos autem quasi advenas negligis." *Triadis Thaumaturgae . . . Acta*, ed. Colgan, 1847, p. 529, b. §25, and for British students in Ireland (some of them an element of disturbance) and Irish students in Wales, Plummer, cxxiv. For others, see Ricemarch in Rees' *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, pp. 133, 435; Geoffrey, book xi, c. iii; Ussher, vi, pp. 478, 520; Moran, *Essay*, p. 150; Colgan, tom. i, p. 430; and *Acta SS.*, tom. i, xxxi, Jan., p. 221.

a seafaring community.[1] A chapel dedicated to this pioneer and patron of mariners, and a hermitage close by crowned the heights of Brandon Hill. The city established commercial relations with Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, its equals at that day in size and commerce.[2]

But if these routes by way of Wales and Bristol best recommended themselves, Irish traders and ecclesiastics making their way to the Continent were by no means limited to them. The itineraries mentioned above assume that the pilgrim journeyed by land. The sea, however, was no barrier to distant expeditions. In antiquity the seas divided man less than the land; and in an unsettled state of society, amid internal dissensions and marauding incursions, a voyage presented less difficulty than an overland journey.[3] The importance of Gaul to the soldier, the merchant and the pilgrim is obvious. It lay between the Mediterranean, with its high standard of civilization, and the semi-barbarous islands of the West.

The wholesale migration of Britons, especially from Cornwall and South Britain to Armorica, is historically

[1] The presence of Irish hermits (papar) in Papey, an islet off the East coast of Iceland, and at Papyli (see Baring-Gould and Sir R. Burton's books on Iceland) is attested by Scandinavian chronicles. According to the Landnama Bok Irish relics and books were discovered by the Norse settlers, and the Islendinga Bok is a voucher for the presence of Irish priests at the time of the arrival of the colonists in the year 870 (Islendinga Sögur, 1843, i, pp. 23-4; Islendinga Bok, p. 4).

[2] These connections, however, belong to a comparatively late period, namely, that of the wars and intrigues, but they exerted no small influence on the conquest of Ireland by the Norman.

[3] The history of Greece affords a parallel case. Its intercourse with the interior of Europe, and the Valley of the Danube, for example, so far as they were not accessible by water, compares unfavourably with its constant communications with the North East, the East, the South and the West, as far as Marseilles.

traceable.[1] Even previous to the great exodus, according to a Breton writer of the year 884, in the sixth century, the terms of endearment applied familiarly among the Breton monks were formed after a foreign model,[2] namely, after the practice of the Irishmen who had settled among them.[3] The influx from Britain was constant. It is not only established by allusions in the dim pages of legend, but rests also on an historical foundation. The interchange of saints was frequent. One or two instances will suffice. The patron of Guic Sezin was St. Sezin, an Irish monk. September 25th is marked in some old calendars as the feast of St. Maucannus (the Welsh Meugant), a "fifth century Bishop of Silchester".[4] A Breton by birth, he was a "great astrologer". The sixth century witnessed a large number of migrations. Samson, Paul Aurelian, Bishop of Leon, Gildas, Maelor, Machutus, Tysilio (St. Suliac), Laudatus (Llawddad), Abbot of Bardsey, Paternus (Padarn), Cadvan, Illtutus of Llantwit, Tudwal of Lleyn, Mellon of Cardiff, are in themselves a goodly array, but do not exhaust the list.[5] Many of these settlers or sojourners appear in the guise of pilgrims. Such was Elian who gave his name to more than one church in Wales. An Armorican prince and brother of St. Illtyd, named Sadwrn

[1] See J. Loth, *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique.* The Cornish and Breton languages show closer affinities than Welsh and Breton.

[2] "more gentis transmarinae". Cf. Loth, *Les noms des Saints bretons,* 1910.

[3] Zimmer in *Preuss. Jahrbücher,* p. 399.; St Paul of Leon in *Revue Celtique,* v, 437, and *Zeitschrift für Sprachforschung,* 32, 184-189.

[4] St. Meugan is also patron of St. Mawgan, in Pydar and Meneage, in Cornwall, and also perhaps of Llanfochan in Monmouthshire.

[5] SS. Samson, Paul, Aurelian, Maelor and Mellon are patrons of Golant, Paul, Mylor and Mellion respectively, in Cornwall. Jestyn is possibly St. Just, to whom two parishes in Cornwall are dedicated.

(Saturninus),[1] migrated with his wife from Brittany to Wales. On his death, the wife consoled herself with another husband and became the mother of Elian, denominated the pilgrim. He holds a pilgrim's staff in his left hand. Jestyn's connection with Brittany affords another instance of reciprocal service. A son of Geraint, king of Devon and Cornwall, who fell at Langport in the year 522, he had gone to Brittany and found a deserted habitation at Pestin, of which he took possession. The hut had been constructed by an Irish settler named Efflam, who had departed on a pilgrimage. A remnant of Jestyn's shrine is to be seen at Llaniestyn in Anglesey. Nothing, however, is known of the earlier structure which enclosed the relics of the saint, and was much resorted to by pilgrims for eight centuries.

That Irish and Gaulish ships plied between Ireland and Western Gaul before Columban's arrival on the Continent is certain. St. Patrick, in his Confessions, has left on record his own experiences, but conveys only a hazy impression of his movement. Beyond a reference to his sojourn in Gaul, his travels there are shrouded in mystery. Carried into captivity at the age of seventeen, to the "ultimate places of the earth", outside the fringe of the Roman Empire, to the West of Ireland (so completely did he identify the world with the sphere of Roman civilization), he watched his opportunity, when his owners had drunk deep at one of their periodical revels, and effected his escape. Finding his way to the sea,[2] he threw in his lot with traders, taking a cargo consisting in part of Irish dogs, probably wolf hounds. The destination of the

[1] The name of Sadwrn is found in Cornwall at Tresadern, (in St. Columb) but he is not necessarily the same person.

[2] He probably took ship at Inver-dea, at the mouth of the present Vartry.

traders appears to have been Southern Europe, but their landing place is veiled in obscurity. Antecedently, it might be surmised that in those days, as in the Middle Ages and in modern times, Nantes or Bordeaux[1] offered the most suitable point of disembarkation, and Probus's account seems to bear this out. At any rate, the existence of direct commerce between Ireland and Gaul is placed beyond dispute. St. Columbanus's history sheds some light on the subject.

Walafrid, in his Life of St. Gall, describes the route taken by Columbanus and his twelve companions, in the following words; "Ascendentes igitur navem venerunt Britanniam et inde ad Gallias transfretarunt." A passage in the Gesta Caroli is also relevant to our purpose. The Emperor was in the full tide of his brilliant victories:—

Qui[2] cum in occiduis mundi partibus solus regnare coepisset et studia litterarum ubique propemodum essent in oblivione ideoque verae deitatis cultura teperet, contigit duos Scottos de Hibernia cum mercatoribus Brittannicis ad litus Galliae devenire, viros et in saecularibus et in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos. Qui cum nihil ostenderent venale, ad convenientes emendi gratia turbas clamare solebant; si quis sapientiae cupidus est, veniat ad nos et accipiat eam, nam venalis est apud nos".[3] Charles, the Hope of scholars,[4] heard of the arrival of the Irishmen

[1] Probus in his *Life of St. Patrick*, speaks of Brotgalum, (Bortgalum?), evidently meaning Bordeaux. Cf., *Vit. trip.*, p. 238, where Patrick, contemplating a visit to Rome, is said to have waited for a ship *o Bordgail Letha* (from Bordeaux in Gaul. Letavia, Gaul or Brittany).

[2] That is to say, Charlemagne.

[3] *Monument. Germ. Script*, ii, 731.

[4] Ystorya de Carolo Magno, c. xxiv and xxv, Welsh version, ed. R. Williams.

with the novel wares, sent for them, enquired the nature of their commodities and ended by retaining their services. One of these is stated explicitly to have been no other than the Irish Clemens who afterwards presided with distinction over a school established by the munificence and sagacity of the monarch.[1]

The facts which have been adduced suffice to show that the direct sea-route from Ireland was largely patronized by the Irish pilgrim. But the overland passage by way of Sandwich or Dover and Calais, was, whenever circumstances allowed, and especially at a later period, in favour. A fact may be mentioned here which proves the popularity of this route and connects itself with the early travellers and pilgrims who have been mentioned above. It appears in the life of St. Findan of Rheinau. This saint in fulfilment of a vow undertook a journey to Rome. His biographer, writing soon after his death in 845, speaks of him as a "civis provinciæ Lagenensis", and describes his departure from his native land as follows:—"Ipse autem Findanus promissionis suae recordatus, quam ab hostibus (namely, the Vikings), captus dederat, collectis sociis acceptaque licentia sui episcopi Galliarum partes paravit adire. Hinc sancti Martini sedem[2] petens postea Franciam, Alamanniam Langobardiamque peragrans proprio demum pedum labore Romam pervenit". On his way back from Rome, he laboured for four years as priest; in 851 he entered the monastery at Rheinau, but the seclusion of a monastery did not satisfy his intensely devout temperament. Five

[1] Our authority for the picture, which is probably coloured, is Notker Balbulus, a pupil of Moengal. Jean Bodet, speaking of Gilemers l' Escot, one of Charlemagne's vassals, "Sire fu de Illande, une terre où mers clot".

[2] Tours is meant.

years later he became a recluse, and so continued for the remaining twenty-two years of his life. But the Irish who gained admittance under Reichenau's hospitable roof for the most part came directly from across the Channel to the mouth of the Somme or the Rhine.[1]

The intercourse between East and West, though less constant than while the Roman Empire flourished, was also still maintained for the purpose of religion and commerce. The itineraries for pilgrims to the "Holy City of Jerusalem and the Holy Places that are thereabouts," (to borrow the language of one of these guides) furnish explicit instructions concerning the routes. "They may go many ways by sea and land according to the country that they come from; many ways come to one end".

Pilgrims from Wales, Ireland, and Scotland and the "West of the world" were offered a choice of route suited to the taste or purse of the individual traveller. It will be observed that they almost all follow the lines of old Roman communications. These roads, from Britain to the Continent, converged on Sandwich or Dover, by which the traveller crossed the Channel to Itius Portus or Gesoriacum, in the neighbourhood of the modern Boulogne.[2]

[1] Bede, H.E., iii, c. 25, mentions an Irishman who had travelled in Gaul and Italy. The monastery of St. Ricquier at Abbeville, in the department of the Somme, sheltered the Irish pilgrims of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[2] In the Middle Ages the fare across the Channel was sixpence; man and horse, two shillings. Statute 4. Ed. iii, c. 8. There was a Maison Dieu at Dover, part of which is still standing. Walcott, *Inventories of St. Mary's Hospital or Maison Dieu.* The Greek Nicander Nucius of Corcyra (16th century) observes that the town seemed almost entirely to consist of inns and hotels. Calais had a similar institution for the convenience of pilgrims. Petition of the Calais burgesses. *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iii, p. 500, 4 Henry IV, A.D. 1402.

Arrived on the shores of Gaul, he made his way through Amiens (the Roman Ambiani), Soissons (Suessionum), Rheims (Rhemi), to Trier (or Trèves, Augusta Trevirorum); the last-mentioned station was the central point of Germany, and a network of roads extended thence over the surface of Gaul.

The following courses are recommended to British pilgrims bound for the Holy Land:—

1. The object of this route was to reach Constantinople overland through Almaine (Germany), Hungary and Silesia in Austria. The road led by the Castle of Nessborough and the "evil town", which is situated towards the end of Hungary. Crossing the Danube, the traveller halted at Belgrade, and made his way through Bulgaria, Adrianople, and finally gained Constantinople. Here there was much to detain the curious, notably St. Sophia's, the fairest and noblest church in the world, the Cross of Christ, the seamless robe, and the equestrian statue of the Emperor Justinian.[1] Leaving Constantinople, the pilgrim took ship across the Bosphorus, and bent his steps towards Nice and "the Hill of Chienetout", a mile and a half from that town. Or he might proceed by the Brace of St. George to the Isle of Sylo. After passing Patmos, "where the Apostle of St. John wrote the Apocalypse", he reaches Ephesus, and threads the islands of the Archipelago, skirts Patara, the birth-place of St. Nicholas, and puts in at Crete.

[1] "But," says a pilgrim, "the Greeks have not the like devotion that we have for these relics." The pilgrim is wrong here. The Greeks attached great importance to them and do so still. At the time of the sack of Constantinople, in 1204, the churches of the city were full of them, and the spoils consisted largely of relics. A very large number of noted relics in Western Churches were stolen then by the Latins. See a chapter in E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire*, 1903.

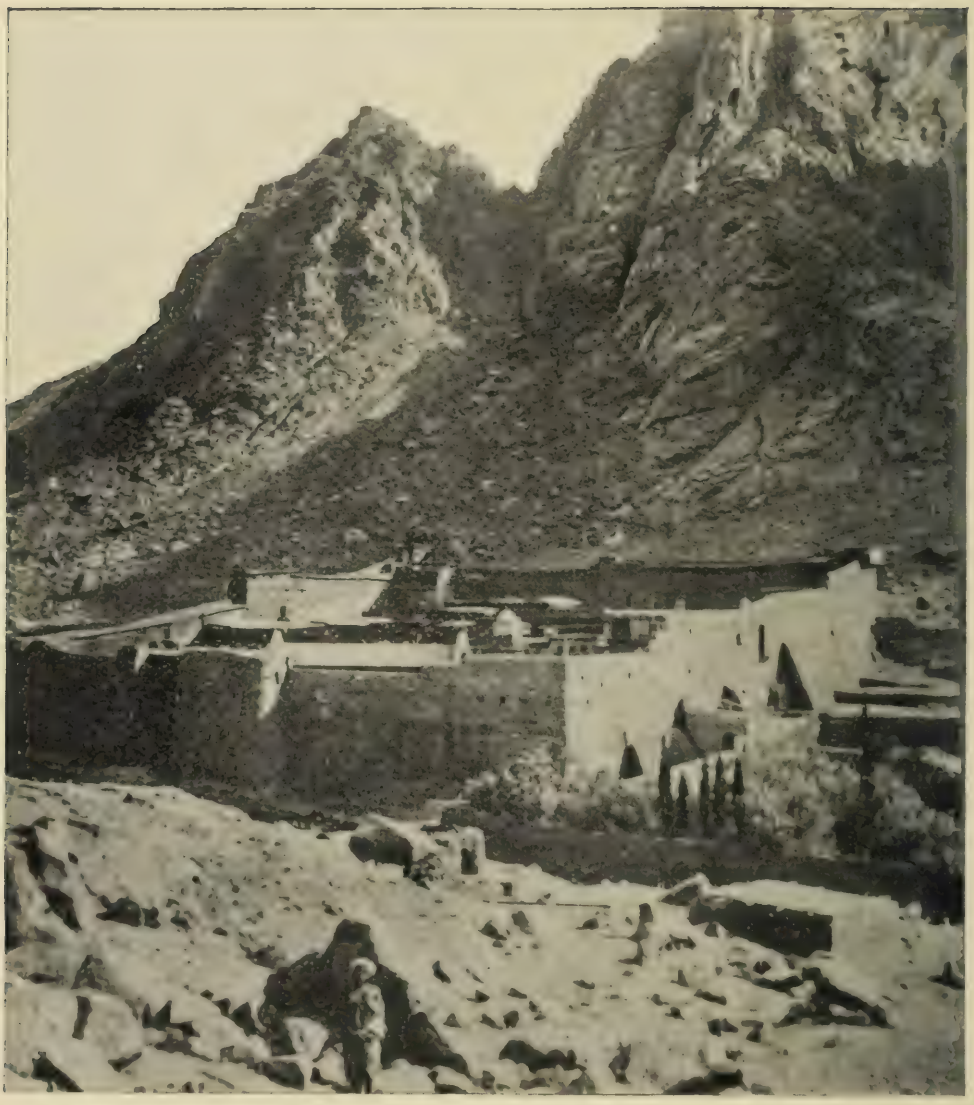

Photo by E. G. Wood. *To face p. 60.*

Convent of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai.

Rhodes, the next stopping place, is 500 miles from Cyprus. It contains the Colossos,[1] one of the wonders of the world. Thence, says a mediæval pilgrim, he sets sails for Sur, the ancient Tyre; others make direct from Rhodes to Tyre, and omit Cyprus; most passengers, however, will find it an advantage to touch Cyprus, rest there awhile and purchase victuals. The traveller now treads on sacred ground; every town, every village is replete with interest and rich in memories, Biblical, Roman, and Mediæval.

Those who are prepared for a long voyage may proceed from Cyprus direct to Jaffa, the nearest port to Jerusalem, where the Pardons commence for pilgrims to the Holy Land.[2] Next to the Holy Land, Babylonia, namely Egypt and the Desert, possesses powerful claims on the pilgrim's attention. It may be reached by land through the wilderness of Athylec. Babylon, the residence of the Sultan, and Cairo, contiguous to each other, are great and fair cities, but the latter is the more extensive. Damietta, the scene of many a sanguinary conflict during the Crusades, is one of the havens of Egypt, Alexandria the other. Some prefer taking Egypt first and proceeding to Mount Sinai,[3] thence to Jerusalem.

[1] "This", says a pilgrim, "is the origin of St. Paul' Epistle to the Colossians."

[2] Ramleh was a favourite halting place between Jaffa and Jerusalem. Wynkyn de Worde, *Information for Pilgrims* (based in a great measure on William Wey, and published by Caxton) furnishes valuable hints regarding choice of cabin, contracts with skippers, provisions, lodgings on land, diet in the East, hire of mules and gratuities to donkeyboys.

[3] Mount Sinai was rich in suggestion and replete with memories, besides the traditions relating to the infancy of the Hebrew race. There St. Catherine lies in a fair Church, and there is a large abbey of monks, Arabians or Greeks, "who all are hermits and perform great abstinence and penance". See ch. xiii, p. 1.

But to accomplish their pilgimages more easily and safely, men go the longer way.[1]

II. Guides give an alternative route by way of the Rhine and the Alps. The traveller bound for Italy and the East proceeded to Augsburg, or girded up his loins for the passage of the Alps. A choice of routes was open to him. He might cross the Brenner, taking on his way Vipiternum (Wipthal), Tridentum (Trent), and Verona, or negotiate the Splugen. A third road led through country

[1] The last lines of the document, written in 1322, illustrate the various vicissitudes of the pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Before the subjection of Palestine by the Saracens, all pilgrims went from Palestine to Egypt, for no pilgrimage to Syria could be regarded as complete without a visit to the hermits of the Thebaid. The capture of Jerusalem by Omar changed the whole aspect of affairs. Fully alive to the commercial advantages of preserving the Holy Places and encouraging pilgrims, the conqueror permitted Christians the use of their churches on payment of tribute. Under these conditions pilgrimages still continued; but the visitors were exposed to insult and oppression according to the circumstances of the moment or the locality. This state of things lasted for nearly three centuries. Arculf, the French bishop, who was cast by a storm on the coast of Scotland, and related his experiences to Adamnan, abbot of Iona, seems to have suffered no molestation. (The book was entitled *De Locis Sanctis*, and, through the abridgement made by Bede, became the textbook on the Holy Land among the Saxons.) The case was otherwise in the early part of the eighth century. By this time the country had again relapsed into disorder, and the difficulties of pilgrimage were correspondingly aggravated. The Caliph Yezid II, at the end of his reign (at the instigation of the Jews, it was said) issued an edict forbidding the use of paintings in churches, and, after his death, hostilities broke out afresh between the Greeks and Arabs. This outbreak, however, heightened rather than cooled the ardour of the faithful. Still, to approach or enter the Holy Land from the North was a dangerous undertaking, and the Egyptian route to Palestine was generally adopted. The accession of Haroun el Raschid to the throne (786-809), was propitious. His friendship with Charlemagne, a frequent and popular theme in History and Romance, ensured pilgrims certain privileges. By the middle of the ninth century the pendulum had once more swung back. Christian and

rich in historic memories, and poetic story, by great towns and renowned cities not a few. Moguntiacum (Mentz), Bauconica or Vauconica, (Oppenheim), Borbetomagus (Worms), Noviomagus (Speier), Taberna (Zabern), Saletia (Selz), and Strasburg. The Rhine was the great waterway between the German Ocean, and the frontier of Italy. It was by the Rhine that St. Columbanus escaped from the power of Brunehault and Thierry, when this child of nature decided to flee from the tainted atmosphere of the

Saracen were again at war; immunities were withdrawn and pilgrims travelled to Palestine by way of Egypt. The century had not drawn to a close before John Zimisces wrested the whole of Judea from the grasp of the Mahommedan and the holy places were again thrown open to the pilgrims from all countries. These halcyon days were of brief duration. On the death of the Emperor in 976, the Greek Empire relapsed into impotence, and Palestine was snatched from his successor by the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt. At the outset the policy of the conquerors promised well. They cultivated commercial relations with the Franks and countenanced pilgrimages; but the accession of Hakem to power was ominous and proved a Black Monday in Church annals. A cruel despot by nature, he soon made the Christians feel the weight of his fury, and the whole of Europe was thrown into transports of indignation at the reports which reached its ears. A letter published by Gerbert (afterwards Pope under the name of Sylvester II) in the year 986, fired the train and inaugurated a series of pilgrimages by armed bodies, which provoked retaliation, decided the conquerors to close the churches to public worship, and in the event, so far from abating, only served to increase the eagerness for pilgrimages. The eleventh century witnessed another turn of the wheel of Fortune. After a succession of internal revolutions in the enemy's camp, the Seldjouk Turks in 1071 gained the upper hand and seized Jerusalem. The change of rulers, however, brought no relief to the pilgrims. The Seldjouks in their turn fell into dissension and decrepitude, with the result that in 1096 the Caliph Al-Mostaali-Billeh became master of the Holy City. The Crusades were now at the door. In 1095 Peter the Hermit roused Europe, and in November of the same year he stood by Pope Urban the Second's side at the Council of Clermont, as he proclaimed the first Crusade. The Northern shores of the Mediterranean were again open to the pilgrims that streamed towards the Holy Place.

Court. He finally emerged on the broad expanse of Lake Constance, by the shores of which rose afterwards the famous house of St. Gall. Its importance in later days may be gathered from the fact that about the year 1659 Johannes Bollandus' followers traversed this route on their celebrated journey to Rome.[1] To the devout mind, the religious associations of the Rhine, the sacred spots, and the legends that hung about its castles, furnished food for meditation. Many of these stories themselves related to pilgrims. But no city or place summoned such memories as Cologne,[2] Cologne with the Shrine of St. Ursula and her Cornish companions, and that of the Three Kings.[3] Augst ober Basel, (Augusta Rauracorum), Vevey, (Vibiscum), Martigny (Octodunum), were other interesting towns or centres where the traveller could pause with advantage. The Great St. Bernard was much frequented in Roman times and the route was often followed by pilgrims. At Aosta, the traveller found himself safe from the terrors of the Alpine passes.

Or the pilgrim might pass by way of Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy and Savoy. He must then face Mont Cenis and is warned against the dangers of the Pass, especially in times of snow, when any sort of noise will bring down an avalanche. He is therefore advised to

[1] The life of Bollandus, c. xiii, p. 2, v. 1, of the *Acta Sanctorum* for March.

[2] The Romans did not use either the St. Gotthard Pass, the Simplon or Mont Cenis. Their four main routes ran over the Cottian Alps, over the Gracchian Alps to Vienne; over the Gracchian Alps to Strasburg; and over the Pennine Range to Strasburg and Maintz.

[3] They are frequently mentioned in Welsh poems. So also "St. Maria im Capitol" at Cologne (known in the local patois as "Zint Märjen"). Cf. tramwy a gweled tir mair o gwlen (Cologne). Twm ap Ieuan ap Rhys.

Photos by Mrs. A. S. Lewis.

Convent of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai : Exterior.

To face p. 73.

Convent of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai : Guest Rooms.

engage the services of a *marron* or guide of the country. He emerges into Piedmont, and finally enters Lombardy. There he can either take ship at Genoa or Venice or proceed to Rome, Pisa, Naples and so on to Brindisi, Tuscia, Campagna, Calabria, Apulia[1] and Sicily. This island offers the pilgrim many attractions, and ministers to devout contemplation. For at Catania lie the remains of St. Agatha; and when Mount Etna wears a lowering aspect, the inhabitants take the Virgin's veil, hold it up towards the flames, and these immediately cease. At Messina, he will meet a crowd of pilgrims engaged on the same errand as himself, in whose company he will proceed to Constantinople, and after coasting along Asia Minor, reach Rhodes and Cyprus. Thence his course is clear. He will sail direct to Damietta, and Alexandria, the city where the Evangelist, St. Mark, was martyred, and lay buried until his remains were carried off to Venice. Babylon marks the next stage in his journey but is not the term of his wandering in Egypt. He must not turn his face towards Jerusalem, however anxious to be on the road, without seeing Mount Sinai, where the beheaded Catherine lieth. If he is determined to risk famine and thirst during the thirteen days' journey in the desert, he will recommend himself to the prayers of the monks, and be supplied with victuals. The trials of the desert over, he issues from the desert at the town of Beersheba, a fair and pleasant town (where the Patriarch Abraham dwelt a long time) founded by Beersheba,[2] the widow of Sir Urias the Knight.

III. The pilgrim crowds included in their ranks many poor. For them the best course was to cross France by way of Burgundy and Lombardy and to embark at Genoa

[1] Bari, Trani, Barlo (Barletta ?), Siponte, Otranto.

[2] Namely, Bathsheba.

or some other "haven of the marshes". Or they might take ship at Venice and sail along the coast of Sclavonia, touching at Pola, Zara (a name which summoned up ominous recollections), Sebenico and Corfu. Those who avail themselves of this route will leave Rhodes on the left and land at Famagosta, the chief haven of Cyprus, or else at Lamatoun and steer across the open sea for Jaffa.

IV. For others, "who may not bear the savour of the sea," a more circuitous route is available—through Genoa or Venice to port Moroche or another of the Greek ports. They then strike the old Roman overland route to Byzantium. Beyond the Alps, the old Roman organization remained more complete than further North, having continued in a large measure unbroken from the days of the Republic. Milan had been the meeting-point for the main routes used in the Imperial administration, and a centre of commerce with the West and the North. A similar position in relation to the East was occupied by Aquileia.[1] It stood at the head of the Adriatic and was one of the most important places north of the metropolis, a point in which many military roads and trade routes between the south and north of Europe intersected, the key of Italy against the barbarians, and the first bulwark of the Empire on the North. To the traveller contemplating a journey to Palestine, therefore, two routes lay open. The first was from Aquileia to Illyria, Pannonia and Byzantium. The second offered an additional attraction to the pilgrim, one no less than a visit to Rome, not to speak of smaller shrines on the way. After leaving the Roman capital, his course was clear. Passing thence through Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace, the traveller

[1] Roma Secunda, the name given to it, betokens its former importance. Venice was the favourite port of embarkation for Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, and two routes converged upon it.

Photo by Donald Macbeth, London. *To face p. 75.*

Pilgrims Paying Toll.

[*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 24,189, *f.* 8*a*. "From the Buke of Sir John Mandeville" (ch. 1-5). Three pilgrims in a ship approaching a landing stage at Tyre, or Joppa, and paying toll outside the city gate. The provenance is uncertain, but is apparently Flemish.]

reached Constantinople by way of Heraclea, Edessa, Pella, Thessalonica and Philippi.[1] This route presented several advantages. The country through which he passed was famous for its beauty and fertility. At Constantinople, Europe and Asia, Roman and Hellenic ideas, East and West, met together. From this point onward, the country through which the route ran was rich in historical memories. The next great stage was marked by Antioch, the chief seat of Roman culture and of government in Asia Minor. From here, two roads diverged, one leading towards the Euphrates by Samosata, Edessa, and Sura, as far as the Eastern frontier; the other southwards through Syria, and Palestine, past old historic cities and sites, bearing time-honoured names, Laodicea, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolemais, Joppa, Ascalon, Gaza, the Isthmus of Suez, Pelusium, and finally Alexandria. The tedium of a journey overland might be avoided by a sea-voyage from Italy direct to Egypt. When the pilgrim has gazed his fill at the sights of Constantinople, he must brace himself for the journey across Asia Minor. Pulveralle, the Castle of Canople, Cappadocia, "a great country, where there are many hills," and Antioch the Less lie on his way. The dangers and obstacles on this route are formidable, and those who shrink from the perils of this road are counselled to follow the coast as far as Antioch.[2] Acre is

[1] This route was practically identical with that followed by the Bordeaux pilgrim. At Arles, he was on the main roads from Britain to Rome and the East. Passing through Turin, Pavia, Milan, Brescia and Verona, he arrived at the great city of Aquileia. Thence he crossed the Julian Alps and passed through Noricum, Pannonia, Illyria, Dacia and Thrace, to Constantinople. He continued his journey through Asia Minor to Syria.

[2] "In Rumania many crimes are committed, and there are bad people there, and so men cannot go to Rome to visit St. Peter's unless they join together in troops and go armed." Sæwulf's narrative, A.D. 867.

a convenient starting-point on the mainland for Jerusalem, and two roads diverge here, on the left by way of Damas and the River Jordan, on the right through the land of Flagam, the city of Caiaphas, of which Caiaphas was lord once upon a time, by some called the "Castle of Pilgrims," Caesarea Philippi, Jaffa and Ramleh.

Yet another way ran through France or Flanders onward to the Land of the Great Cham,[1] but "the way is long and perilous, and therefore few go that way", for floods, swamps or ice combine to embarrass the traveller.

The above routes were usually followed, but the boldest spirits departed from these thoroughfares, and, carrying their lives in their hands, traversed Asia Minor alone or threw in their lot with caravans. One pilgrim records that he returned by way of Balbeck, Hamos,[2] Hama,[3] Antioch, Negre,[4] Misse,[5] Adena,[6] Thuro,[7] Araclie,[8] Laranda,[9] and Constantinople. Undaunted by the lurid pictures drawn by merchants, he pushed on from Constantinople across Europe by way of Adrianople, Philippopolis, St. Sophia and Belgrade.[10] But, Asia Minor being torn by foreign incursions and internal dissension, the journey could only be recommended

[1] Probably the parts of Russia about the Lower Dnieper and beyond, which were under Tartar dominion. The Tartars (Golden Horde) were in Russia as early as 1223, and held a considerable portion of it during the 13th—17th centuries.

[2] Homs or Hems, the ancient Emessa.

[3] The Hamath of Scripture, the Epiphania of the Greeks.

[4] Ananus, now the Giaour Tagh.

[5] Missisah on the Jeihun.

[6] Adanah. [7] Tarsus.

[8] Eregli (Heracleia ?). [9] Karaman.

[10] He thought it prudent to "settle his affairs and his conscience as if he had been on the point of death before facing the perils of the road in this territory".

when the sea was unsafe for the voyager, or scoured by corsairs and sea robbers.[1]

It will thus be seen that the pilgrim, the palmer, and the Crusader had found the way paved for them by the Empire and the Church.

CHAPTER V.

"Peregrinatio Terræ Sanctæ."

The Holy Land, as we have seen, was the first country to attract pilgrims. An insight into the feelings of veneration with which the Holy City was regarded may be obtained from a glowing eulogy pronounced upon it by one of the most eloquent of the historians of the Crusades. "Jerusalem", says Jean de Vitry, Bishop of Ptolemais in the thirteenth century, "is the city of cities, the saint of saints, the queen of nations, and the princess of provinces. She is situated in the centre of the world, in the middle of the earth, so that all men may turn their steps towards her; she is the patrimony of the patriarchs, the nurse of the prophets, the mistress of the apostles, the cradle of our salvation, the home of our Lord, and the mother of our Faith, as Rome is the mother of the faithful. She is chosen and hallowed by the Almighty, who placed his feet upon her, honoured by the angels, and visited by all the nations of the earth." A poet of the same period indulges in a similar panegyric: "She attracts the faithful as the magnet attracts the steel, as

[1] Cf. Marianus Scotus's description of the perils of pilgrims in 1063, while Asia Minor was under the dominion of the Turks. A body of pilgrims, to the number of 7,000, were attacked by Turcomans. Plucking courage from despair, they turned upon their assailants, and kept them at bay and captured some of them. Ultimately they were rescued by the military governor.

the sea attracts the river to which it has given birth". Such encomiums account for the intense passion for seeing Jerusalem, which arose in the first century and lasted up to the Reformation,—a passion which no discomfort, no prohibition, no peril would deter churchmen from undertaking in obedience to the call of St. Jerome. The saint does, indeed, betray some inconsistency, but, writing to Marcella in the name of Paula and Eustochium, he describes the charm of the Holy Land and urges her to leave Rome and join her old companions at Bethlehem, exclaiming: "Can we suppose a Christian's education complete who has not visited the Christian Athens? In speaking thus we do not mean to deny that the Kingdom of God is within us nor to say that there are no holy men elsewhere". The example of these Roman ladies was followed by others, and the Saint excited the wrath of Roman Society by prevailing upon some of the most fashionable denizens of the capital to leave the city and to take up their abode at Jerusalem.[1] The earliest extant

[1] The Jews after the dispersion certainly had the idea of pilgrimage to the Holy Places, and it is possible that the early Christians derived the custom from them. The modern search for Pagan borrowings in mediæval Christianity has tended to obscure the undoubted legacies from Judaism, and the "continuity" of the Jewish and Christian churches; as may be expected, the direct Jewish influence, apart from a literary study of the Old Testament, is more apparent the further back the investigation is carried. It is curious to observe also that there were occasional revivals, as to a great extent in the 12th and 13th centuries, shown, among other things, by a fashion for personal names in the New Testament, *e.g.*, Elias, Symeon, Adam.

"About 17 years ago I was in Sarajewo in Bosnia, and as we were leaving the town the station was crowded with Jews (all speaking Spanish), who had come to take farewell of a venerable old Jew who was going to Jerusalem to end his days and be buried there. At every station along the line to Bosnisch Brod (a whole day's journey) Jews came to the train to see him and his daughter and grandson.

record of a pilgrimage is the Bordeaux Itinerary, which is instructive as showing the simplicity of the actuating motives, the environment of a pilgrim at that date, and the thoughts that thronged through his mind. The author was a native of Bordeaux and a Christian, who visited the Holy Land before the consecration of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by Constantine and Helena; and evidently compiled his itinerary for the use of his countrymen. The document is particularly valuable as containing local traditions of the Syrian Christians under Roman rule.[2]

The proceedings included a great deal of Oriental unrestrained lamentation. From what we are told, it would appear to be a not uncommon practice. The Jews of Sarajewo are "Sephardim" descendants of the Spanish Jews expelled by Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain. They, like most Levantine Jews, still keep up a kind of Spanish (being to real Spanish what Yiddish is to German) among themselves, though they, like the other Bosnians, speak also a dialect of Servian." (Communicated by Mr. Henry Jenner.)

[2] The Itinerary was first brought to light by the antiquary Pithou in 1588 from a MS. in his own library, under the title—Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque, and it was afterwards inserted in the editions of the *Antonine Itinerary*.

From the nature of the case, the distance, the peril, the expense, and other considerations, pilgrimages to Jerusalem were not so frequent from any part of Western Europe. Accounts of such adventures of faith having been accomplished, have come down to us; but it was considered a feat which might well daunt all except the boldest spirits. The achievement was, however, well worth the effort, for the pilgrim returned a privileged, and, in some sense, a sanctified being. On the other hand, the silence of history is doubtless due in some measure to the loss of monastic libraries with their rich collections of manuscripts and memorials, which must be charged upon the Dissolution of the religious houses and the Civil Wars. The same paucity of information confronts us even in some of the most famous pilgrim resorts. Crowds flocked to Canterbury, for example, from all parts of Britain and of the Continent, yet the information is surprisingly meagre. To the above causes must be added the circumstance that only the visits paid by notabilities were considered worth

In much later days the pilgrimage to the Holy Land came to be distinguished by the title Via Dei and Via Sanctorum. By William Wey's[1] time, the fifteenth century, the organisation had become more elaborated. He had accomplished the journey twice and wished himself there again. This writer furnishes striking evidence of the strength with which the tide of pilgrimage had set in toward Palestine. His statement is borne out by other Itineraries, now in public and private libraries, which have not yet seen the light of day. The author gives ten motives for addressing himself to the journey. He cites St. Jerome and Pope Leo in support of his undertaking. St. Bridget's example is also quoted with effect. His narrative affords abundant evidence of the multiplicity of attractions that the Holy City and the Holy Land afforded. Numberless relics had been by this time discovered, and many sites identified. The pilgrim terminology throws an interesting light on the prominent place occupied in the Christian mind by the "greater pilgrimages" and language has preserved for us, in fossilized form, the views of contemporaries on the growth of the pilgrim movement. Originally, the word "pilgrim" meant "foreigner". Under the same category fall the Italian pellegrino, the Provençal pelegrin, the French pèlerin, and the Welsh pererin. The original signification was gradually narrowed down from the more general meaning

chronicling, and that extraordinary events alone called for comment. Moreover, an interest in the records of antiquity is of comparatively recent origin, and documents which would throw light on these popular movements may be lying hidden away in dusty receptacles. Still, the direct or incidental evidence which exists suffices to show the trend of the popular mind, and shoots rays of light through this obscure period.

[1] Itineraries of William Wey of Eton College to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and 1462.

of "traveller" on any business to a wayfarer, who, as an act of devotion, seeks some sequestered spot or distant shrine, and the change bears eloquent, if unconscious, testimony to the prevalence of pilgrimages in the ages of faith. But special centres of more than ordinary importance had special terms of their own. The word "palmer" was ~~especial~~ly applied to votaries who brought palms from the Holy Land and spent their lives in roaming from one celebrated shrine to another.[1] The word occurs frequently in Welsh literature,

[1] *Peregrinus* denoted a foreigner from his own standpoint. *Externus, alienus* or *alienigena*, and *barbarus* seem to have been the words for a foreigner from the native's point of view. *Peregrinus* implies travelling (from *per* and *ager*; *pereger, peragro, peragratio* are kindred words), though *peregrinus* was used in a technical legal sense of a resident foreigner who had not become *civis Romanus*.

For various sorts of Pilgrims, see Dante, "La Vita Nuova", § xli. "In largo, in quanto è *peregrino* chiunque è fuori della patria sua; in modo stretto non s'intende peregrino, se non chi va verso la casa di santo Jacopo, o riede. E pero è da sapere, che in tre modi si chiamano propriamente le genti, che vanno al servigio dell' Altissimo. Chiamansi *palmieri* in quanto vanno oltremare là onde molte volte recano la palma. Chiamansi *peregrini* in quanto vanno alla casa di Galizia, pero che la sepoltura di santo Jacopo fu più lontana dalla sua patria, che d'alcuno altro Apostolo. Chiamansi *romei* in quanto vanno a Roma, là ove questi chi'io chiamo *peregrini* andavano". Then follows a sonnet about some pilgrims whom he has just seen starting to visit the Veronica handkerchief in Rome. It will be seen by this that in Dante's time a *Palmer* was one who went "across the sea to a place whence they often bring palm-branches". (Rossetti's translation, "Dante and his Circle", ed. 1874, p. 106, introduces the word "eastward", "who go beyond the sea eastward".) A *Pilgrim* was one who went to Compostela—Dante's reason for that is rather fantastic—and a *Romer* (roamer) was one who went to Rome. Dante's view probably represents the popular use of the words in Italy in the end of the thirteenth century. The derivation of "Saunterer" from "Sainte Terre" is uncertain. It is a bit of the over ingenious popular etymology of the early nineteenth century (like deriving "hocus-pocus' from the Latin words of Consecration). It probably came from the Low Latin ex, adventurare, adventure."

as, for example, in the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym.[1] The pilgrim spirit in Britain in the fourth and fifth centuries shirked no hardship, shrank from no peril. "The Britons", says Jerome, "though divided from the rest of the Continent, quit their western sun and go in search of a clime of which they know nothing save by hearsay and the Biblical Narrative".[2]

The subject of hermits, anchorites and recluses[3] is in another way connected with pilgrimages.[4] The three forms of asceticism were regulated by the Church; indulgences were granted to those who visited them, and the relics of these devotees were eagerly sought. Theodoret alludes to the reverence felt in Britain for the solitaries of Syria or the Monks of the Thebaid, their high virtues, their strange penances, and their unequivocal miracles. He informs us that at Thelmenissus near Antioch, around the

[1] Palmeres, mynwes a'i maeth,
Penwyn gybyryn hiraeth!

For a discussion of the well-known monument to Richard le paumer at Haverfordwest, see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1873 p. 398; 1883, p. 253, and other articles, *ibid.* A "Palmer stone" stands in the Parish Church of Llandyfodwg.

[2] *Epist.* xiii. The earliest pilgrimage known is that of A.D. 212. A very important early pilgrim is Etheria, formerly called "Silvia". The so-called "Peregrinatio Silviae" was attributed (as a convenient guess by Gamurini, the discoverer of the Arezzo MS.) to Silvia, sister of Rufinus, a minister of Theodosius. Later, Dom Marius Férotin found MSS. at Toledo, Carracedo, and in the Escurial, attributing the pilgrimage to a Spanish lady, Egeria, Etheria, or Echeria. So the work is now called "Peregrinatio Etheriae". Etheria is now generally said to be sixth century, but Duchesne, *Les origines du culte Chrétien*, places this pilgrimage in the fourth century.

[3] A hermit was free to wander or change his abode; the recluse entered the *reclusorium* never to return into the world. For the regulations concerning these classes of ascetics, see the manual entitled the "Ancren Riwle".

[4] Cf. pp., 13—14.

pillar of Simeon Stylites were gathered not only Ishmaelites, by which he means Persians and Armenians, but also Spaniards, Gauls and Britons.[1]

This sovereign idea of fleeing the stagnant mass of squalor and vice that festered in the towns originated

[1] Philotheus on Stylites, ch. xxvi. Cf. Theodoret's statement that the British (or Irish) pilgrims had met in the neighbourhood of Antioch, the Persian Magus. Magus seems to have been taken as an equivalent of *Druid* (the μάγοι of St. Matth. ii are *Druidhean* in the Scottish Gaelic version of the New Testament of the present day), as early as the tonsure dispute; see the passage attributed to Gildas, Haddan, and Stubbs i, 113. The Anglo-Saxon word for "magic" was "drycraeft", and "dry", a wizard, was evidently "druid". But Pliny, in his account of the Druids, identifies them with the Persian magi. So it was not an invention of the Irish historian. Cf. Adamn., i, c. 37.

For the commercial route between Cornwall and Alexandria in the seventh, and probably sixth century, see Mr. Smerke's paper in Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall, No. viii., Oct., 1867 ; the "Life of John the Almoner", *Acta S.S.*, Jan. 23; also a MS. *Vitae Sanctorum* (13th) containing his "Life."

There are many terms of Greek derivation in the religious language of the Latin Church. It is curious, however, that only a few appear in the Celtic languages; in these Latin words, e.g., *sagairt (sacerdos)* and *offeiriad* (from a derivative of *offero*) taking the place of *priest* (πρεσβύτερος), often occur where in Latin and the Romance and Teutonic languages Greek words are commoner. Greek was the language of the New Testament and of the early Church, even in Rome for the first two centuries. It should be remembered also that when the seat of government of the Empire was moved to Constantinople, it was natural enough to hold general councils in that neighbourhood. The absolute unity of the Church of the Roman Empire, and the constant and easy intercommunication between East and West down to a time long after the fall of the Western Empire, indeed, almost down to the revival of the Western Empire under Charlemagne in 800, are not generally appreciated. There are few elements of divergence before the seventh century, and when one finds apparent Orientalisms in Celtic, Spanish or Gallican rites or practices, it is well to consider whether one does not find quite as many (only not necessarily the same ones) in the local Roman Church itself.

with an Eastern monk. His disciples did not permit themselves to indulge in any dreams for a distant day, nor to make plans for a future which might never come. It was enough for them to provide for their immediate wants, to fell timber, to cultivate the soil, to meditate and pray, to raise solemn chant or soothing dirge, to toll passing bell, to count the monotonous beats of the pendulum of time.[1] No sooner had Antony and Pachomius led the way than thousands of ardent spirits were fired with a desire to emulate their example. Islands on the coast of Europe offered security and that mental repose which formed the very essence of the monastic state. Along the shores of Italy a series of religious houses like Gallinaria, Gorgona, Capraria, and Palmaria, sprang up. A veritable "necklace"[2] of them extended to the Gulf of Lyons. Along the southern shores of Gaul also similar institutions arose. Of these the most famous was Lerins.

[1] Cf. F. E. König, *Die Regel des heil. Pachomius* in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1878; Grützmacher, *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben*, 1896. Afterwards, when persecution began to decrease, the passion for martyrdom was directed into the channel of asceticism.

The change which converted Christianity from a life to a philosophy began at an early period in its history. Aristotle had already remarked on the difference between the contemplative character of Eastern races and the active qualities of the European (*Politics*); it is not surprising, therefore, that the introspective and mystic type of asceticism should find a more congenial atmosphere and display itself most markedly in the East (as appears, *e.g.*, from the Epistle to the Hebrews), partly owing to the influence of Philo. Siegfried, *Philo von Alex.*, 1875, p. 321, seq. and Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, ed. 1883, vol. 1, 7, pp. 93-101. It was not long before an asceticism of the Eastern type became part and parcel of the Church's life, and Egypt, the refuge of earnest souls fleeing from the world. Antony and Simeon Stylites only carried the principle to its logical conclusion.

[2] Ambrose, *Hexaem*, 3 c 5; Rutilius Numatianus, *De reditu suo*, I, 439. Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.

This island became renowned and attracted the monks of Britain. St. Patrick tells how he was connected with the place. After his escape from slavery, and his long march across Gaul, he parted company with his new masters in Italy and, retracing his steps, knocked at the doors of Lerins. There he found Irishmen who, in keeping with their adventurous spirit and the roving propensity of the race, had been among the first to enter the ranks of this religious community. Although St. Patrick actually embarked on his chivalrous, self-imposed and lifelong task, namely, the conversion of Ireland, from Auxerre, and consequently the spiritual descent of the Celtic Church of Ireland was more directly derived from that centre, yet its ultimate source must be sought in the islands of Lerins.[1]

The British or Irish monk was in many respects the counterpart of the hermit of the Thebaid or the anchorite of the Pillar; Finnchua, Ite, Findan, Ciaran, Brynach, and Cadoc fell little short of the austere, if eccentric, sublimity of those eminent devotees. The solitary's life also harmonized with a characteristic Celtic sentiment and with the deep-seated belief in the existence of a spirit-land in the Far West, probably inherited from pre-Celtic inhabitants of the country, or perhaps, from a primitive poetic interpretation of sunset, or some dim, indistinct reminiscence of the Atlantis of Platonic mythology. Such, too, may have been the source of the fabulous

[1] The two islands off Cannes, St. Honorat and St. Marguerite, are called "Les Iles Lérins". St. Marguerite, now a prison fortress, is the largest; St. Honorat is the site of the monastery founded by St. Honoratus. Probably the whole group formed a part of the monastic establishment. Island hermitages were, however, not unknown among the heathen inhabitants of Ireland. See Rhŷs, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 369.

adventures ascribed to the Irish Brendan, of the alleged discovery of a Western Continent by Prince Madoc, and of the awe with which the Irish fishermen gazed at the rim of the Western horizon. To this true Avalon, the Welsh equivalent of the Irish Tír na n-óc[1], the barge in the legend bore King Arthur. To the same land of peace Celtic saints repaired in troublous times in search of security and calm. This feeling was especially strong at the approach of death; the nearer the Saint's earthly habitation to this region of bliss, the more clearly he discerned the land of eternal peace, and the sooner would his soul attain to that happy consummation. Under this category of island resorts were in the south Caldey, and in the north St. Tudwal's Island off the coast of Lleyn. Ynys Lenach or Seiriol[2] is another impressive instance—the burial-ground of the monks of Penmon, of Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd, son of Caswallon, who drove the Irish out of Anglesey, and of other Welsh kings.[3] Nowhere, in short, did St. Anthony find truer disciples than in the cells of these Celtic communities. Nowhere was a more rigid mortification of sense exhibited. The Celtic character has ever been prone to extremes. Possessed of keen sensibilities, liable to be swept away by gusts of religious emotion, it is not content with half measures. Accordingly, we should expect to find that the Celt, on coming into contact with the monastic ideal, would throw himself into the movement with all the ardour of his impressionable

[1] Or *Tír na m-béo, na n-ingnad*.

[2] Now Priestholme Island; Giraldus describes the hermits that lived there, ii, c. 7.

[3] The Scilly Isles ("insula Sylina, quae ultra Britannias est") served as a place of banishment for heretics, e.g. two bishops, Instantius and Tiberianus, followers of the Priscilline School, were exiled there in 380, Sulpic. Severus, *Hist. Sac.*, ii, 51.

nature ; and the following is an instance of its fascination for the Celtic mind. At the confluence of the Avon, near Bath, with the brook Inglebourne, known to the Welsh as Bladon, stood at the beginning of the seventh century the ruins of Caer Bladon, one of the twenty-eight walled cities left by the Romans. Hither in the time of Cynegils arrived from Ireland a pious and learned Scot, Maelduf by name, the future founder of Malmesbury. He trudged along the Roman road to Bath. The Welsh population of that region had been christianised and to a certain extent civilized. The strictness of the new-comer's manner of life profoundly impressed the inhabitants and explains the secret of his power.[1]

Of St. Columba it is said that he subjected himself to the severest discipline and strictest austerities, and his followers were evidently animated by a like spirit. Adamnan, his biographer, mentions several cases. A certain Baitan of Pictish descent, as shown by his name,

[1] Indeed, the importation of Eastern ideas can be traced more precisely. The Felire of Oengus mentions seven Egyptian monks as buried at Disert Ulidh. Petrie (*Round Towers*, p. 138) thinks that return pilgrimages by the Egyptians to Ireland were not uncommon in the fifth and sixth centuries. The clue may be found in a writer of Charlemagne's reign, who expressly mentions that Orientals took refuge in Ireland from the intolerance of the Eastern Emperors. Further, to this day tangible evidence exists of the transmission of Eastern ideas to the West. There are grounds for believing that the "Round Towers" and steeples of Ireland are constructed upon Syrian models. Introduced in the first instance into Northern Italy by Byzantine craftsmen and handed on by artists across the Alps to Charlemagne's court, they speedily won recognition and were appropriated in the West. This admits of being certified and historically verified. Their survival in Ireland is doubtlessly due to the immunity enjoyed by the Irish from the inroads which laid the architectural models of Middle and Southern Europe in ruin. Mr. Leader Scott, however (*Cathedral Builders*, London, 1899), maintains that Christian architecture generally was the descendant of Roman

Niath Tolorg,[2] decides to seek a solitude in the sea, namely, a desert island where he may live a hermit. Virgno (*i.e.*, Fergno) rowed over from Ireland to the coast of Scotland and remained for the rest of his days in the island of Hinba.[3] He completed twelve years more in Muirbulcmar,[4] practising a similar course of mortifications. A similar severity and spiritual exaltation marked the penitential code of the Irish Church, and the Irish anchorite found in the Eastern type of monasticism a system admirably adapted to satisfy his soul's needs and aspirations. But the shores of Britain were too narrow for the super-abundant energies of the Irish monks. Impelled by their inborn propensity for travel, they found sufficient outlet on the Continent of Europe, which furnishes several examples of these prodigies of Celtic rigour. Such was Muiredach Mac Robertaig, better known as Marianus Scotus, one of the brilliant galaxy of

architecture, and that the chief nucleus of the survival of the latter was the Comacine school of Master Builders. So-called "Byzantine" art was really the art of the Empire; it happened to develop peculiarities which differentiate it from classical Art that preceded it, and Gothic that followed it, after the removal of the seat of Empire to Byzantium. It survived longer in Ireland and in the Eastern Empire because there were fewer incursions. He traces even the characteristically Celtic interlaced patterns to the Como school.

[2] Niath Champion.

[3] *Adamnan*, lib. i, c. 20, cf. c. 49; ii, 42. There were many Irish anchorites in the islands off the coast of Scotland. Cormac úa Liathain "tribus non minus vicibus eremum in oceano laboriose quaesivit, nec tamen invenit". *Adamnan*, i, 6. Ailbe wished to retire "ad insulam tile (Thule) in occiano positam. *Life of Ailbe*, c. 41. Twelve years was the usual term of monastic penance in Ireland.

[4] Perhaps Hinba. This island may well be Eileann-na-Naoimh, The Isle of Saints, where ruins of a church and three beehive-shaped cells are to be seen.

scholars reared in mediæval Ireland. An enclosed anchorite, he drew up rules for the guidance of those who like him preferred to live in entire seclusion from the world. Mortagh, another Irishman, settled as a recluse at Obermünster. Findan, a native of Leinster in the ninth century, took up his abode at Rheinau, near Schaffhausen. Accompanied by several companions, he had started in 846 on a pilgrimage through Gaul, Alemannia, and Lombardy, and brought his wanderings to a close at Rheinau. The mortifications that he observed almost pass belief; but he was rewarded by celestial visions and voices speaking an old Irish dialect.[1] Johannes, one of Robertaig's companions, deeply tinctured with the same sombre notions, settled at Göttweich, in Austria, practised like rigid observances all his life long, and there died. Ullan, a brother of Fursey, after long probation in a monastery, became a solitary in France.

The landmark in the history of the pilgrim movement to Jerusalem was the expedition of the Empress Helena. The history of her pious enterprise in 326 or 328, commonly called Inventio Crucis, gained a remarkable popularity and enjoyed a wide circulation. The temper of the age was uncritical and the account was readily accepted without demur. The Welshmen thought they had a special reason for taking an interest in this most Christian sovereign, because of her supposed connection with their country, a tradition or story, however, which arose from confusing her with her British namesake, the consort of Maximus, known in Welsh history as Maxen Wledig. The identification, however unwarranted, disposed the British race in her favour, and the imaginary

[1] The oldest manuscript relating to these Irishmen, however, belongs to the tenth century.

relationship could not fail to inspire the wish to participate in their countrywoman's honour. Welsh fabulists wove around her name a tissue of legends.[1] Gwerfyl Mechain for example, in a poem entitled, *In defence of woman*, classes Helen among the world's religious heroines:—

"Y gwir a ddwedodd i gyd
Elen ferch Coel a elwynt
Gwraig Constans a gofal gynt
Y groes lle llas yr Jesu."[2]

The Queen figures in a poem on St. Winifred.

Y Groglith tells how the Cross was restored to the adoration of the world[3]:—

> "On the twenty-eighth day of the second month, Helen came, bringing a great host, to the city of Jerusalem. There they gathered together a large multitude of the Jews, not from the city itself, but from round about the city, and from other cities, wherever their dwelling-place might be. Jerusalem was then a wilderness, so much so that there were not found there save three thousand men in number. Then the Queen said to the multitude: 'I have learnt in the books of the prophets, that our beloved God belonged to your nation, and that ye rejected wisdom. Consequently ye came by the curse that is written in your law. Choose now from among you the number that know your law best and let them answer the questions I ask them."

The Queen expostulated at their delay:—

> "They again became afraid, wrangling among themselves, and choosing the number of one thousand men,

[1] Cf., "Diboen (or Elen) ferch Coel Codebog
I gred a gafas y grog."
Coel, "Old King Cole".

[2] *Ymhlaid y gwragedd.* "Danhosiad y bu llawer o wragedd neu ferched yn fwy eu rhinweddau na gwyr ac am gamfarnu gonestrwydd merch." B Mus. 31, 106, f. 30.

[3] Peniarth MSS. The White Book, 6a-10a. It may be the lessons of the Second Nocturn for that day, in some Breviary. The Tridentine Roman, the Paris and the Le Mans Breviaries tell the story rather briefly.

brought them to Helen to bear testimony for them, because they were skilled in the law. Then Helen said to them: 'Hearken to my words, and receive my speech into your ears. Do ye not understand in the books of the prophets how the Passion of Christ was foretold? . . . . Choose now from among you the number that will answer accurately, and that know the law, that ye may be able to answer me and my questions'. Then she commanded the Knights to watch them keenly."

Unable to overcome their reluctance, Helen quickens their zeal:—

"While they were coming, Helen thought she would not find the truth from them . . . Then the Queen commanded them to be burnt, and from fear of this they put Judas in her hands, and told her that he was the just prophet that knew the law well. 'This man, lady', said they, 'will show thee thy heart's desire.' And all affirmed the same. The rest, all of them, Helen let go, but kept Judas[1] himself with her, and told him that it lay with him to choose whether to live or die, and bade him choose.

"'It is', said Judas, 'about two hundred years from that time to this, and how could we, being young, know aught thereof?'"

She is as good as her word:—

"Then she commanded that he should be placed in a cave in a dry spot and shut up there until the end of seven days. At the end of the seven days he cried aloud from the cave, and prayed to be taken out, saying he would show the Cross of Christ. When he came out of the cave, he walked to the place where the Cross of Christ lay, and lifted up his voice in the Hebrew tongue."

"And when Judas finished his prayer, the earth trembled, and a great smoke arose therefrom, and from this again precious odours, so that they thought it was precious perfume. And Judas clapped his hands for joy, and spoke: 'Of a truth Thou art Christ, the Saviour of the World; remember me and take away my sins, and number

[1] The legend makes him the son of Simon and brother of Stephen the Martyr. He warned the Jews not to tell Helen, for if she learnt the secret all the ordinances of their law would be destroyed.

me with Stephen, my brother, who was accounted among the number of Thy Twelve Apostles.' When he had said this, he took a sword, and dug among the rubbish; after digging twenty feet he found three crosses hidden, and took them to the city.

"Then Helen asked which of them was the cross of Christ. And at the hour of noon a young man was brought in dead. 'See, dearest lady', said they, 'thou shalt know the Tree of the Cross and its power'. So they placed each of the two crosses on the dead, and he rose not. When Judas placed the Cross of the Lord on the dead, the young man at once rose up alive, and those that saw it praised God also. And there the envious Devil was ever shrieking in the air above their heads with great fury: 'Who is this', said he 'that does not suffer me to take the souls of mine own? Thou, O Jesus of Nazareth, hast drawn all to Thee, and this is the Tree that Thou hast shown against me. Thou hast done this, Judas. Was it not a Judas likewise, through whom I fulfilled the treason formerly, and roused the people to iniquity? And now through a Judas I am cast down. I will cause another King to arise, who shall leave the Crucified one, and shall follow after me.'"

"Helen marvelled at hearing them and at Judas's faith. Then Helen commended him to the Bishop that was then in Jerusalem. And before he went away, the soul of the Bishop went to Christ, and Helen sought for a bishop there. Now Eusebius, the Bishop of Rome, ordained Judas bishop in Jerusalem, and took away his name and called him Genriacus."[1]

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[1] Helen ordered that the Inventio Crucis should be commemorated on May 3rd, *y trydydd wedy calan Mei*. *Y Greglith*, s. 27. Hence *Gwyl y Grog ym Mai* in the Calendars. This must be distinguished from *Dydd Gwyl y Grog*, or *Dydd Gwyl y Grog yn y Cynhauaf* (autumn), namely, *Holy Cross Day*, or the *Exaltation of the Cross*.

The 14th of September is in the Calendars of Christendom (Lat.) Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis, (Greek) ἡ παγκόσμιος Ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ, (Anglican) Holy Cross Day. The Synaxarion in the Greek Menaion for 14th September says nothing about Heraclius and the Persians, but only tells how St. Helen discovered the Cross, and how Macarios, Patriarch (he was only Bishop really) came, and "lifted up the Holy Cross, and when the people saw it they began to cry out, 'Lord, have mercy on us', and from that time

To face p. 93.

Pilgrims Entering Bethlehem on Christmas Day.

The True Cross drew devout souls from all quarters of Europe but their devotions were rudely interrupted in the year 611, when Jerusalem was captured and sacked by the Persian King, Khosrull. It was not the Persians' fault if the great churches reared by Helen and Constantine were not given over to the flames. As it was, the destruction was sufficiently appalling; no less a number than 90,000 Christians perished, but a greater loss was sustained in the seizure of the Cross, which was carried off to Persia. There it remained until the year 628, when the holy relic was restored amid transports of joy.

That the Holy Land would possess a growing fascination for the Celtic inhabitants of Britain might be conjectured from what we know of Celtic character, quickness of apprehension and impressibility, and the passion for the acquisition of knowledge. It would be strange were such a temperament insensible to the charms of a land so rich in historic memories, so replete in abiding associations. St. Jerome, in the letter previously alluded to, bears unequivocal testimony in the presence of British pilgrims in the Holy Land. "The Briton divided from our world",[1] says this author, "if he has made any progress in religion,

forth the Holy Festival of the Exaltation prevailed". But the Horologion, in its extracts from the Menaia, adds that the Persians took the Cross (or rather the part of it that had been left in Jerusalem, for Constantine had taken part of it to Constantinople) when they left Palestine in 614, and carried it to their own country. "Afterwards, in the year 628, Heraclius took the field against them, recovered the Holy Cross, and brought it to Constantinople." The Roman Breviary speaks only of the taking of the Cross by Chosroes, and its recovery by Heraclius, keeping the Finding on May 3rd. The Jacobites and Nestorians keep the Finding only on 13th September, which is the προεόρτια τῆς Ὑψώσεως κ.τ.λ. in the Byzantine rite. According to Gibbon, Chosroes died in February, 628, and Heraclius did not actually obtain the Cross until after his death.

[1] A quotation from Virgil, *Ecl. I*, 67.

leaves the West, seeks a place known only to him by fame, and the religion of the Scriptures." Later in the same epistle, he observes: "They meet together at the places and exhibit to us a specimen of various virtues. Their language is indeed different, but their religion is the same. There are almost as many choirs of psalm-singers as there are diversities of nations". The same author proceeds to specify the route taken by British pilgrims:—

> "Notwithstanding, the Britons visited Rome in connection with other nations, and, setting sail from Portus Romanus, not only passed over into Palestine, but even to the neighbouring Syria, whither they were attracted by the fame of Simeon Stylites."[5]

The reference is too explicit to be dismissed as a mere rhetorical utterance.

The history of Pelagius in the fifth century presents to view another aspect of the pilgrim movement, namely the stimulus imparted by pilgrimages to the spirit of intellectual enquiry. It has been assumed that Pelagius was a Briton, and that his name equated with the name Morgan. That view is no longer tenable. Cogent reasons have been adduced to show that he was of Irish extraction, but whether born in Ireland or not, is still uncertain.[1] Orosius calls him "Britannus noster"[2]; Prosper of Aquitaine, "Coluber Britannus"[3]; Marius Mercator, "gente Britannus"[4]; Gennadius "Pelagius Britto". Augustine calls him Brito, to distinguish him from Pelagius of Tarentum.[5] A lay monk, he settled at Rome at the end of the fourth century. He had spent a life of religious regularity and brought with him a reputa-

[1] A Scot, probably born in Britain. Bury, in *Hermathena*, vol. 30, p. 26.

[2] *Apol.* [3] *Carm. de ingrat.* [4] *Commonit.*

[5] *Epist. I*, 186.

tion for sanctity and knowledge of the Scriptures. He is the one heretic that can be claimed by the Romano-British Church. He had followed a speculative Syrian, named Rufinus, in questioning the "necessity of prevenient grace", which was then being eloquently developed by St. Augustine. The theory by which he leapt into notoriety is one of the most interesting that can engage the human mind. Never a hot-headed propagandist himself, this contemplative soul attached to his views a Scot, that is to say, in the language of the day, an Irishman,[1] who, having practised as a pleader in the Roman law-courts, now espoused the cause with all the enthusiasm of a proselyte, and wrote with all the fury of an apostate. St. Jerome, in an outburst of temper, stigmatises the lieutenant, with characteristic bluntness, as an Albine cur, reared on Scotch porridge. Pelagius's purpose in going to the East was to visit the scenes of early Christianity, and to acquaint himself with a more perfect discipline. There he made the acquaintance of Jerome, who for some time extended to him his friendship; but his glaring departure from ecclesiastical orthodoxy cost Pelagius the friendship of the Saint, who expressed his opinion in trenchant terms.[2] It was after he had been in the East and had learnt Greek (his opponent Orosius failed in his impeachment from imperfect command of that language) that the Pelagian controversy broke out in all its violence. Pelagius's life reveals the extensive intercourse between the widest extremes of the Roman Empire and the range of the heresiarch's intellectual activity. His views compelled the attention of the Church from Carthage to York, from Cadiz to Jerusalem.

[1] Ceallach. O'Connor, *Rerum Hiberniae Script. Vet.* tom. i, p. 74.

[2] Pelagius's own letter to Pope Innocent I, A.D. 402-417, appears among St. Augustine's works.

Sicily, Africa, Syria, and Asia Minor saw him personally engaged in disseminating his views. Still more ardent, energetic and bold was his lieutenant and champion, Celestius. A lawyer by training, with a true Hibernian[1] faculty for agitation, this turbulent spirit's travels would be regarded as extraordinary, even by a modern tourist. Penetrating to the most distant parts of the East, he took counsel with the celebrated Theodore of Mopsuestia.[2] He was not long in embroiling himself with the authority of the Church. Upon his seeking admission to the priesthood, the doctrines of this son of thunder came under discussion at Carthage, and were formally condemned. The proceedings derive their chief interest from the fact that they brought St. Augustine on the scene. The pronouncements of the Doctor of the West, and of St. Jerome were decisive in the councils of the theological world of the day and sealed Celestius' fate. But the culprit had not shot his last arrow. The Nestorian dispute, which began in 431, and dwarfed even the Pelagian question into insignificance, offered him a fresh field for the exercise of his talent. At the Council of Ephesus, he bearded the Pope, threw his influence into the scale on the side of Nestorius against his Roman rival, and finally met at the hands of the divines assembled at Ephesus, the usual fate of the defeated party—excommunication.[3]

The names of Pelagius and his disciples have emerged from the obscurity of the age in which they lived entirely or largely through the heated discussions to which their tenets gave rise. That they were the only Britons who found their way to the East at that day is in the light of

[1] It has been recently maintained that he was of Italian origin.

[2] Missis, in Asia Minor.

[3] Caspari attributes to Agricola the writings by a British Pelagian which he has edited in *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten*, 1890,

the facts already adduced inherently improbable. Nothing forbids the assumption that in the times of the Fathers pilgrimages for the purpose of devotion and self-culture were often undertaken; but few personal memorials have survived. The lives of the Saints introduce us to celebrities whose history is closely identified, at any rate in popular belief, with the Holy Land. The journeys occur with suspicious frequency and the biographers are not too solicitous about anachronisms; but Montalembert roundly and rightly asserts that the Palestine pilgrimage finds a place in the lives of almost every Cambrian or Irish Saint. The multitudinous and concordant testimony cannot be lightly set aside. Scottish saints are said to have made the pilgrimage at an earlier period. Unquestionably there is need for the exercise of scrupulous caution in accepting these accounts. The fabrication of such documents with an eye to a controversial triumph, which forms an untoward but not uncommon feature of the literature of the Middle Ages, must not be overlooked. This well-known licence might be invoked to explain away all stories, of the kind, within the limits of reasonable hypothesis; scepticism, however, may be carried too far. Antecedently it is probable that the early saints made pilgrimages to Egypt, possibly including Palestine in their itinerary. If we deduct the palpably mythological element in the Lives of the Welsh saints Padarn, Teilo, and Dewi, for example, and the account of Dewi's consecration at Jerusalem (which bears evidence of having been composed for a polemical purpose) there may yet remain a substratum of truth. There is, therefore, a presumption in favour of the belief that many of these stories, when stripped of all embellishments, embody a reminiscence of pilgrimages possibly to Jerusalem or to the East, more probably to Egypt. The biographer would see Jerusalem

in everything, and either draw upon his imagination, or convey to his pages the popular ideas of the time. Authentic personal memorials are slender, and the Lives of these worthies fragmentary; but where history sheds so vague and flickering a light, it is impossible to dogmatize.

That nebulous figure, Arthur the Gwledig, whose exploits stimulated the mythopœic ingenuity of the Celt, is also associated with the Holy Land. Tradition, no doubt for spectacular effect, represents him as going to Jerusalem. The ancient historian found little difficulty in accepting the account.[1] This belief is reflected in Welsh poetry. The *Black Book of Carmarthen* similarly refers to Jerusalem :—

"Y gur nim guelas beunit
Y tebic ygur deduit
Ba hid eidy aphandoit.
Ban deuaw o caer seon
O imlat ac itewon
Itaw caer lev a gwidion."[2]

These pilgrimages, which belong to the early centuries of the Christian era, were but a prelude to a vast move-

[1] To invest his hero with a halo of sanctity, Nennius states that Arthur went to Jerusalem and there made a cross of the same size as the True Cross, and for three successive days fasted and prayed for victory over the Pagans. "Pieces of the Cross", adds the historian, "are still preserved with great veneration at Wedale" (The Valley of grief, in the province of Lothian.) Nennius, xv Script., 115.

[2] Skene, xxxv, ii, p. 56, *Black Book of Carmarthen*, a dialogue between Taliesin and Ugnach son of Mydno. The poem refers to Gwydion ap Don, his Gwyddyl and the Brithwyr. It has been rendered as follows :—

"Thou who hast not seen me daily,
And who resemblest a prudent man,
How long wilt thou absent thyself, and when wilt thou come?
When I come return from Caer Seon,
From contending with Jews,
I will come to Caer Lleu and Gwidion."

Somewhere near Manau Guotodin.

ment towards the Holy Land. We are graphically told that in the century immediately preceding the Crusades the roads to Palestine were "black with pilgrims", and that they hailed from all parts of Christendom.

The monks who visited distant scenes or shrines made, as we have seen, a point of acquiring a stock of relics and a motley collection of such spiritual wares as might surprise and please their countrymen at home. Regulus brought back the "relics of St. Andrew". The arrival of this "pilgrim from Constantinople" with his precious burden, was the signal for an outburst of religious fervour and popular rejoicing.

> "The monk met the king with relics of the Apostle St. Andrew (which he had brought with him thence) at the gate at which is called Matha, that is, Mordurus. The citizens and the strangers having mutually greeted each other, pitched their tents in the place where now stands the king's palace. Thereupon, the king, Ungus by name, assigned this spot and this city to Almighty God and to the Holy Apostle St. Andrew in perpetuity, that it might be the chief and mother of all the churches which are in the Kingdom of the Picts. To this city pilgrims flock, palmers from Jerusalem, Romans, Greeks, Armenians, Teutons, Germans, Saxons, Danes, Gallicans, French, Englishmen, Britons; men and women, rich and poor, the sick and the whole, lame and blind, on horseback and in carriages."

Legend was busy with a thousand tales and posthumous miracles wrought at this tomb.

> "Through the mercies of God, to the honour and glory of His noble Apostle, Saint Andrew, they are speedily cured. Virtues, signs, and numberless marvels has the Lord performed by His Holy Apostle St. Andrew, performs, and will yet perform, which cannot be written down here."

The shrine became a centre from which missionary efforts radiated.[1]

[1] Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 1867, p. 140, the oldest document containing the legend (twelfth century). Acca, who succeeded Wilfrid as bishop of Hagustald, was an enthusiastic collector of relics and books, and translated those of St. Andrew to Hexham.

The following episode in the history of Wales possesses a three-fold interest as illustrating the thoughts which the Holy Land inspired, the store set by relics, and the union between religion and patriotism in the Church before the Reformation. Among the Welsh relics none was more precious than the Croes Naid. Edward I showed a keen knowledge of national characteristics when he made up his mind to gain possession, at any cost, of this memorial. Already he had brought to London what the Scotch kings most valued, the Coronation Stone, which, so long as it remained beyond the Border, served as an emblem of Scotch independence, and a rallying-point for planting the standard of rebellion. The King pursued a similar course in dealing with Wales. He determined to seize the Croes Naid, adorned with gold, silver, and jewels, which was regarded by the Welsh as a national palladium, and carried before the princes of Wales. It derived its special sanctity from the fact that in it was encased a fragment of the True Cross, brought by a priest, Neotus, from the Holy Land.[1]

The poets were not behind the Church in paying the relic reverence, and their allusions afford a criterion of the popular estimation in which it was held. Thus, for example, Lewis Mon salutes Dafydd ap Gwilym :—

> "Mal Croes Naid rhaid dy fawrhau,
> Maen gwyr ereill, man greigiau,"

Dafydd uses the affirmation,

[1] The best known saint of that name was said to be a brother of King Alfred, and had a hermitage at St. Neot's, in Cornwall, but there is no evidence to connect him with the Croes Naid.

The name *cathach* (lit. warlike or warrior) was applied to certain relics used as battle-standards of the Irish tribes, e.g. Columba's famous Psalter (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 310); the same saint's *bachall* (or pastoral staff) "Cathbuaid", "Battle Victory"; a cross of hazel wood given by Caillin to the Conmaicne.

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"Myn Croes Naid o fro Eidal."[1]

and similarly Lewis Glyn Cothi :—

"Cerddoriaeth sy'n waeth, myn Croes Naid !
Canu a phrydu, myn bedd Sain Ffraid."

The potency of this relic is emphasized by Dafydd Llwyd ap Llewelyn ap Gruffydd Vychan :—

"A oes Grupl ag ysgreppan
Na dall nac angall na gwan
Yn ymbil er Sain Silin[2]
Ac er y gwaed a wnair o'r gwin[3]
Ac er y Grog aur y Grwys[4]
Am un geiniog mae'n gynwys
Na bu yn cyru naw côr
Druthiwr well draw wrth Allor
Gresyn oedd na chai Croes naid
I gynnull da rhag enaid."[5]

An awdl in honour of Sir Rhys ap Thomas contains a similar reference :—

"Am haul tangnef nefir henafiaid ebryw
O Abram Fendigaid
am vair yw vymyfyriaid
ywch rys[6] inerth a chroes naid.

"Ophrwm yr groc gophraid[7] yn Wyntmestr
nantmor[8] ych pennkeirddiaid
oes bawb heb drai ne ysbaid
oes gaer ai ysgwieriaid.

"Mibion llaw roddion llariddiaid yr rain
rinwedd blaenoriaid
ar holl wlad ai phreladiaid
ai haur ai chwyr yn ych rraid."

"Rhys Nantmor ai kant."[9]

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[1] "Quae ideo Neoti dicitur, quod per quendam sacerdotem sic vocatum antiquitus de terra sancta fuit in Walliam deportata": "Crux dicta Neoti, magnam de ligno crucis Christi continens portionem." Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae.* It afterwards came to betoken a safeguard, as in the line "Croes Naid ar gadbeniaid wyt".

[2] Or Sulien, founder of Llansilin, Wrexham and Eglwys Sulien.

[3] In the Mass. [4] Cross. Cf., the old English spelling "Croys".

[5] Llanstephan, MS. 133, "Cywyddau a fu rhwng . . . ynghylch kymhortha", according to a note in Llanstephan, MS. 156, f. 301. Another copy appears in MS. 155, f. 53. The poet lived in Richard the Third's time.

[6] Sir Rhys ap Thomas. [7] A coffer full.

[8] Rhys Nantmor.

[9] British Museum, Add. 14, 902, f. 5.

The relic had shared in the popular mind the veneration paid to the supposed Arthur's Crown, the object of diligent search down to the late Middle Ages. The quest was alleged to have been crowned with success. In the year 1283, according to the "Waverley Annals", the crown of the celebrated King Arthur (who was long held in the greatest reverence by the Welsh) was offered, together with other precious jewels, to the sovereign lord (Edward I), and thus the glory of the Welsh was unwillingly transferred to the English. Nothing, therefore, but the seizure of the Croes Naid could quench the smouldering embers of rebellion and crush the national spirit. Fortune favoured the King. When Llewelyn ap Gruffydd fell at Aberedw, a reliquary containing the relic was found on his body. How it passed into the hands of the English King remains uncertain. A document signed by the King at Rhuddlan, on June 25th, 1283, states that Avian, Llewelyn, David, Meyler, Gronow, Dayhoc, and Tegnaret delivered it up, and grants them and their heirs certain privileges.[1] On the other hand, an extant[2] official record attributes the surrender of the relic to a certain Hugh ap Ithel, probably Llewelyn's secretary. The statements may be reconciled, if we suppose that it was concealed for a while and actually presented by the abovementioned chieftains. The incident is vividly and pathetically described in the Chronicle of the Abbey of Aberconwy.[3]

The next year saw the relic solemnly presented by the

[1] Pro Anyano filio Ynor et aliis qui detulerunt ad regem partem illam pretiosissimi ligni crucis quae a Wallensibus vocatur Croysseneyht habeant hanc libertatem quod non teneantur in aliquo exercitu reges sequi extra quatuor cantreda. *Rot. Wall.*, 2 Edw. I, m.i. Rymer, i, 63; Haddan and Stubbs, i, 549.

[2] *Wardrobe Account*, 1284. Hugoni ab Ythel, clerico qui detulit crucem Neith ad regem, studenti Oxonie percipienti per ebdomadam

King to Westminster Abbey, and exposed, partly as a token of conquest, partly for the veneration of the citizens of London. His forecast was verified and his hopes fulfilled; the loss proved the Ichabod of Welsh liberties, and struck dismay into the hearts of the Welsh race. The significance of the transaction is borne out by the circumstance that so many contemporary[4] authorities allude to the event.[5]

Passing to later times, various evidences exist of visits paid by pilgrims hailing from the Borders of Wales.[6]

de elemosina regis xij denarios pro vadiis suis. See *Tablet*, July 1st, 1911, p. 19.

[3] Harleian MSS., 3725 f. 50. *Epitome Historiæ Britanniæ*, Cott. Lib. Titus, d. xxii, f. 34.

"Cujus caput Londinias fuit missum, et super turrem affixum. Igitur Wallenses territi sunt et turbati ultra modum de morte predicti Principis reddiderunt domino Edwardo Regi Anglie omnia Castra Northwalliae, una cum portiuncula pretiose Crucis Dominice, Cambrice vero dicta Cros de Neth, cum multis aliis famosis reliquiis. Reddiderunt etiam Coronam famosissimi Arthuri quondam regis Brittannie; et sic gloria Wallie et etiam Wallensium regibus et magnatibus Anglie translata est.

[4] For example, the *Flores Historiarum*, the *Annales Londonienses* and *Bishanger*.

[5] See *The Tablet*, June 1 and 17, 1911. The fate of the relic is merged in obscurity. It has been conjectured with much plausibility that it was treated by the King as private property, for, on October 16th, 1300, the Bishop of Glasgow swore fealty to the King in Cumberland on the "Croys Neyt" and the "Blake Rode" of Scotland (*Fœdera*, vol. i, p. 924). Next it appeared at St. Helens, *Annales Londinienses*. Ultimately, it found its way back to Westminster, as appears from the following entries in the inventory of the King's Treasurer. "Un saphire de la croice Gneyth, £50," 12th Edward III, and "Clavem de cruce Gneyth", six years later. In 25th Ed. III, sureties are given on behalf of a goldsmith "for making a foot of gold and silver to the 'Croys Neyht'". It was on this relic that Gaveston swore never to set foot again in England.

[6] *Annales Cambriae*, A.D. 1144. Peregrini de Dyvet et Keredigaun submersi sunt. *Annales Cambriae*, A.D. 1128, furnishes an instance of the pilgrimage of penance. Morgan, son of Cadwgan, having killed his brother Maredudd, went to Jerusalem, and, on his way back died at Cyprus.

A few may be mentioned here. The *Llyfr Baglan* refers to a resident of the Mynde, in the parish of Much Dewchurch in Herefordshire. "The said John Pye[1] was at Rome, at Jerusalem, and at the sepulchre of Christ. He did the twenty four acts of Chivalry which few men could do them all."[2] This was in the fifteenth century. The East window at St. John's the Evangelist's Chapel at Ludlow, a fine specimen of fifteenth century work, records a quaint legend relating to two pilgrims.

"Two palmers or pilgrims from Ludlow, while on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, were on their journey benighted in a wood. There they were met by a beggar, who told them he was St. John the Evangelist, and that a short while previously he had, in the same garb, asked alms from King Edward the Confessor, who, having at that moment nothing else to give, bestowed on him a ring from his finger. St. John bade them return the ring to the King, and tell him that in six months after receiving it he would be with him in Paradise. This they did afterwards on their return to England." The wanderings of the Apostle had been foreshadowed in the Early Church in the words, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" The window affords an interesting insight into the habits and feelings of the pre-Reformation Church. It represents the stages of the blue-robed pilgrims' progress. They are first seen kneeling upon the

[1] Originally Pugh.

[2] These were. 1, Cryfder; 2, Ymrafael; 3, Rhedeg; 4, Neidio; 5, Nofio; 6, Marchogaeth; 7, Saethu; 8, Chwareu cleddeu a bwcled; 9, Chwareu cleddeu deuddwrn; 10, Chwareu ffon ddwybig; 11, Hela a milgi; 12, Hela pysg; 13, Hela aderyn; 14, Barddoniaeth; 15, Canu telyn; 16, Darllain Cymraeg; 17, Canu cywydd gan dant; 18, Canu cywydd pedwar ac accenu; 19, Darluniadu; 20, Arwydd farddoniaeth; 21, Chwareu gwyddbwyll; 22, Chwareu tawlbwrdd; 23, Chwareu ffristial; 24, Bwrw rhif or Canu telyn.

deck of a ship, with hands outstretched in supplication. The next scene portrays the beggar at the feet of the King, and in the act of receiving the ring. Next, the beggar appears receiving and greeting the travellers on their arrival, amid a profusion of golden and silver fruits. He bids the strangers carry back with them the solemn token. Other panels describe the pair executing their mysterious errand, and, last of all, the reception of the pilgrims by their fellow-townsmen, with the usual ceremonies, the kiss of peace, and the festal meal.[1]

But in speaking of these fifteenth century pilgrims, we have anticipated. It remains to point out an important crisis in the movement, in the ninth century, when the world was startled by the news of an alleged miracle. On Easter Eve, heavenly fire had descended upon the Holy Sepulchre.[2] Fanatical fervour hereupon reached its zenith; and parties of pilgrims started one after another in hot succession. A still more awful impression and more powerful incentive arose from the prevalent belief that the Second Advent was near. The whole of Christendom was

[1] Bunyan, it will be remembered, made use of this symbolical giving of the ring in his *Pilgrim's Progress*. The custom is common in pilgrim legends.

[2] The present annual ceremony was probably a survival from the Latin Kingdom, when the ceremony of striking New Fire on Easter Eve from a flint and steel (which takes place now in the porch of every Catholic Church of the Latin rite throughout the world) was probably introduced. It was originally Celtic, did not reach Rome until the eighth or ninth century, and is not known in the Byzantine rite except at Jerusalem. Only the very ignorant peasants believe it to be an annual miracle. At the same time, an apparent miracle of fire was always possible in a country where petroleum is found, as in Palestine. This would account for the Naphthar story in II Maccabees i, 19-36, for the fire-balls at the attempted re-building of the Temple by Julian the Apostate, and for the miracle attributed to one of the early Bishops when the oil for the lamps expired on Easter Eve, and he told his sacristan to draw water from a well.

fluttering with the expectation of immediate judgment. Everyone looked forward to the summons which would wake the dead, and cut short the course of a sin-laden world. Popular excitement is reflected in the language in which documents were couched. Deeds, contracts, and charters opened with the words, "The end of the world being at hand". Earthly vanities dwindled into insignificance in the presence of the supreme and inevitable catastrophe.[1] All were seized with a passionate longing to be present at Christ's appearing, to find pardon for sins and salvation for the soul. First came the poor and working classes. These were followed by a multitude of all ranks, who came to offer up their prayers at the Tomb of Christ. Bishops abandoned their dioceses, and princes their dominions. This world-wide manifestation inspired awe and admiration even in the infidel, and the persecutions of pilgrims ceased. The notion arose from a confused theory of the Millennium. When the dreaded epoch passed away, when the seasons proceeded with their usual regularity, and the world resumed its normal course, gratitude succeeded to fear, and the flood-gates of religious emotion were again flung open. The faithful now were seized with a desire to offer up thanksgiving to the Almighty for having saved the world a second time, and the current set towards the East in greater volume than ever. The movement received a temporary check in 1018 through an outburst of fanacticism on the part of the Caliph Hakem Biamr'illah, and Welsh annals, such as *Brut y Tywysogion* or *Annales Cambriae*, and the pages of

[1] A similar excitement, making ordinary avocations appear a grand impertinence and issuing in widespread misery, has occurred at various times e.g. in the first century (II *Thessalonians*, c. 2, and St. Paul's reproof, c. 3, v. 6), in the fifth, and the middle of the eighteenth.

Matthew Paris, contain brief but significant entries, such as: Eodem tempore ad VII milia hominum, orandi gratia Jerosolimam petentes, ab Arabibus in Parasceue obsessi in quodam castro, caesi sunt, et totidem letaliter vulnerati.

CHAPTER VI.

The Crusades.

The Crusades unfold a tragic scroll of human history, and possess a varied interest to those engaged in tracing the progress and fluctuations of the Pilgrim Movement. First of all, they were in themselves pilgrimages under arms. This thought constantly recurs in the pages of the Chroniclers of the campaigns. Ostensibly, at any rate, pious motives in all cases prompted the enterprise, and thousands of ardent and devout souls readily responded to the call to the deliverance of the Holy Land. Crusaders were not only signed with the cross on the shoulder, but also assumed the scarf and staff of pilgrimage. Chaplains who recited the Divine Office, sang Mass and preached, accompanied the Crusading hosts. Sometimes, indeed, "valiant clerks" performed feats of bravery in the field. To the inducements of the crusading enterprise must be added the earthly glory awaiting the warrior of the Cross, the homage paid to him at Court and tournament, the knowledge that neither minstrel nor priest would suffer the theme to grow cold, the lavish promises of bequests and rewards in life, and honourable burial after death. In short, the Crusades amounted to a general application, on a colossal scale, of the institution of pilgrimages to Palestine, which the inhabitants of Europe had been for centuries performing.

The movement was accentuated and accelerated by the news that was constantly reaching Europe. Harrowing

accounts of the sufferings undergone by the pilgrims were retailed, losing none of their vividness in the dismal recital, and roused a tumult of indignation. The pilgrim was an object of veneration, and wrong offered to his person, injury to his property, or any infraction of his rights was more heinous than when inflicted on ordinary men. The interruption of the sacred offices at the altars of the Holy Land, the compulsion to conceal every external emblem of the Faith, the banishment, by the rude Turcoman who ruled in Jerusalem, of the Christian from his churches and their transformation into mosques, the insults heaped on Christian wayfarers, and (yet harder to bear) the outrages done to the Holy Places—all these horrors branded themselves upon the soul of Christendom. The cry, "Have pity on the Holy Land beyond the sea", well voiced the sentiments that animated the Crusading hosts. The exhortations of Peter the Hermit, laden with passion and bristling with horrors, fanned the flame already kindled or smouldering beneath the surface.[1] The Chief Pontiff hastened to arm and bless the forces of Christendom, which accordingly flung prudence to the winds, and started, little aware of the melancholy destinies for which they were reserved. Fifty thousand Christians bound themselves by an oath to follow the successor of St. Peter to Constantinople; the Cross, supported by heroic hands, could not fail soon to replace the Crescent; and the Holy Land would be swept clean of all Saracen dominion. Every heart beat high and every voice re-echoed the solemn hope instilled by the inspired

[1] The expedition projected, but not carried out, by Gregory VII was primarily not for the recovery of the Holy Places (though he mentioned the "Sepulchrum Domini" in the letter in which he speaks of 50,000 men being ready to follow him), but to uphold the Eastern Empire against the attacks of the Seljouk Turks.

hermit. The popular imagination was further dazzled by another rumour which ran like wildfire through Europe, and added fuel to inflammable imagination, namely, that a part of Asia was already Christianised, and that Prester John, a powerful sovereign of Tartary, had compelled his subjects to embrace the precepts of the Gospel.[1]

Such then was the general spirit that fired the Crusaders. But inducements of a more mundane and mercenary character mingled with these noble aims. In the first place, the fierce pastime of war offered a stimulus. Ever the favourite occupation of the feudal chieftain's life, this indulgence could now be pursued under the sanction of religion. The thirst for revenge, the rivalry of military leaders, and the impoverishment caused by the ruinous outlay, into which even individuals plunged in aid of the common cause, the hope of replenishing their depleted coffers, concurred to feed the lust of conquest. Behind all, lay the instinct of self-preservation. The over-shadowing war-cloud in the East, the thought of stemming the Mahommedan invasion and rolling back the tide of Asiatic encroachment, was never absent from the minds of the statesmen of the Middle Ages, and constituted as powerful an incentive as the desire to wrest the Holy Places from the hand of the unbeliever. Whatever view may be taken of the eventual issue of the Crusades, certainly part of this object was achieved. If it were a worthy object on the part of the Crusaders to stave off invasion and keep the Tartar at bay, to rescue a trembling Christendom, then were the Crusades no failure; this purpose was accomplished. The Seljoukian Turks—the ever-present peril—a race of redoubtable warriors, were hurled back upon the East. Moreover, religious enthusiasm

[1] See chapter xxiv.

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was powerfully aided by the spirit of chivalry and the fantastic flights of imagination which were associated with this age of combats. The Church, never slow in recognising the importance of the chivalrous sentiment, seized on the soaring fancy of the youthful aspirant to the Order of Chivalry at the all-important moment of his inauguration. The purifications, prayers and vigils, the sacraments and vows that attended a knight's installation, raised him almost to the level of priest or monk and cast a religious character over the whole system of chivalry, and chivalry, in its essence, united some of the best aspects of mediæval life, ethical, social and religious. The Order of Chivalry thus became a ready instrument in the hand of the Pope for his prosecution of that stupendous undertaking in the Holy Land, and the finest spirits of the age responded to the call of religion and humanity.

That pitch of perfection which ecclesiastics might attain in their own province was now attainable by laymen by means of an enterprise in which their usual licence and habits of life would win them the favour of God, not less than the most unsparing austerity of the cleric or the recluse. It was, in short, a new mode of salvation, and those who were hurrying along the broad road of destruction now found that the taking of a vow converted it into the narrow and rugged path to Heaven.

But in process of time a reaction set in, as the Crusading spirit waned, and the soldiers of the Cross degenerated. The Crusader found difficulty in borrowing money if he did not renounce the privilege accorded him of not being bound to repay it until after he had returned home. Abuses also sapped the movement when the thunders of the Church ceased to influence. To the priest a crusade became a pleasant interruption of the

dull routine of parochial work, and to the monk an agreeable change from the wearisome monotony of the cloister. Yet again, the Crusades opened the prison door to the malefactor and afforded the culprit an opportunity of reconciling himself to Holy Church. For others, it was a substitute for exile. As criminals in fetters might be seen on the high roads of Europe plodding, at the order of the Bishop, to some celebrated shrine, so in like manner in the ranks of the Crusaders were to be found many who, believing that the Red Cross would cover dishonour, undertook the expedition to evade the penalties of the law.

The Sacred Wars evolved legend and language that furnish evidence. A pathetic tradition attaches to Selsker[1] Abbey in Wicklow. The story runs that Sir A. Roche of Atramount became enamoured of the daughter of a burgess of the town of Wexford. His family, wishing to cure him of the attachment, sent him on a crusade. Returning some years later to claim his bride, he found that, despairing of his reappearance (he had been reported dead), she had taken the veil. Thereupon, he himself vowed celibacy, restored the abbey, and became its first prior.[2]

The Scots were amongst the foremost to take up the challenge and gird on the sword in the Holy Cause. Robert la Chievre, singing of a knight's guest in the thirteenth century, compares him to an itinerant Scotchman—

> "Si comme Escoz qui porte sa çavate,
> De palestiaus sa chape ramendée,
> Deschaus, nus piés, affublés d'une nate,
> La cercherai par estrange contrée."[3]

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[1] A corruption of St. Sepulchre.

[2] The story of Rolandseck on the Rhine closely resembles this.

[3] *Hist. littéraire de la France*, t. xxiii, p. 752. French knights in

At the period in which Walter Scott placed Quentin Durward, the French possessed *Le livre des trois filz de roys*; c'est assavoir de France, d'Angleterre et d'Escosse, lesquelz en leur jeunesse pour la foy Crestienne soutenir au service du roy de Secille eurent de glorieuses victoires contre les Turcz.[1] Some of the Scotch contingent signalised themselves in the campaign. St. Louis, on the eve of starting for the East, sent an embassy to Scotland, and was joined by auxiliaries under Patrick, sixth Earl of Dunbar and March, David Lindsay of Glenesk, and Walter Stuart of Dundonald, "all wise and warlike". They all perished by the sword or by plague in Egypt, but their places were filled by others.[2] David, Earl of Athol, who set out with St. Louis, met with a like fate,[3] dying at Carthage in 1269. Among St. Louis's retinue during the Crusade in Tunis appears a d'Escoz and Hugues d'Écosse.[4]

The rallying cry, "Remember the Holy Sepulchre", echoed in the Welsh hills, and many of the inhabitants

their turn went to Scotland in search of adventure. *Oeuvres complètes* de Brantome, t. i, 752, col. i.

Until the time of Malcom Cean-Mor, the Scottish court was Gaelic-speaking,—perhaps even later, though his wife, St. Margaret, was largely responsible for Anglicising it. But the Scottish lords of the Crusading period had adopted Anglo-Norman ways, and were outside the clan system. It is a large and intricate question, but probably the Celts of that period (as much later) stood aloof from the general West-European or feudal system, and the Scottish Lowland barons did not. Gaelic was spoken over a much larger district than later—notably in Fife and Galloway—and perhaps Welsh in Strathclyde, but the knights and barons probably spoke English (of the Scots variety) and Norman French.

[1] Printed at Paris by Michel le Noir, 1504. Cf., the *Histoire d'Hypolite*, comte de Duglas.

[2] *Chronica de Mailros*, 1248, p. 177; Joann. Lesl., *de rebus gestis Scot.*, lib. vi, p. 218; Hect. Boeth., *Scot. Hist.*, lib. xiii, fol. ccxciiii, recto, l. 19; W. Stewart, *The buik of the Croniclis of Scotland*,

To face p. 112.

Jerusalem: Interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

buckled on their armour. The Norman princes had already taken the Cross with alacrity. Under the year A.D. 1098, the Brut records that Robert, son of William the Bastard, returned victoriously from Jerusalem; the duke had been accompanied by Thomas de Glamorgan in 1096. Morgan, son of Cadwgan, died at Cyprus in 1125 on his way back from Jerusalem. With the blood of his brother Maredudd red on his hand, he had resolved to wipe away the stain among the sabres of the infidels.

The fiery scorn and imperious proselytism of Islam, as we have seen, profoundly stirred the mind of Europe in the twelfth century; at the middle of that period the Crusading fever was at its height. It awoke the lyre of *Elidr Sais*, who lived from 1160 to 1220. One of his poems illustrates the religious sentiment which precipitated so many thousands of men on the East:—

"Am ved Krist creaudyr nef ys aghen
Yr agkreiff agkret yn y gylchyn
Tros elwyt ynvyt yn erwan
Treis sersin gan Sylatin."[5]

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ed. Turnbull, vol. iii, p. 103; Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. i, ch. 1 § 3, p. 33.

[3] Cronica de Mailross.

[4] *Rec. des hist. des Gaules*, t. xx, p. 307, col. 1. Guibert de Nogent gives the following general and sweeping description of the Scotch who went to the Crusades:—"Videres Scottorum apud se ferocium, alias imbellium, cuneos, crure intecto, hispida clamide, ex humeris dependente psitarcia, de finibus uliginosis allabi; et quibus ridicula quantum ad nos forent arma copiosa, suae fidei ac devotionis nobis auxilia praesentare." *Hist. Hieros*, lib. i, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 471. This was one cause which led Scotchmen to settle in France, as appears from the frequency of the names, Escoz, l'Escot, l'Esquot, and d'Escoz in 1292; hence started the close connections between the two countries and the spread of the French language in Scotland.

[5] Roughly rendered: respecting the grave of Christ, the creator of heaven, there is sorrow; the infidels have taken possession of it and ravaged the land, the Saracen oppressor under Saladin.

The preparations for the Third Crusade have been vividly sketched in the pages of Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of Brecon. It is fortunate that the author's egregious vanity, as well as his literary tastes, prompted him to describe in detail Archbishop Baldwin's mission and travels through Wales to raise recruits for Palestine. In 1185, the latter had preached the Crusade at the Council of London.[1] In 1186, he received an appeal from the Holy Father to aid the Templars,[2] and, in 1188, was urged by Pope Clement III to call upon Christians to take up arms.[3] Gerald's work furnishes an interesting commentary on the popular feeling, and a valuable insight into Wales of the twelfth century. It was in the year 1188 that the archbishop, who is described as "a venerable man, distinguished as well for learning as for sanctity", entered Wales from Herefordshire. His progress is recorded with picturesque language, a fund of anecdote and numerous digressions. The effect of Gerald's eloquence, as we learn from the best authority (Gerald's own), was, in many cases, instantaneous. The natives of Haverfordwest, for example, were singularly susceptible to his animating appeals. The preacher shall speak for himself;— "A sermon having been delivered at Haverford by the Archbishop, and the Word of God preached to the people by the Archdeacon, whose name appears on the title page of this volume, many soldiers and plebeians were induced to take up the Cross. It appeared wonderful and miraculous that, although the Archdeacon addressed them both in the Latin and French tongue, spectators who understood neither language were equally affected, and flocked in great numbers to take the Cross". This was by no means an isolated instance of Gerald's persuasive powers. But upon some of his hearers even Gerald's oratory was

[1] *Giraldus*, viii, 208 f. [2] viii, 201 f. [3] viii, 336.

apparently thrown away. At Cardigan, a woman dissuaded her husband from throwing in his lot with the strangers, but paid the penalty for her interference with the Divine designs by being miraculously punished.[1] Gerald's success was all the more creditable since Baldwin had already confessed his surprise at the way in which the Welsh hung back, and had chided their apathy, "Deus, quam dura gens est haec!",[2] and callous they remained until Gerald took up his parable. The effect was magical. Though the people were ignorant of English and French, on Gerald's lips both languages threw his audience into transports of excitement and wrought wonders. So impressed was John Spang, Prince Rhys's Court Jester, that he exclaimed, "If Gerald had spoken in Welsh you would not have a man left". Gerald is our informant.

The spirit-stirring summons was not lost on the Welsh commons. Their ardent temperament was captivated by the prospect of setting out on so holy an enterprise. The novelty and excitement of such an undertaking, the promise of the favour of heaven, as well as of earthly renown, to the successful champion, inflamed their imagination, and at the first burst of enthusiasm they responded to the call to arms regardless of consequences. Shrewsbury had been appointed for a rendezvous. The chronicler relates that, after listening to the "elegant sermons of the archbishop and archdeacon, many people enrolled themselves", but their ardour cooled. The words that follow furnish

[1] Book i, c. 10, furnishes an interesting instance of the sign of the Cross being imposed as a punishment. A young Welshman, who was devoutly hastening to meet the Archbishop, was waylaid and murdered by twelve archers from the castle of St. Clare (St. Clears) near Alba Domus (Ty Gwyn ar Daf). Next day the culprits were compelled to take the Cross.

[2] Heavens! what a hard-hearted race!

eloquent testimony to the relations between the Welsh and English, and the social conditions of the age. The genius of the Catholic Church was generally able to predominate over the haughtiest of the laity, but here it thundered without avail. "We also excommunicated Owen de Ceveilioc, because he did not come to meet the archbishop with his people. Owen was a man of more fluent speech than his contemporary princes, and was conspicuous for the good management of his territory. Having generally favoured the royal cause, and opposed the measures of his own chieftains, he had contracted a great familiarity with King Henry II."

The upshot of this "long and laudable" embassy was that 3,000 men, skilled in the use of arrows and lances, well versed in military matters, and impatient to attack the enemies of the Faith, profitably and happily engaged for the service of the Holy Cross. But the public enthusiasm was allowed to slacken. To crown all, the premature hand of death had arrested the king of Sicily (who had been the foremost sovereign in supplying the Holy Land with corn during the Crusaders' distress), and violent contentions arose amongst the princes respecting their sovereign rights to the kingdom. In consequence of this, the faithful suffered severely from famine and disease while surrounded on all sides by enemies and most anxiously waiting for supplies. "But affliction may strengthen the understanding, as gold is tried by fire, and virtue may be confirmed in weakness; hence these things are suffered to happen." The saintly and politic prelate was not destined to reap the fruit of his labours. Unlike the Popes, who were by far too cautious to compromise themselves by personally participating in an expedition which might or might not succeed, Baldwin in 1190, with those whom he had won to the holy cause, braced himself

for the expedition, but his spiritual lieutenants hung back. Baldwin intended that Gerald should write the history of the Crusades in prose, and his own nephew Joseph in verse. This project, however, was not destined to be realised. Gerald, who had placed in Baldwin's hands the resignation of all his preferments on assuming the Cross, was afterwards absolved from his vow by the Pope. Peter de Leia, Bishop of St. Davids, in like manner was dispensed from this obligation.[1] Baldwin himself died in the year 1190.[2] The end of this successor to the martyr, Thomas of Canterbury, was tragic. As he had been among the first to sign themselves with the sacred emblem, he had manfully assumed its service. "Pursuing his journey to the Holy Land, he embarked on board a vessel at Marseilles, and landed safely in a port at Tyre; from thence he proceeded to Acre, where he found our army both attacking and attacked, our forces dispirited by the defection of the princes, and thrown into a state of desolation and despair; fatigued by a long expectation of supplies, greatly afflicted by hunger and want, and distempered by the inclemency of the air. Finding his end approaching, he embraced his fellow subjects, relieving their needs by liberal acts of charity." Baldwin laid down his life in the Third Crusade on the burning plains of Palestine, heart-broken at the unbridled wickedness and mutual animosities of the soldiers of the Cross. With him perished many Welshmen who had promised themselves a triumphant march to Jerusalem, and the distinction of planting the Cross on the pinnacle of the Temple or the bulwarks of Zion.[3]

[1] *Giraldus*, i, 79; iii, 326; iii, 71, 284; i, 84, 333.

[2] *Giraldus*, iv, 110, A.D. 1191, according to *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion*.

[3] Henry I, speaking from considerable experience, bore honourable testimony to the courage of the Welsh in his letter to the

The probability is that the Celtic imagination would have been still further fired but for the social and ecclesiastical conditions of Wales at that time. There were valid reasons to explain Owain Cyfeiliog's refusal and the hesitation of other princes to enrol themselves or to start. Owain was a brave soldier, and a patron renowned for his hospitality, and his influence would have been invaluable. It did not, however, require unusual penetration to see through the hollow pretensions of the emissary, and Owain determined, therefore, that his first duty and wisdom lay in protecting his countrymen, though he braved the Church's ban. Nor did he stand alone. The Lord Rhys had also thought of going to Palestine, but his lady dissuaded him from fulfilling his purpose, and in consequence drew down upon her head the fulminations of Canterbury. To such anathemas they turned a deaf ear. Admittedly, the Welsh chiefs did not make a prominent figure at this juncture of supreme interest to Christendom. Several assumed the badge of the Holy War, and stayed at home. But they were not exceptional. Elsewhere, men talked of the Crusades, but did not engage in them. The reason why the undertaking languished lay not in any fear of Moslem scimitars, but in the state of chronic disorder into which Wales had fallen. The narratives of Crusaders who had spent blood and treasure in objects remote from the original aims, and returned crestfallen, and accounts of men who pined and died in Saracen prisons, were little calculated to intensify their ardour. Then there were evils which pressed them more nearly, the

Greek Emperor Comnenus. That prince had asked for an account of the remarkable features of Britain. Henry mentions "the extraordinary courage and fierceness of the Welsh, who were not afraid to fight unarmed with enemies armed at all points, valiantly shedding their blood in the cause of the country, and purchasing glory at the expense of their lives".

presence of the hostile Lord Marchers hanging on their borders, a constant menace to the safety of their persons and their property, steadily invading their privileges, and stealthily encroaching on their territory; the thought of leaving their families for an unknown number of years to the tender mercies of unscrupulous neighbours, with the whole continent of Europe interposed between themselves and those whom they left behind; and the fatalities which so often changed the laurel wreath into cypress. These were the arguments that gave them pause Their sadly-reduced acres would be in alien hands long before their return, and their kinsmen driven out from hearth and home.

Baldwin had addressed himself primarily, if not exclusively, to the Welsh population, for Norman and Fleming were amenable to other influences. But neither were these alien races in Wales any more eager to put their lives and fortunes to the hazard or detach large portions of their men at arms for service beyond seas. Both elements were thus sufficiently occupied in maintaining hold of their newly-acquired possessions, or, during Henry's reign, in assisting in the projects for the invasion of Ireland. For the Welsh were not remiss in taking the opportunity of harassing England, for example, during Richard's absence[1] at the Holy War. Hence both natives and immigrants, in many cases, silenced their awakened consciences by composition and penance, or by making gifts of land and churches to the professed soldiers of Christ, who went in their stead.

Further, Welshmen were disposed to look askance at the overtures of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which they regarded, not without cause, as another step towards the absorption of their native church of Wales into that

[1] *Giraldus Camb.*, iv, 156.

province. The Primate's supercilious demeanour, despite his unquestioned piety, was not of a nature to soothe their susceptibilities nor to allay their suspicions. The clergy of St. David's showed that they were fully alive to the risk of losing their independence, and took prompt measures in self-defence. Giraldus himself, a doughty champion of the rights of that See, records the latent hostility and doubt entertained regarding the purity of the prelate's intentions in crossing the Border. On the arrival of Rhys, Prince of South Wales, who, together with other notabilities, had assembled to greet the Prince of the Church, certain canons of St. David's, through a zeal for their Church, having previously secured the interest of some of the Prince's courtiers, waited on Rhys, plied him with arguments, and endeavoured by every possible suggestion to forbid or dissuade Baldwin from proceeding into the interior of Wales, and particularly to the metropolitan See of Saint David's (an unheard of liberty), at the same time asserting that if the Archbishop carried out his programme, the Church would in future suffer great prejudice, and with difficulty recover its ancient dignity and honour. Although these pleas were strenuously urged, "the natural kindness and civility of the prince would not suffer them to prevail, lest by prohibiting the Archbishop's tour, he might appear to wound his feelings". At the same time the efforts to enlist Welsh sympathy for the Crusades did not terminate with Baldwin's tour. Availing himself of the privileges of a Crusader, Gerald sold the corn belonging to the Church at Llanduw to two burgesses of Aberhodni[1], and all the revenues of his archdeaconry, to defray the expenses of the expedition.[2]

[1] Brecon.

[2] It appears that monasteries were exempt from the contributions

As an offset to the facts cited above regarding the reluctance on the part of the Welsh princes and people, the fact remains, as the historian of the Third Crusade shows, that the Welsh contingents performed feats of conspicuous bravery in Palestine. The following anecdote is not devoid of humour :—

> "It chanced, moreover, one day that the slingers and bowmen, and all who were skilled in throwing missiles, frequently challenged one another on both sides, and discharged weapons for exercise. When the rest had departed from the field in their turns, a Parthian and a Welchman began to aim their arrows at each other in a hostile manner, and discharge them so as to smite with all their might. But the Welchman, aware of his foe's intention, repaid like for like; on which the Parthian, making a truce, approached him, and when within hearing began a parley. "Of what country are you", said he, "and by what name may I be pleased to know you? I see, you are a good bowman, and in order that you may be more inclined to tell me, I am a Parthian by nation, brought up from childhood in the art of shooting, and my name is Grammatyr, of good reputation amongst my people for my deeds of renown, and well known for my victories". The Welchman told his name and nation. "Let us prove", said the Parthian, "which is the best bowman by each taking an arrow and aiming them against one another from our bows. You shall stand still first, and I will aim an arrow at you, and afterwards you shall shoot in like manner at me". The Welchman agreed. The Parthian,

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levied on the public. Thus, among the sums exacted from the Welsh dioceses by grant from the Papacy, to enable Henry III to go to the Holy Land, no mention is made of monastic establishments. The earliest mention of offertory boxes connects itself with the Holy Land. Henry II, in 1166, ordered a hollow trunk with three keys (one for the parson and one for each churchwarden) to be provided in every church for offerings for the defence and assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land.

A.D. 1201. Innocent III tried to exact money from the Cistercians in aid of the Holy Land by force. But the fraternity was equal to the emergency; the collector was warned off and desisted. *Annales Cambriæ.*

having fitted his arrow, and parting his feet as the art requires, with his hands stretched asunder, and his eyes fixed on the mark

"Let's fly the arrow, failing of its aim."

The Welchman, unhurt, stood on the punctilio of honour. He demanded the fulfilment of the aforesaid condition. "I will not agree", said the Parthian, "but you must stand another shot, and then have two at me". The Welchman replied, "You do not stand by your agreement, nor observe the condition you yourself dictated; and if you will not stand, although I may delay it for a time, as I may best be able, God will take revenge on you according to His will for your treachery"; and he had scarce finished speaking, when, in the twinkling of an eye, he smote the Turk with his arrow in the breast, as he was selecting an arrow from his quiver to suit his purpose, and the weapon, meeting with no obstacle, came out at the back, having pierced the Turk's body; upon which he said to the Turk, "You stood not by your agreement, nor I by my word". Animated by these and the like successes, the Christians thought they should preserve themselves for good fortune by bearing all their misfortunes with more cheerful faith and more fervent hope."[1]

Subsequent crusades are mentioned incidentally in Welsh annals and family records. Herefordshire was adequately represented in the history of the campaigns by the De Verduns, Lord Marchers of Ewyas Lacy,[2] a Welsh portion of the county. Bertram de Verdun had fought by the side of Richard Coeur de Lion and was entrusted with important commissions. On November 1190[3] he was

[1] Richard of Devizes *A.D.* 1190, c. 58, in *Chronicles of the Crusades*: *Itinerary of Richard I.*

[2] The population of this county was for centuries thoroughly Welsh in race and sentiment. Cf. *Papal Registers and Letters* (Rolls Series), *Descriptive Calendar*, in the Records of the Augmentation Office, No. 53 (1528); it gives the dispositions of the Abbot of Dore in Ewyas, "a Cistercian house greatly loved by the Welsh". The hundreds of Ewyas Lacy and Wormelow are still Welsh, like some parts of Shropshire.

[3] *Roger Hov.*, iii, 62.

one of the King's sureties in the treaties with Tancred of Sicily; and in January 1191 witnessed a charter at Messina.[1] In 1191, he arrived in Palestine,[2] and on August 21st, in that year, was, with Queen Berengaria, given charge of the town of Acre, during the King's absence in Jerusalem. He met his death at Joppa in 1192. The pilgrim spirit animated the family. A de Verdun joined Prince Edward's standard in 1270,[3] and a descendant of his, Lord Burghersh, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The following anecdote concerning a lord of Radnor Castle during the reign of Henry I, from the pen of Giraldus Cambrensis, illustrates the religious ideas of the twelfth century:—"But here it is proper to mention what happened to the lord of the Castle of Radnor, in the adjoining territory of Buelt,[4] who had entered the church of Saint Avan (which is called in the British language Llan Avan), and, without sufficient cause or reverence, had passed the night there with his hounds. Arising early in the morning, according to the custom of hunters, he found his hounds mad and himself struck blind. After a long, dark, and tedious existence he was conveyed to Jerusalem, happily taking care that his inward sight should not in a similar manner be extinguished; and there being accoutred and led to the field of battle on horseback he made a spirited attack on the enemies of the Faith, and, being mortally wounded, closed his life with honour". An incident connected with Castle Maud in Radnorshire shows how the Crusades affected the position of women. Henry III, after a long stay in the county, in 1233, bestowed the castle on Ralph de Toni (or Todeni), to whose

[1] *Pipe Rolls, Anc. Charters*, p. 98.
[2] *Itin. Ricardi* in *Memorials of Richard I*, i, 207.
[3] 54th of Henry III. [4] Builth.

ancestor it once belonged. But he did not live long to enjoy his new possessions. In 1239, he embarked on a Crusade, but died at sea. The King took his estates into his own charge until 1247; at that date, he entrusted the custody of the Castle to Ralph's widow, Petronilla. She proved herself a lady of spirit, who insisted upon her rights, and, though her sex prevented her from taking the field against her aggressors, she made them feel the rigour of the law.[1]

The thirteenth century witnessed a fresh wave of Crusading enthusiasm called forth by the excitement over certain celestial phenomena. A luminous Cross, with marks of the Saviour's five wounds, appeared in the sky.[2] Incidental references to the revival of interest are made in Welsh documents to some of the events that occurred; for example, the *Annales Cambriæ* state that in 1236 Friar Anianus "preached concerning the Cross in West Wales". Among the Papal Registers and Letters under the year 1245 appears a letter from the Bishop of Hereford to the Abbot of Dore relating to the disposal of a sum of money deposited with him "pro redempcione votorum crucesignatorum".[3] He orders it to be delivered up to the Bishop himself by the hands of Brother John de Fabricia.

A supreme effort to galvanise into life the flagging energies of Christendom once more and shake off the Saracen yoke was made in 1263, under the auspices of

[1] Pleas before the King. Wales, Salop, Hereford, 31-37. Henry III, year 34.

The arms of the Mortimers (*armes parlantes*, as they are called in French heraldry), a family closely connected with Radnorshire, recall an exploit of an ancestor at the Dead Sea, *De Mortuo Mari*.

[2] Matthew Paris, who records the portent, states that more than 60,000 troops from Britain took the vow.

[3] Rolls Series, *Descriptive Calendar*, No. 122. (Money given in alms when a man was released from his vow.)

Urban IV. That Pope addressed from Orvieto five bulls to Welsh ecclesiastics in rapid succession.[1] Palestine was exposed to two fires. In 1259 the Tartars, "a savage and damnable nation" dead to all promptings of humanity and, "ignorant even of the duty of sparing age", had seized Damascus and were thundering at the gates of Acre. Happily, the Christians were spared this visitation and afforded a brief respite. Kutuz of Babylon (namely Old Cairo) came up against the savage invaders with irresistible power and the danger passed away, only to give place to another hardly less appalling. The Conqueror turned his sword against the Christians and overran the country spreading devastation before him.

It was at this crisis probably that Urban intervened to rally the forces of Christendom. A pilgrim to the Holy Tomb, and a former patriarch of Jerusalem, he himself knew but too well the deplorable state of Palestine and realised the need of swift and effective aid. Already the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople had fallen. Baldwin II. had been driven to bay and sought refuge in the West. Urban built his hopes on Louis, who had never abandoned the idea of retrieving his previous disasters by another Holy War. The bulls addressed to Richard of Menevia and other dignitaries illustrate the persuasives with which Welshmen had been plied during the preparations for all the Crusades. He calls upon them to repress by Apostolic censure all gainsayers and rebels. The hundredth of the increase accruing to the clergy of all degrees must be devoted to the common cause for a period of five years. Clerics and laymen who on a former occasion publicly took the sign of the Cross and stayed at home must bestir themselves and redeem their honour, on peril of ecclesiasti-

[1] Cf. T. Matthews, *Welsh Records in Paris.* There are many contemporary appeals couched in similar language to the Christian Powers.

cal censure from which there can be no appeal. The Pontiff proceeds to denounce abuses of privilege and sternly forbids the molestation of intending Crusaders, whom he takes under the protection of the Apostolic See. He authorises the Bishops to convene meetings of the population for preaching the message of the Cross. If, in the course of their progress through Wales on this errand, they visit any town lying under an interdict, they may, in deference to the solemn assembly, relax or remove the ban so far as to allow the Divine offices to be said, except in the case of those whose misdemeanours originally occasioned the excommunication. He empowers the prelates to absolve offenders against Holy Church on condition of their enlisting or commuting their vow by a substantial subsidy towards defraying the cost of the expedition or some equivalent service. The Papal project came to nought. A rueful recollection of ignominious retreat and collapse, of a Bernard's fatal eloquence hurrying to their doom more than a million men, or of the redemption of the captive St. Louis at the price of two hundred thousand marks of silver, indisposed Churchmen for embarking on another hazardous enterprise foredoomed, as they suspected, to discomfiture.

Edward, Prince of England (1270—1272, afterwards Edward I), figures in the guise of a Crusader, and many Welshmen braced on helm and armour. When the last of the Crusades was organised at the instigation of Pope Gregory X., Edward arranged to take part in the expedition. Louis died at Tunis before reaching Palestine, but the English forces landed at Acre in 1271, and made a ten years' truce in 1272. Their brief campaign was signalised and the prince's fame stained by as pitiless a massacre as any which sullied the annals of the Crusades, at the capture of Nazareth. His confessor in the Holy Land was

Anian, Bishop of St. Asaph, a Dominican, who to the bold assertion of the rights of the Church added the zeal of a Crusader.[1]

[1] The following specimens of entries in the Chronicles and elsewhere show that ecclesiastical annalists followed with lively interest the ebb and flow of the war between Cross and Crescent :—

A.D. 1143. In that year some pilgrims from Wales were drowned on the sea of Greece, in going with the Cross to Jerusalem. (*Brut y Tywysogion.*)

A.D. 1185. "A hefyd saint berned abregethodd or hari (King Henry) hwnw pan i gwelas yn fab Jevank atkas yn llys y brenin ffraink oddiawl y doeth ac iddiawl i dda affan ddoeth heraklys patriarch kaerysalem i geisio nerth gan yr hari hwnw yn erbyn ysersiniaid i amddiffin i dynas ar tir agysegrodd yr arglwydd Jesu grist ai briod waed ac i gynic agoriade y dinas a bedd crist iddo ef ar ym herodres ac a ddyfot nall ai vynet Rac kyfodi oi veibion yn y erbyn ai yrv allan oi vrenhinaeth ar patriarch addyfod nat Ryfedd oddiawl y doethoch ac iddiawl yr ewch . . . *Descript. of Britain* (late 16th cent.).

Map calls this an *infelicitatis annus, De Nugis,* i, c. 15. The chapter was probably written in the midst of the consternation caused by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, "princeps paganorum"; the Archdeacon pours out his soul in lamentation over the downfall of the city, and invective against the perpetrator.

A.D. 1221. The Holy Cross is restored to the Christians. Damietta is re-taken by Saracens by sleight. (*Annales Cambriæ.*) In this year, the army of the Christians of Damietta in Egypt proceeded towards Babylon, with a view of attacking it; but the vengeance of God suffered it not; for the River Nile flooded over their way, on the octave of the Feast of St. Mary last, in the autumn (probably the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 8th September), and they were hemmed in between two rivers, so that an immense number were drowned; and then the others were captured. They were then compelled to restore Damietta to the Saracens, to save their lives, and to be freed from bondage, and to enter into a truce with them for eight years. And from thence the Saracens conveyed them to Acre, where nothing was known of the Cross of Christ. But the mercy of God rewarded them. (*Brut.*)

A.D. 1260. The yellow peril. The Tartars seized the kingdom of Jerusalem, destroyed all the kingdoms of the East, and put all Saracens to the sword. They came up to the frontiers of the Roman Empire. A dread of them had seized the whole of Christendom. See also the entries under A.D. 1146, 1185, 1186, 1218, 1219, 1248-9, 1253, 1266, 1267.

The preparations for the campaign in 1282 gave Archbishop Peckham an opportunity for venting his usual spleen against the Welsh. The ulterior motive of the following proposal is obvious :—

> "The Archbishop proposes that Llewelyn's brother, David, should go to the Holy Land. The King will provide for his expedition in a manner becoming his position, on the understanding that he does not return without the royal permission and clemency. He undertakes to ask, and hopes to prevail on my Lord the King, to provide for his children also."

David was not blind, and sent this curt, ironical, and manly answer :—[1]

> "When he desires to visit the Holy Land, he will do so of his own accord and in fulfilment of a vow for God and not for man; he will not go on pilgrimage against his will. But if in future he should happen to visit the Holy Land, prompted by a good impulse, he failed to see why he and his heirs should on that account be disinherited; rather they should be rewarded. Nor will he accept land in England."[2]

The Crusading enterprise hung fire, and the year 1284 found the Archbishop still organising. He writes to the Bishop of Bangor in a similar strain :—

> He understands that "certain soldiers and princes in our province, who have consecrated themselves and their property to the life-giving service of the Cross, have agreed to celebrate before long some military spectacle at Neuyn, whereby it is feared they may suffer no less by the waste of their goods than by the mutilation of their bodies, and thus be rendered powerless for the duties to which they have devoted themselves. He reminds them that any soldier marked with the cross was strictly forbidden, under penalty of excommunication, to indulge in any tournament or like display; since he thus incapacitated himself for filling his vow. If they persist in their obstinacy, and scorn to obey orders, the bishop is empowered to proceed against

[1] *Registrum Epistolarum*, 357. p. 467, in Martin's *Chronicles and Memorials*.

[2] Letter 359. [3] See Peckham's reply.

them on the second and third day with greater severity in canonical form, and openly to warn them that if any mishap befalls any one of them, they will forfeit burial by the Church and the suffrages of the Church Militant".[1]

The antagonism to Islam was not dead in the fifteenth century. The Tartar peril was menacing Europe and Innocent VIII endeavoured to rally the forces of Christendom for the defence not only of the Faith but of the social fabric in general. An episode in the life of a Scotch ecclesiastic is interesting in this connection. Among the powers whom the Pope approached was James IV of Scotland. The King replies to the effect that the summons is belated; his kingdom is not overflowing with silver or gold, his inherited treasure having been exhausted in quelling mutiny within his own dominions. But he will act in a manner worthy of his ancestors and strive to uphold the honour of the Apostolic See.[2] His ambassador on this and other confidential missions was Robert Blacader, Archbishop of Glasgow. In 1508 that prelate passed with a retinue through Venice on his way to Jerusalem. Marino Sanuto, the diarist, alludes to his visit. The Venetians were duly impressed by the Scotchman's pomp, and accorded him a reception befitting his exalted station. The Archbishop pronounced a gracious panegyric on the Venetian State, enlarging on the mutual goodwill existing between Scotland and Venice, and was present at the Doge's Espousal of the sea. He expressed his intention of sailing by the Jaffa galley. This was in June.[3] The vessel on which the Archbishop embarked for the return journey, in November 1508, (Jiacomo Michiel, master), carried 36 pilgrims. Of this

[1] *Registrum Epistolarum,* vol. iii, p. 775; July 3rd., 1284.

[2] *Venetian Archives,* vol. i, May 21st, 1490. There are several allusions to Blacader in the *Milan Archives.*

[3] *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto,* vii, p. 365, 1508.

number, Sanuto relates, no less than 27 never lived to see Venice, and among the victims was the Archbishop, "the illustrious kinsman of the Scottish king, who had received such signal honours from our Signory."[1]

The collapse of the Crusading enterprise and the decline of the militant crusading spirit led to a revival of the pilgrimages. Ireland shall furnish an example of this recrudescence. It supplies another instance of the intellectual activity for which the Irish race were honourably distinguished. In the year 1320, two Franciscans from Dublin set out on pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land. Their names were Simon FitzSimeon and Hugh the Illuminator. The title affords evidence of the reputation for learning enjoyed by their community. The diary that they kept is still in existence, and sheds a valuable light upon the social and religious state of Egypt and of the East after the first enthusiasm of the Crusades had passed away.

The archæological evidence for Wales relating to the Crusades is involved in much uncertainty; but while Archæology speaks with an uncertain voice, Legend has been busy. Two cases, probably of the thirteenth century, will suffice.[2] The local tradition relating to a knight lying in the Church of Llanarmon yn Ial is worth noting,

[1] *I Diarii*, p. 512, Nov., 1508. Lewis Glyn Cothi wrote a poem beginning—"Gwr yw Syr Risiart"; in a profusion of good wishes he hopes Edward IV may include the Soldan and Babylon among his conquests. The animosity against the Turk still rankled in the 16th century, witness some bellicose utterances by Morys Mawddwy (1540-70). Llanstephan MSS., 133, § 881 d.

[2] The old theory that any effigy of a cross-legged knight represents a Crusader, breaks down when applied to particular instances, and it becomes necessary to seek definite historical attestation. Nearly all early effigies have crossed legs, but some clad in plate armour are in the same attitude, and plate armour was only beginning to show in the last Crusading days.

for the legend attaching to it. The person portrayed is Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr of Ial, brother of Llewelyn, bishop of St. Asaph. He had taken part in the Holy War. While storming a city in Palestine, he had already planted his feet on the wall when he sustained a mortal wound in the abdomen. He fought doggedly on, however, until a dog seized his bowels.[1] He was buried at Valle Crucis, but the monumental effigy was transferred to the Church at Llanarmon.[2] It has been pointed out that the peculiar sleeves of the effigy, of a kind described as "rustred armour" (apparently leather scales with metal bosses), are probably after an Eastern pattern and may have been derived from contact with the Saracens. The next group of effigies which may be described as those of Crusaders, are all in Pembrokeshire, a mailed effigy at Upton, another at St. David's, attributed to a Wogan, and a third figure at Lawrenny.[3] It may be plausibly conjectured that these knights served under Prince Edward in the Holy Land.[4]

We are indebted to Adam of Usk's good-natured garrulity for an account of several interesting incidents. Writing in 1412, he vouches for the following story, which he learned from a certain chaplain of the diocese of Bangor. The narrator had gone on a visit to the Holy Land with 500 other pilgrims. Being driven, by stress of weather, within the dominions of the Soldan of Babylon, he was cast into prison and held captive for the space of a year. The Soldan, however, having been meanwhile conquered in a stricken field by the King of

[1] *Gwyliedydd*, vol. ix, p. 258. *Arch. Camb.*, ser. iii, 15, p. 203, and v. 9, 284. But the story is told of other Crusaders.

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, ser. v., vol. 9 and 10 (1893).

[3] See *Arch. Camb.*, Oct. 1908.

[4] This view is taken also by Mr. E. Laws, the distinguished antiquary.

Damascus and beheaded, the usurper summoned these same pilgrims before his judgment-seat. They cast themselves down before him begging for mercy ; he smote with violence on the tribunal, two strokes with a naked sword which he bare in his hand, but a third blow with gentleness and graciously, in token of pity and forbearance—otherwise they had all been dead men—and he spake on this wise ; " Let the men of Genoa, along with all those of France and Spain, seeing that they are of the league, be led back to prison, to pay ransom as reprisal because three ships of their people have plundered us. But let all the other Christians be let go free, for I would gladly with justice show favour to all Christians".[1] And thus the Welsh chaplain went forth free.

A Life of St. David[2] furnishes another anecdote, which is not devoid of significance, as it sheds a side-light on the ecclesiastical rivalries of the Middle Ages. A Welshman from St. David's was taken prisoner by the Saracens, no doubt during one of the Crusades. He was thrown into chains and bound to a German. The Welshman cried aloud day and night to his patron saint in his native tongue : "Dewi Wareth".[3] The petition had the desired effect. Thanks to the saint's intervention, he was soon afterwards able to effect his escape, and returned to his native country. He related his story to Gervasius, Bishop of Bangor (1366-1370). When his captors discovered that the prisoner had taken flight, his companion in misery was suspected of complicity,

[1] Maunde Thompson's edition, p. 280, cf. 283. Adam seems to have mistaken the date. He probably met the hero of this thrilling experience on his return to his native country. It is known that European corsairs had made descents on the coasts of the Soldan's dominions, Egypt and Syria, early in the fifteenth century.

[2] Given by Joannes Capgravus.

[3] Dewi, gwared, "David, deliver (me)!"

scourged, and kept in closer custody than ever. But recollecting how his fellow prisoner had frequently called out "Dewi Wareth", he surmised that the words possessed some special virtue and decided to repeat the experiment, when lo! he was in a mysterious manner transported to his own home. He then tried to ascertain the meaning of the talismanic prayer. First he repaired to Paris and there found a Welshman (not an uncommon sight in this far-famed seat of learning, as will appear in the sequel), who gave him the desired information. Out of gratitude, he made a pilgrimage to Menevia, where (strange coincidence) he fell in with his former comrade. Underneath the story doubtless lies a motive: if it was not founded in fact, it was invented to magnify the power and prestige of the saint. Apart from this, it shows that in the fourteenth century, Welshmen were familiar with the East, for legends must be framed according to the circumstances of the case; and the inventor of the legend would not base his story on an improbability.

CHAPTER VII.

Rise of the Military Orders.

The Military Orders, so striking a feature of the social organism and religious establishment of the Middle Ages, were a direct outcome of pilgrimages. The rise of these powerful protectors was immediately due to the inconveniences besetting the pilgrims, and to the catalogue of horrors related by those who returned. The character with which the pilgrim was invested in the estimation of the Middle Ages afforded a sufficient guarantee that the soul-stirring recital would command sympathy, and an immediate result of these masses migrating eastwards, was

the creation of houses of entertainment, supported and superintended by the several Orders of Knighthood. As early as the years 1014-1023, Christian merchant-princes had founded an hospital at Jerusalem for the reception of the pilgrims; and when the lurid tales of the maltreatment of the wayfarers reached home, Europe responded with no inarticulate voice.

First came the Brethren of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem. They date from the year 1023, when certain traders of Amalfi were permitted by the Caliph of Egypt to build for the reception of the pilgrims a hospital dedicated to the Forerunner.[1] The reputation of the house spread rapidly. Contributions poured into its coffers; and some pilgrims remained on the spot to engage in the charitable toil. Originally the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience alone were taken. The progress of the Infidel arms led to an extension of the original design of the founders. With this enlargement of the sphere of operations came a change also in title; the Brethren became known as Knights. The "Knightly Defence of the Christian Religion" was added by Calixtus II. Various commanderies were established in different maritime towns of Europe as resting places for pilgrims, who were there provided with the means of setting out for Palestine. Admiration of the exploits of the Hospitallers in the Holy Land, combined with the sympathy for the aims of the Crusaders, fired the imagination of persons of rank, wealth, and influence, and admission was sought by the flower of European chivalry. In the language of William of Malmesbury: "The most distant islands and savage countries were inspired with ardent passion. The Scotchman and Welshman left their hunting, the

[1] It was really a restoration of a hospice, founded by Charlemagne which had been destroyed in 1010.

Dane his drinking-bout, and the Norwegian his raw flesh."[1]

The Hospitallers turned their attention to the protection of pilgrims and to the suppression of outlawry in Wales.[2] The two commanderies belonging to Wales, as

[1] Our countrymen seem to have stood in special need of such protection. Continental races appear to have borne them no goodwill; as may be concluded from Petrarch's estimate, which expresses the popular prejudice of his day: "In my youth the inhabitants of Great Britain, whom they call English, were the greatest cowards of all the barbarians, inferior even to the Scotch". *Fam.* i, 21 ; *Ep.* 3.

A similar misunderstanding of the Scotch is voiced in France in the fourteenth century by Jean de Meun ; he places Hunger's dwelling in the uttermost extremity of Scotland, "where nothing grows"—*Le Roman de la Rose* ii, p. 282 (ed. Méon). Froissart and other writers apply the epithet "sauvage" to Scotland and Scotchmen. Froissart, bk. ii, ch. 128 (1385), *Panth.* ii, p. 314, col. 2 The expression for beards, *Escoz pelez,* occurs in *Roman du Renart,* ed. Méon i, p. 304, and appears to have been a stock phrase in the thirteenth century. Cf. St. Louis' remarks on Scots in *De Joinville, Liv.* i, p. 1.

[2] There are five stages in the history of the Order of St. John :—

1. Before incorporation by Paschal II, 1023-1113.
2. In Palestine, as an incorporated Order, 1113-1291.
   Then they went for a few years to Cyprus.
3. At Rhodes, 1310-1523.
   Then they went for a few years to Crete, Sicily, and Viterbo.
4. At Malta, 1530-1798.
   Scattered for a few years.
5. Restored and settled with the House on the Aventine for headquarters (it was their Roman House long before). This is its present condition.

The meagreness of the records relating to Wales in the Public Library at Valletta is tantalizing. So far as England is concerned, the documentary evidence has been, in a large measure, edited, and from these records, and from supplementary evidence obtained from Malta, some facts may be gathered relating to Wales. The head house of the Order was situated at St. John's, Clerkenwell, and to this establishment the provincial establishments looked for guidance.

Messrs. Larking and Kemble have edited the text of a manuscript found at Malta entitled *Extenta terrarum et tenementorum Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia,* A.D. 1338. Cf. Le Roulx, *Cartulaire,* vol. i.

appears from the Archives at Malta, are Slebech, in Pembrokeshire, and Halston, actually situated in Shropshire, but close to the Welsh border. The history of the Order in Wales has yet to be written, but incidental allusions to the ramifications and possessions of the Hospitallers are afforded in various public documents. Both the foregoing commanderies are described in a report drawn up in 1338 by order of the Prior of England, Philip Thame, which is at present preserved in the Library at Valletta. Slebech was founded in 1301, when Wizo and his son Walter bestowed some lands on the Knights of St. John, for the recovery of the Holy Land.[1]

Again, a manuscript of the time of Henry II containing records in the time of the Black Prince, has preserved some interesting allusions illustrative of the influence of the Order.[2] Their revenues were derived partly from land, and partly from yearly sums called *confraria*, recoverable by distress. They enjoyed the privilege of "free chase" in all crown lands in South Wales ; a "free court of jurisdiction" over their tenants, except in cases of life and limb, *amobr* or *lleirwyd*, and a specified share of the "goods accruing on the death of a *vilain*". The Master of Slebech is among the suitors at the Carnarvon County Court.

The commandery was not oblivious of the rules of the Order enjoining care for the stranger, but it found the number of applications embarrassing. The institution of hospitality was necessary when Christianity was a homeless religion, and was repeatedly inculculated on the faithful.[3] It was the Roman Church more than any other which was

[1] Philip de Thame's report. Cf. Ministers' Accounts, E., VI, co. Pemb., No. 656, Latin, on the churches connected with the Knights.

[2] *Records of Carnarvon*, ed. Sir H. Ellis, 1838.

[3] The New Testament and other Christian writings show at once the prevalence of hospitality and the need of caution. See II and III *Epistles of St. John* ; *The Didache*, xii ; Tertullian, *De praesc.*, xx; *Eusebius, H. E.*, iv, 23, 10.

distinguished by its generosity, and owed its rapid rise to supremacy in Western Christendom, not simply to its geographical and historical position, but to its recognition of the duty of caring for the Christians in general, which devolved upon it as the Patriarchate of the West. But the practice was open to abuse. The danger manifested itself early. The satirist Lucian, in the days of Marcus Aurelius, on the death of Proteus Peregrinus bears witness to the alert and energetic temper of the Christian communities; but caricatures this type of imposition on Christian benevolence. He represents his hero as a Syrian, trading on the religious principles of various sects and especially abusing the good nature of the Christians. "It is incredible", says he, "with what alacrity these people support and defend the public cause; if any cunning hypocrite who knows how to manage matters comes among them, he soon gets rich by imposing on the credulity of these weak and foolish men". But if in the earliest ages dishonest characters crept in and took advantage of so kindly a spirit, during the Middle Ages, with the spread of the Faith and the establishment of a network of charitable institutions throughout Europe, the evil assumed serious proportions. The Preceptor of the Hospitallers at Slebech found this out to his cost. In his report for 1338 he complains of the crowds of Welshmen who taxed the resources of his house and proved a burden. But at the same time the charity of the Knights was not always ill-bestowed nor their confidence misplaced. The following poem, addressed to Thomas ab Philip, and announcing the author's intention of paying a visit to Picton Castle, shows that pilgrims flocked to the shrine of St. John at Slebech. The bard was contemplating one of his periodical pilgrimages and made Thomas's hospitable roof his headquarters on those expeditions.

"Mal Enlli,[1] amla' unllwybr,
Yw Slebeds islaw wybr;
Pardynau 'n puro dynion
Sy yno swrn i Sain Sion.
Mae'n Mhictwn bardwn i'r byd,
Ac yn havog[2] win hefyd;

* * * * *

"Ieuan[3] wyd walch vu'n y dwr
Veudwy addwyn vedyddiwr;
Mawr yw dy wrthiau Ieuan,
Moes oes i Domas a Sian."[4]

Lewis Glyn Cothi.

The following is by the same pen :—

"Am eni sakarias
Y ganet y gret ar gras[5]
Elssabeth val yn eneth lan
Oedd i wraic ef drwy ddyrogan
Hwy yn vyw yn hen vuant
Hep goel plait hep gael plant
Yntau wr oi naturiaeth
Mal yr oen ir demyl yr aeth
A Gabriel hyt i welyff[6]
Ato aaeth ir vn tyff[6]
Ac adde gan Gabriel iddo
Y byddai vab iddo vo
Ac ef uchlaw holl grevydd
Ai enw vo jeuan vydd
jevan aeth pan vu yn wr
Wedi adda yn vydyddiwr
Eff a ddyvot[7] ar tavot da
Er[8] vair wen o vry[9] anna
Gwiliwch lle mae yn golwc
Oen duw o boeneu an dwc
O naw arwydd mae yn oreu
Henwi o ddyn un ne ddau
I dat oedd da duw iddo
Yn vud nes i eni vo
Kynta llaw arnaw aaeth
Llaw vair llai vu hiraeth
Kynta ffydd ar vedydd vu
Ac aroes y gwir Jessu
Ar sant val or saint viloedd[10]
Nessa un Jessu oedd
Jevan vyth ai oen vo[11]
Vydyddiwr hawddvyd iddo
I boen wedi ssyrthio ir byt
Ac or poen i gwr[12] penyt
Jevan vawr yn drogan vu
Ar groes ar gwir Jessu

---

[1] Bardsey Island. [2] English, havoc. Old French, *havot*.

[3] The St. John mentioned here was the Baptist. St. John the Almoner (Eleemosynarius or Ἐλεήμων), was a patriarch of Alexandria and died in 618. He was never the Patron of the Order, who was always St. John Baptist, but he had gained his reputation by assisting the refugees from Palestine after the invasion of Chosroes, and by generally fulfilling the ideals of the Hospitallers. Also there was a chapel dedicated in his honour connected with the Hospital of St. John. [4] His hosts. [5] *St. Luke*, i, 5. [6] wely, ty.

[7] ddywawt (ddywedodd). [8] v.l., i. [9] fru. [10] v.l., vilioedd.

[11] The Baptist is often depicted as a shepherd. [12] v.l., y gwr.

Mae drwyr byd o bedwar ban
Dai irai ar dir jeuan
Affop ty yn ysbyty ir byt[1]
Ai rrivo yn ssantwari[2] hevyt
Tair gwlat yn un pentwr glan
A groec ef agar jevan
Holl nef lle mae llwyn avall
Holl gret holl angret ywr llall[3]
Gwist[4] ef ni cheissiai gel
Oedd oddiam y kamel
Bywyt y makwy meudwyaidd
Herwr hallt barra or haidd
I ddiawd kain oedd ddewin
Dwr gwyn nit seidyr[5] na gwin
Jevan vab elissabeth
A wybu pwnk o bob peth[6]
Proffwyt nessnes[7] ir Jesv
A dau vwy no ffroffwyt vu
Ni anet yn undir unair
I wr a gwraic y rwu[8] grair
Nichat nachynt nachwedy
dyn vu vraint dan ne vry[9]
vy nghoryff rrac ovyn vynghas
dan law duw ac elias
vy enait tec rac offyn[10] tan
Aro duw i wart jeuan."[11]

Lewys glyn Kothi ai kant.

The Order had ramifications at Kemeys Commander in Monmouthshire, at Wiston, Bettws Leici, Bettws Ifan, and Pont-ar-fynach ; and owned property in various places, for example, at Oxwich and Newcastle, Bridgend, Porthkerry, Penmark and Caerwent. But this does not exhaust the list of its offshoots. The connection of the fraternity with Wales is illustrated by other incidental allusions, such as the following :—

In 1263, the Master of the Hospital of Dinmore, in the County of Hereford, where the Knights had a Commandery, was cited to appear to answer the Abbot of Dore.[12] Dinmore was one of the most important of their establishments and had subject houses at St. John's, Hereford, and elsewhere. All the Welsh pedigrees of the

[1] Hospitality, a Christian duty.

[2] Slebech, like all the Hospitallers' lands, enjoyed the right of sanctuary. [3] (1) Greece, (2) Christendom, (3) Paynimry.

[4] Gwisg ; camel's hair, *St. Matth.*, iii, 4. [5] Cider, v.l., gwyllt nyd yvair.

[6] The rest of the poem is taken from folio 7 of the same MS.

[7] nes, nes. [8] v.l., rhyw. [9] *St. Luke*, vii, 28.

[10] Ofn. [11] Peniarth MS., 181, f. 336 and 7. Llanst. 47, f. 160 ; 134, f. 80 ; Cwrt. 20, f. 5.

[12] *Papal Registers and Letters. Rolls Series. Descriptive Calendar.*

Herbert family name as their maternal ancestor Sir Aron ap Bledri, Knight of Rhodes, Lord of Cilsant.[1]

The range of the Hospitallers' operations appears also from the following entries in *Papal Registers and Letters*:

> "Request for a Papal safe-conduct, to last two years, in favour of Hugh Mydilton, Turcopolier of Rhodes, Lieutenant of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers) in Hungary, with fifteen companions, to travel on the business of his Order.[2]

In 1300 the master of the Order of St. John visited South Wales.

In 1523 Nicholas Roberts, Knight of Rhodes, was an envoy to the Grand Turk.[3]

No less interest attached to the establishment of this renowned Order in North Wales. The commandery at Halston, in Shropshire, belonged to the Welsh district. It possessed property in the neighbourhood of Ellesmere. Further afield lay several dependencies, of which Carno was one.[4] The original Church at the latter place was dedicated to St. John. The services of the Knights were needed in this vicinity, to guard the passes and hold in check the violence and rapine for which the district enjoyed an unenviable notoriety. According to Pennant, banditti infested the neighbouring mountains, and levied exactions alike on travellers and residents. Halston was also the head-quarters of the preceptory of Llanwddyn where the

[1] His daughter and heir Gwenllian married Jenkyn ap Adam of Wern-ddu, in the county of Monmouth, some time in the thirteenth century.

[2] *Rolls Series. Descriptive Calendar*, 1445. Hugh Mydilton was certainly a Welshman. The Turcopolier (Turcopolarius) of the Knights of Saint John was the commander of the cavalry, and ranked next to the Grand Master. The Office was attached to the English *langue* of the Order.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers.*

[4] In the Norwich Taxatio, Carno is appropriated to the Knights Hospitallers.

services of the occupants were requisitioned for protecting the natives of the countryside, the ordinary travellers, and the pilgrim plodding from Strata Marcella to the shrine of St. Melangell or to distant resorts such as Clynnog and Bardsey. Of this establishment a few traces survive, chiefly in place names. The whole of the South side of the lake is named Yspytty and recalls its former associations with the Knights; as do also Ffynnon St. John, Ffridd St. John, Mynydd St. John. Other centres were Mochrader and Dolwyddelan in the Valley of the Conway. The wild region around Dolgelley and Mawddwy, with their lawless inhabitants, the prototypes of the Gwylliaid Cochion, offered scope for the Order's philanthropy. A still more famous house was Yspytty Ifan in Denbighshire. The latter foundation was proverbial for its dimensions, hospitality and charity, and Dafydd Nanmor in the fifteenth century indirectly sang its praises while celebrating the munificence of a wealthy landowner to whom he can pay no higher tribute than a comparison with the Knights :—

"Ty fal Yspytty Ieuan
Fu ei dai o fwyd i wan."

Among the duties of the Hospitallers there was one feature beneficent in its inception, and calculated to win the good will of the native population, which eventually hastened its downfall. The preceptories of the Order claimed the right of sanctuary for their buildings and, in certain instances, immunity from legal invasion for their lands, privileges for which they cited various papal Bulls and royal Charters. At Amroth, which had been conferred on Slebech in 1150, there was a plot of ground, and at Loughor and Penrice, which also belonged to the Order, there were buildings, called The Sanctuary. As in the case of other asyla, such an institution opened the

door to abuses. In the case of Yspytty Ifan we have direct testimony to the evil consequences. "The Lordship belonging to St. John of Jerusalem, which had privilege of sanctuary, proved a wasp's nest," wrote Sir John Wynn of Gwydir,[1] and "a receptacle of thieves and murtherers. No spot within twenty miles was safe from their incursions and robberies". There is probably an element of exaggeration here. A staunch upholder of the new regime, the writer doubtlessly viewed askance a jurisdiction independent of the King's laws. However that may be, the charge afforded another plausible plea for the suppression of the Hospitallers and accelerated their doom.

More recent in origin, but similar in its aims and parallel in the course of its development to this Order, was that of the Templars. Their primary object was to keep open their way to the Holy Sepulchre, of which they constituted themselves the guardians. For while the Hospitallers cared for pilgrims after their arrival at Jerusalem, the Templars protected them on the way from Antioch thither. Baldwin II conferred on the corporation their first place of residence, the abbot and canons of the Convent of the Temple adding a building for their use. The present Temple in London takes its name from the church erected by the Order, which was consecrated by no less a person than Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem.[2] Accompanied by the Grand Master of the Templars, the prelate had journeyed to England in order to enlist the interest of Henry II in the year 1185, and endeavoured to quicken his zeal by placing in his hands the keys of the Holy City and the Holy Sepulchre. This was the starting-

[1] *History of the Gwydir Family.*

[2] It was he who was said to have brought the Holy Blood to Henry. See p. 127 n.

Photo by H. Clayton, Monmouth.

Garway Church.

To face p. 143.

point of the movement in England. From this centre the Knights of the Temple spread in different directions, and couched their lances in warring against oppression.[1]

By the eighth Crusade the splendid Order had acquired vast wealth, but their magnificence was little in keeping with their original title of "Poor soldiers of the Temple of Solomon", nor was their haughty demeanour consistent with the profession of the military monk and the simple man-at-arms. Already in Palestine an arrogant and domineering disposition had begun to display itself; and their presence proved an embarrassment. The mysterious Master of the Templars, familiar to us from the pages of the French Chroniclers, is in complete accord with what we read elsewhere of the Order when at the height of its fame and the zenith of its prosperity. The descriptions of his sinister figure, scowling with an eye of death, and his mysterious movements, are true to the life. When the conquest of Jerusalem by the Saracens, and the retreat of the Crusading hosts involved the retirement of the Templars, they spread over Europe, carrying with them the same distinctive qualities into every corner of Europe where they drew their adventurous swords. Their resources and opulence were increased by the donations in money and land showered upon them; and members of the most distinguished families in Europe thought themselves honoured by enrolment in their ranks.

The flowing white cloak of the Templars was often to be seen in Wales. Their chief establishment was at Garway on the borders of Herefordshire.[2] Pennant states, on

[1] Their House in London, in Southampton Buildings, Holborn, dated from their settlement in England. But from 1185 their principal seat stood in Fleet Street.

[2] They were also settled in the city of Hereford. *Arch. Camb.* 1850, p. 220. Cantelupe was provincial master of the Knights Templars. Havergal, *Fasti Hereford*, p. 19. Larking and Kemble.

Powell's authority, that Henry II founded a house belonging to the Templars at Basingwerk, but as the head of Basingwerk was styled Abbot in the time of Edward I before the suppression of these Knights, a title which the Master of the Order never affected, it is probable that Henry conferred the house on a Cistercian community. Of the presence of the Templars at Rhuddlan[1] there is less doubt, for not only was it a strong military position, but we have the direct testimony of Browne Willis,[2] who states that a military order was settled there, and that the remains of their abbey were to be seen in his day. Welsh literature contains but few references to the Templars. The following may be one; it occurs in an elegy by Einion Wan on the death of Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor of Powys. Among the flattering titles that he bestows on the dead hero he speaks of him as "Gwalch brynn brenin ynialwch",[3] perhaps in allusion to the vigilance with which the valiant Order watched the mountain passes and swooped on those who lived on robbery and bloodshed. The prosperity which attended the Templars proved their ruin.[4] Many of the motives for their suppression were tainted, and the charges in a large measure fictitious, but

[1] Rhuddlan. *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, vol. ii, p. 53. Tremeirchion Church contains a Templar's effigy.

[2] *St. Asaph*, vol. i, p. 413.

[3] "Hawk of the hill, king of the wilderness."

[4] The Templars' raison d'etre had gone with the fall of the Latin Kingdom. The accusations brought against them at their trial are too fantastic for belief. Some think that an Albigensian element crept in, or that they had embraced oriental secret religions of an ugly type. Either would account for some of the accusations. But another solution seems preferable—that Philip IV of France, and Pope Clement V, under the influence of that King, between them trumped up a set of accusations. It was a distinct danger to turn loose in Western Europe a body of fine fighting men, owing no allegiance to anybody (for they were a sovereign Order), highly disciplined, absolutely united, and bound by no ties except those of their own body.

supported by two of their own members, they furnished a colourable pretext for seizing the possessions of the fraternity, and executing many of them on the charge of capital crimes.[1] The preceptor of Garway, Philip de Mewes, was one of the ill-fated band who at the suppression of the body in 1311, was tortured "usque ad judicium sanguinis". Garway was declared to be the scene of horrible blasphemies, for James de Moxley, Grand Master of the Order, was accused of having compelled novices to deny Christ, on pain of being thrust into a sack "and carried to a place which they would find by no means agreeable". The future held a similar fate for the rival Knights of St. John. The times altered and they became an anachronism, but that Order was allowed a brief respite. It continued, after occupying Malta, to maintain an Eastern base of operations and proved an effective bulwark against the Turks.

From the time of their expulsion from Palestine, until the end of their independence in 1798, they were a factor to be reckoned with in the "Eastern Question". The climax came when they persisted in their allegiance to the Papacy after the rupture between England and Rome. This was too favourable an opportunity to be overlooked, and Henry VIII who was doubtlessly actuated by a mere desire to seize the property of both Orders, availed

[1] Walter Map, *De Nugis, Dist.*, i, c. 18, with his native and attractive vivacity, gives some particulars on the origin of the Templars which are not found elsewhere, and makes some remarkable reflections on their rapid degeneration. The Order of Templars survived in Portugal, where King Diniz (Denis), instead of confiscating their property or bestowing it on the Hospitallers or the Teutonic Knights, formed them in 1317 into a new Order, the Order of Christ, and settled on it their former possessions. Later, this became an ordinary order attached to the Portugese Crown, and still exists.

himself of it to abolish them and confiscate their estates.[1]

The Templars and Hospitallers were not the only Orders which enlisted the interest of Welshmen. Pope Alexander VI probably instituted the Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Their privileges were of an unusual character; they were exempt from taxation, they could marry, and cut down and bury the bodies of criminals on the gallows. Some notable Welsh families enrolled themselves. Cyllin Ynfyd, a descendant of Cunedda Wledig, belonged to the Order, but at what date is uncertain. A member of the house of Tredegar formed the subject of a poetical panegyric by Gwilym Tew :—

"Cywydd Moliant i Syr Sion ap Morgan o Dredegyr.[2]

Y Marchog arfog i gyd[3]
A droes aur dros ei wryd
Syr Sion a'r Groes ar ei sel[4]
Swydd Marchog sydd mor uchel
Maint a fedr myn Tafodwg[5]
Morgan gwin llydan Gwaun-llwg[6]
Gwair Tre-Degyr trwy dân
A gynhaufir gan Jevan
Arf a sêl ar Fasaleg[7]
Aeth gan ei lys wyth gan lêg
Ni farn henaint frenhinol
Yn Aberwysg neb ar ol

[1] It should be added, however, that the Knights of St. John survive in vigour. Their present work is philanthropic, and they fulfil a useful function.

[2] From a copy written about 1770.

[3] The poem is obscure. The first lines probably contain heraldic allusions. Sir John Morgan's shield, as appears from the mutilated monument at St. Woolos's, Newport, bore a Cross engrailed between four spearheads. *Arch. Camb.*, Series v, vol. i, p. 35.

[4] The ensign or badge of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.

[5] An asseveration. St. Tyfodwg, who came to Wales with Cadvan in the fifth century, joined the School of St. Illtyd and founded the Churches of Llandyfodwg, Ystradyfodwg, and, together with two other Saints, that of Llantrisant. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 223.

[6] Like wine, his bounty made the hearts of men of Gwentllwg expand.

[7] Symbolizing the Knight's high dignities, power, and influence. D. R. Thomas in *Arch. Camb.*, *ibid.*

Batel ni rown a welais
Ben saeth heb wayw Einion Sais[1]
Y mae'r Dinas mawr danaw
Estyned rym Iestyn[2] draw
Uwch nag Onn Brychan[3] gynnar
Ym mynwes Gwent mae'n ysgwâr
Elen a'i mhab[4] drwy lanw mor
A noe fynt fel nai Ivor[5]
Mor na thir mawr ni thariwyd
Myned fal llûn Monfil[6] llwyd
Ser a ddangosai wryd
Syr Bown[7] wrth fesur y byd
Eddewinwy i Ddynion
Aros roi Ser ar Syr Sion
Sant Rial Caer y salem
Y sydd â'r aur is ei drem
Arwain y rhol aur yn rhodd
Yn ei wrthol a i nerthodd
Y Groes ir a garai Sion
Y prynwyd y Perinion[8]
Ei frid oedd wryd i ddau
Wneuthur i Frenhiniaethau
Ef aeth dewiniaeth danaw
Israel dros yr olau draw
Ystasiwn Crist a'i Oesoedd
Yn niwedd âllt yno ydd oedd
Ni bu droed fedd heb weddi
A wnaeth ar ol un a thri[9]
Erchi teyrnged Maredydd
O ddwfr Groeg ydd wyf i'r grudd,
Offrwm rhyfedd a wneddyw
Ar drwyn bedd-aderyn byw.
Er dwyn aur a'r gwaed yn win
Y bu'r Warr yn Byrerin
Aur yn lle ôd ar y llu,
India fawr yn diferu;
Arian Syr Morgan a'r march
A'r pedryw a'r padriarch.
Aur a fenyg ar fenys
Ar gil ei ddrem Arglwydd Rhys
Aur a phalm ar ei ffolwer
Aur y sy'n cloi Sain Cler
Os dewinais, oes dynion,
Os aur y sydd ar Syr Sion
Ar ddewiniaeth Urddonen
Y gellid bod gwallt ei ben.

Gwilym Tew ai Cant."

The Stradlings, a family famous in the annals of Glamorganshire, were closely identified with this Order. Sir William, in the reign of Richard II, his son Edward, and

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[1] Einion ap Cadivor who invited Robert Fitzhamon and his Normans into Morganwg. *Sais*, English speaking.

[2] Iestyn ap Gwrgant, King of Glamorgan and Einion's ally.

[3] King of Brycheiniog.

[4] Helen, the heroine of the *Inventio Crucis*, and Constantine.

[5] Ifor hael, the patron of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

[6] Sir John Mandeville, the traveller in the 14th century. See ch. xxiii.

[7] Bown o Hamtwn; the French Beuve de Hamtone, knight of romance, whose exploits are recorded by Drayton in the *Polyolbion*.

[8] The stations at Jerusalem visited by pilgrims. They are enumerated in pilgrim itineraries.

[9] The Trinity.

great grandson Henry, all went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and "received the Order of the Sepulchre there". The last mentioned died at Cyprus on his way home.[1]

Another Knight of this fraternity, Sir Hugh Johnys of Landymore Castle in Gower, served five years in the "werris" under John Palaeologus, Emperor of Constantinople.

The institution of the Military Orders is a positive proof that the Crusades reacted favourably on humanity. Neither can there be any question that society at large derived benefit from a proclamation of a truce of God, a "peace of the Cross, a peace of Holy Church, and our Father the Pope", lulling for a while and taming the fierce spirit of the age. Still more conspicuous was the gain that accrued to the Papacy by the extension of its jurisdiction. Supposing any subsidiary motive underlay the Papal patronage of the Crusades, whether to create a diversion in European Politics (for example, in a case of a collision with the Emperor), or to distract attention from any burning topic, a useful purpose was served by turning the overflowing energies of a restless population against that ancient enemy, the Moslemah. In virtue of his spiritual prerogative, of his "superhuman commission", the Pope claimed a right to interfere in the internal affairs of the nation, to levy taxes under the name of alms, to release Barons from allegiance to their Sovereigns, inferior tenants from allegiance to their chiefs, and debtors from obligations to their creditors, in order to set armies in motion. Again, the Papacy was bent on subduing a spiritual rebellion and recalling Eastern Churchmen to obedience to the hereditary head of Eastern and Western Christendom. If the dead drenched the sands of

[1] For the pedigree of the Stradling family, see G. T. Clark's *Genealogies*, pp. 435-443.

Palestine with their blood, if Peter the Hermit's heart failed him, or Bernard's impassioned invocations and glowing prophecies issued in shame and ignominy, if the Cross went down before the Crescent, the knowledge that Heaven's Vicegerent on earth had not accompanied the hosts and was secure, mitigated the disaster, softened any sign of Divine displeasure and enabled the world to lay the guilt of failure at the door of the pilgrims or on the conduct of the troops.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Thresholds of the Apostles.—Rise of the Pilgrimage.

The pilgrim spirit, which had hitherto found amplest satisfaction in the Holy Land, was still alive and active. The decay of the crusading impulse temporarily diverted its current elsewhere. The infirmity of purpose in the conduct of the Crusades, the disenchantment that ensued when hopes of success were rudely dashed to the ground, the disillusion with regard to the motives animating the leaders, the waning ascendency of the Latins, the misuse of victory by the Soldiers of the Cross, the murderous discord which not seldom rent the Crusading camp asunder, public disgust consequent upon the feuds between the Latin and Greek brothers in arms, the unexpected refinement of the East, the revelation of the true character of their antagonists, the rift between the Eastern and Western Churches, the decay of old lines of communication, the horrors of pestilence, and the steady advance of Mahommedanism resulting from the forementioned evils—all these considerations brought a change over the spirit of the dream which for two centuries had been beguiling Christendom. The death of St. Louis in 1270 marked the climax. To all intents and purposes the pilgrimage to

Jerusalem was no more. Public sentiment, however, could not remain content without some object of pilgrimage. There was another country, the capital of which was invested with august memories, and replete with records of past ages. Here lingered immemorial traditions such as no other city except Jerusalem could furnish. Here were a score of civilisations dead and lying in state one beside each other. That country was Italy and that city Rome. Italy was also peculiarly favoured by a fortunate combination of qualities well fitted to arrest the attention of barbarian, scholar, or saint. Italy was the spoilt child of nature; and history had co-operated with nature in transforming her into a centre radiating artistic and æsthetic influence. That spell has remained undissipated to this day. The reasons are not obscure; her equable climate, her fertility, the material splendour of her cities, and the glamour of old Rome,

"Qua nihil in terris complectitur altius aether;"[1]

her ruins bearing age-long witness to the majesty of her past, her beautiful scenery, her legendary associations, the art cradled, the literature nursed by her, the hallowed associations that clustered around many spots—these causes united to throw around Italy a resistless and growing fascination. They rendered her at once a battle-field, a pleasure-ground, a resort for the pilgrim and a university for the world.

The fame of Italy had reached Ultima Thule. Ireland had at an early period yielded to the enchantment. The following passage from the Life of the Irish saint Senan, if it does not absolutely prove an intimacy with continental Christianity, points in that direction:—

[1] The Burgundians embraced the Roman religion because they were impressed by the fact that the "God of the Romans is a strong helper to those who fear him". Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, vii, 30.

> "While he was on the island of Inis Cara, near Killaloe on the Shannon, there came a ship's crew from the lands of Latium, on a pilgrimage to Ireland. Five decades were their number, all of perfect folk." These pilgrims before starting placed themselves under the protection of one or other of the Irish saints. "Each decade of them chose its favourite of the saints of Ireland; and they cast themselves on his favour before they would come out of their own country, and they cast on him the safeguarding of their way and of their journey until they should reach Ireland. . . . . These are the saints whom they chose, namely, Findia, and Senan, and Brenainn, and Ciaran, and Bairre."[1]

The words show that if Irishmen gravitated in large numbers towards Italy, Ireland in its turn offered attraction, in the shape of shrines or schools, to the Southerner. Lives of other Irish saints afford glimpses of Italy, and especially of Lombardy. Thus we read: "Sechnall, the companion of St. Patrick, was son of Restitutus Secundinus of the Lombards of Letha, that is, Italy":—

> "A Lombard by race was Sechnall, Of a pure white, fierce race, whiteness of colour, Lombards of Italy."[2]

That Palladius, "who was sent by Celestine II to the Scots (namely, the Irish), in order to strengthen their faith",[3] visited Italy is not improbable. St. Patrick also relates in his *Confessions*, that as a captive wandering with the traders whom he had joined at an Irish seaport, he found his way to the Italian peninsula. At this time the idea of pilgrimage had probably not occurred to him; but later he projected two journeys to Rome and carried out his intention at least once. Upon hearing of the death of Palladius he altered his mind and consecrated himself at once to the service of Ireland. Palladius and Patrick

[1] *Book of Lismore*, § 2,069 (ed. Stokes). Other foreign pilgrims to Ireland are commemorated in the *Book of Leinster*, p. 373, cols. 3, 4, and *Lebar Brecc.*, p. 23b.

[2] Cf. *The Calendar of Oengus*, Nov. 27th, and Colgan, *Acta S.S.*

[3] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 430.

were not, however, isolated instances. St. Columbanus's case is well-known. When he landed in Gaul, the natives asked who he was; he replied: "I am an Irish pilgrim; and my speech and action correspond with my name, which is in Hebrew Iona, in Greek Peristera, and in Latin Columba, a dove."

The same remarks apply to Scotland. Adamnan's *Life of Columba* shows that the monks of Iona were in active sympathy and communion with their Christian brethren on the Mediterranean. One day the Holy Man startled the brotherhood of simple souls by announcing, "A sulphurous flame from heaven has been this hour sent down upon a city of the Roman Empire, situated within the boundary of Italy, and nearly three thousand men, besides a number of mothers and children, have perished. And before the present year is ended Gallic sailors, coming hither from the provinces of the Gauls,[1] shall relate these same things to you. Which words, after some months were proved to have been true. For the same Lugbe (one of the community) going with the Holy Man to the Headland[2] and questioning the captain and the crew of a bark that had arrived, hears narrated by them all those things just as they were foretold by the illustrious Man".[3] The place is said to be Citta Nuova,

[1] Gallici nautae de Galliarum provinciis adventantes—perhaps from Nantes.

[2] Namely, Cantyre. *Kyntire* or *Cantyre*, like *Pentire* in Cornish, is "Headland" or "Promontory". Or "Land's End", for *Ceann* in Gaelic, like *Pen* in Welsh and Cornish, means "end" as well as "head".

[3] Notker Balbulus (840-912) refers to this incident; he had utilized the Martyrology at St. Gall, composed at Luxeuil and all the more valuable because Columbanus and his companions hailed from Bangor (the nearest Irish abbey to Iona and presided over by Comgell, Columba's closest friend): "Subversionem quoque civitatis quae nunc Nova dicitur in Italia, in subitaneo stupore, terrae

the Alvum of Ptolemy, north of the river Quieto in Istria. This lends interest to another passage in the Life of the Saint :—

"This great favour has also been granted to this same man of blessed memory, that, although he lived in this small and remote isle of the British Ocean, his name has deserved to be honourably made known, not only throughout the whole of our Ireland and Britain, largest of the islands of the whole world, but to reach even as far as triangular Spain, and the Gauls, and Italy that lies beyond the Pennine Alps, even to the city of Rome itself, which is the head of all cities."

Antecedently it might be conjectured that Britain, actually incorporated, as it was, in the Roman Empire, imbued with Roman civilization, using Roman nomenclature and speaking the Roman tongue, would be likely to possess an intimate acquaintance with Italy. Unlike the natives of Ireland and Scotland the Britons claimed the title "Romani" in contrast to the surrounding barbarians, and kept up the connection with Rome until invading hordes from Northern Europe driving a wedge between Britain and Italy rendered further intercourse impracticable, but only for a time.[1] The thoughts of the

hiatu, imo coelestis irae respectu subversam conspexit, et aliis extasin ejus mirantibus id ipsum nuntiavit, sed et hoc praedixit, quod Gallici nautae, sicut et factum est, eandem rem ipso anno in Scotia relaturi essent. *Martyrol.*, v. Id. Jun.

The expression "*Civitatis* quae nunc *Nova* dicitur" points rather to Naples (Neapolis, New City), which lies, as a matter of fact, in the most volcanic district.

[1] The Saxon invasion temporarily barred the way to the Continent by land. Giraldus records their inroads as a contributory cause of the severance or, at least, the interruptions of the communications between the British and Roman Churches :—

"If any one is prompted to ask why the Church of Menevia so long refrained from seeking and did not obtain the Pallium . . . . the chief and foremost cause was the occupation of the Kingdom

Dark Ages harked back to the old Imperial Capital, the symbol of vanished unity, the keystone of the physical world, as expressed in the words of a song of the eighth century :—

> "While stands the Coliseum time shall stand;
> When falls the Coliseum Rome will fall;
> With time will fall the universe and all."

The Church of Rome, succeeding the Roman Empire on the world's stage, and entering into possession of the Imperial power, adopted some features of the secular organization. When that system finally collapsed before the successive shocks of barbarian inroads from the multitudinous North, the Church set about collecting the rem-

of Britain by the Saxons, which was accomplished about the same time as our Pallium disappeared, and no avenue to the Chair of St. Peter was open to the Britons." iii, p. 77.

The following anecdote illustrates the bitterness between Celt and Saxon: "At the request of a Synod, Aldhelm wrote to Geraint, King of his neighbours, the West Welsh, exhorting him, for the sake of Catholic unity, to suppress in his realm the Druidic tonsure and the obsolete reckoning of Easter. This letter, containing the earliest evidence that the difference between the Dionysian computation and the Victurian was understood in Britain, possesses an incidental interest. Aldhelm draws a deplorable picture of the venomous hatred cherished by the Welsh clergy beyond the Severn against English Churchmen. Not only did they scorn to worship in the same buildings or eat at the same table, but they would actually throw to dogs and swine the broken victuals of an English meal; went even so far as to cleanse the plates and cups by scouring them with sand or ashes, for fear of defilement. So far from offering the 'kiss of brotherhood' to clergy who came to sojourn among them, they compelled all to submit to a humiliating quarantine in the literal sense of the word, by way of penance or purification, before admitting them to their presence. It was probably respectful affection for the writer rather than for his arguments that caused the Welsh subjects of Ina to obey his injunctions. Their kindred beyond the Severn remained obdurate until the latter part of the eighth century, the Welsh of Cornwall until the tenth". C. Platts, *Pioneers of our Faith*, p. 330.

nants of the old world's wisdom, opening the ways of communication, and reconstructing society. The residuary legatee of ideals that had passed away, the Roman Church gathered into her hands the reins of a spiritual domination, and studiously concentrated the forces of Christendom in the old Metropolis, which henceforward became the centre of the spiritual federation.[1] It should also be borne in

[1] The many nations that were incorporated into the Empire had idiosyncrasies of their own, which perhaps acted on the way in which they took their religion, but even in the outlying countries there were at least two classes of people, the Roman or Romanized upper and educated class, who (as Gildas did, long after the withdrawal of the legions) prided themselves on being Romans, and in the West spoke a kind of Latin, and the lower and less cultured natives, who seldom produced religious leaders. In Gaul and Spain nationality had died out with the Celtic language of Gaul, and the Iberian (or whatever it was) of Spain; when the Arian Visigoths and Pagan Franks came in and established new kingdoms on the ruins of those parts of the Empire, the inhabitants, who were Catholic Christians, were simply Romans, as much as were the North Italians when the Arian Astrogoths and Pagan Lombards settled there. Britain was less effectively Romanised in speech and character, and relapsed into (or, to put it more politely, recovered) its former Celticism. But when Christianity first came here, Britain was Roman, in the Imperial sense, and belonged to the Western Patriarchate, as soon as Patriarchates were organised. The presence of British Bishops at Arles, Sardica and Ariminum, all three Councils of the Patriarchate of Romĕ, proves this. The idea that British Christianity came from the East, of which there is no evidence, except in the sense that all Christianity came from the East—including that of Rome, for St. Peter and Paul were certainly orientals—raises difficulties. If the Roman contention concerning the universal jurisdiction of the Popes is correct, the jurisdiction would be the same from whatever source British Christianity emanated. If it is a wrong claim, there would be no jurisdiction, even if the whole of the missions to Britain could be proved to have come direct from Bishops of Rome. But the history of the early British Church had been confused. Stress has been laid unduly on casual points which appear to show orientalism, and the more prominent occidentalisms have been ignored. But a fact, which has great bearings on the Celtic Church, must not be

mind that the political constitution of the Church was also insensibly moulded or modified by the political form of the ancient State.

But it must not be supposed that the prestige of the Church was traceable to the influence of Roman Imperialism alone. The Christian religion had struck deep root in Rome, and had germinated quickly. When the Church passed into calmer waters, when Christians were finally vouchsafed even-handed toleration, and were actually protected by the Imperial sceptre, the movement grew apace. By the end of the third century, there were in the City no less than forty churches to each of which a separate staff of clergy was attached. This was not all. The Church in Rome was distinguished for good works, and earned the title, bestowed upon her (A.D. 115) by Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης.[1] Other writers bear like testimony to her pre-eminence in deeds of charity and hospitality.[2] By the time that Constantine crossed the Rubicon, dividing the Old Order and the New, Paganism and Christianity, the Church in Rome, while not so vigorous as in Asia Minor, Thrace, Armenia, and Edessa (where Christianity could claim nearly one half of the

forgotten, that at the two ends of the Empire, but outside it, that is to say, in East Syria and Ireland, Christianity later developed in a large measure and lines of its own; and some of the peculiarities of these two developments, which took place among races untouched by Roman Imperial civilisation, were so much alike as to lend colour to the belief that the two were connected. The Syrian developments, in some respects, including, or perhaps in consequence of, the same kind of unbridled fervour, so unlike the calmness and restrained dignity of the Roman mind, present very similar phenomena to those in Ireland. Cf., F. C. Burkitt's *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1899) and *Early Eastern Christianity* (London, 1904).

[1] προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, *Ad Rom:* prooemium. Cf. Zahn *in loc.*

[2] Harnack, *Die Ausbreitung*, ii, 383.

population), yet could count among its ranks a very material portion of the inhabitants.[1] It had gradually subdued the ruling classes. This is also noteworthy, that before the middle of the third century the centripetal forces of Christianity were more powerful than the centifrugal, and Rome was the centre on which they converged, nor was it long before the exulting cry arose, "Christus vivit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat". In brief, the Roman Empire became the Catholic Church.

The majority of the Christians whose recorded travels have come down to us, made Rome their goal,[2] and their experiences serve to illustrate the ease with which communication between Rome and the Provinces was maintained in the early centuries of the Christian era.[3] Visits to Italy and Rome for the purpose of consultation on some point of order or doctrine went on uninterruptedly down to the Middle Ages.[4] The Bishops of London, York, and

[1] They were largely composed of Greeks, and Paul writes to them in Greek in *Ep. to Romans.* This is true of the Empire generally. Harnack, i, 459; ii, 380, 463.

[2] Cf. Caspari, *Quellen z. Taufsymbol,* vol. iii (1875).

[3] See Harnack, *Die Ausbreitung,* i, 291-2, 311.

[4] Several kinds of jurisdiction have been exercised by the Bishops of Rome. These are:

1.—Episcopal, over the diocese of Rome, where the jurisdiction is similar to that of any other Bishop in his own diocese.

2.—Metropolitan, as Archbishop of the Province of Rome (Rome itself and the six suburban sees).

3.—Primatial, as Primate of Italy, which only includes a sort of chairmanship.

4.—Patriarchal, as one (and the highest in rank) of the Five Patriarchs, having jurisdiction over all Europe except the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

5.—Papal, having as successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, jurisdiction over the whole Church.

The episcopal, metropolitan and primatial jurisdictions rest on exactly the same foundations as any other episcopal, metropolitan

Lincoln attended the Synod of Arles, A.D. 316,[1] and the presence of British bishops at the Council of Ariminum, in 359, is attested by an incidental reference. Out of four hundred bishops who attended only three availed themselves of the Imperial offer of maintenance, and they were from Britain. The rest thought acceptance unbecoming.[2] A British bishop attended the Council of Rome 721. At later Councils also Britain was represented, for example, at the one convoked by the Cardinals at Pisa, to deliberate upon the claims of the rival Popes Gregory XIII and

and primatial jurisdictions, namely, tacit or expressed acquiescence of the Church at large. With these the British Church had no concern. They were not the Pope's subjects in either of these aspects. There remain the Patriarchal jurisdiction, which is guaranteed by distinct enactments of the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople and Chalcedon, and was considered to be an "ancient custom" as early as Nicæa; and the Papal, which is held to be founded on certain words of our Lord to St. Peter. Though what might be implied thereby was very vague, the recognition of the Pope as the successor and representative of St. Peter is as early as the cry which greeted the "Tome" of St. Leo at Chalcedon in 451. The division of the Church into Patriarchates, Provinces and Dioceses evidently followed, as might naturally be expected, the civil divisions of the Empire. This was probably done as unconsciously as the Provinces and Dioceses of the Anglican Church in the Colonies have formed themselves.

The jurisdictions of the Pope which concerned the British Church were only the Patriarchal and the Papal, but it was not always easy to distinguish the two. As in the diocese of Rome itself the present Pope Pius X may at any moment be acting as Bishop, Metropolitan Primate, Patriarch or Pope, so in Britain he might be acting as Patriarch or as Pope. The limits of each jurisdiction are not easy to define.

The attendance of British Bishops at Arles, Rimini and probably Sardica, all of them Patriarchal councils, shows that those Bishops considered themselves to belong to the Patriarchate of Rome. It would not be difficult to argue, with much show of truth, that the only jurisdiction ever exercised in Britain by the Roman See has been Patriarchal. Papal jurisdiction is only used (*a*) in deciding on appeals from the other Patriarchates; (*b*) in defining doctrines of faith and morals for the whole Church. The first of these cannot apply to Britain; the

Benedict, by the bishops of Bangor[3] and Menevia.[4] There is evidence also to show that British bishops made pilgrimages to Rome to secure confirmation from the Pope of the privileges of their churches or of their own appointments. Thus, for example, in the *Liber Landavensis*: "This is the law and privilege of the Church of Teilo of Llandaff, which these kings and princes of Wales gave in perpetuity to the Church of Teilo, and to all the bishops after him, confirmed by the authority of the Popes of Rome."[5] Similarly, in a later passage of the same record:[6]

second is of very rare occurrence, and is only applied to Britain in common with every other country. The great system of the Roman Curia and its congregations, etc., is, with the exception of the Inquisition, possibly the congregation of the Index, and the congregation for the Oriental Rite in the Propaganda, wholly Patriarchal, when it is not Diocesan or otherwise limited. The other Patriarchs—those of the Orthodox Eastern Church—have similar Courts. Even the right of canonizations is claimed and occasionally, though very sparingly, exercised by the Eastern Patriarchs. The fact is that it is only in the Patriarchate of Rome that the old Patriarchal system has not broken down. Owing to the setting up of Balkan kingdoms, the Patriarchs of Constantinople have lost most of their district. There are no less than six Patriarchs of Antioch, Latin, Maronite, Melchite and Syrian in communion with Rome, Orthodox and Jacobite not in communion. Rome in the East has been obliged to accept the Turkish principle of the "millet" (nation) as conterminous with religions, for nothing else is possible. Hence all this variety of Eastern Rites.

[1] They were accompanied by a Presbyter, Sacerdos, and a deacon, Arminius. It is possible that British bishops attended the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325.

[2] Sulp. Severus, *Chron.*, ii, 41. Inopia proprii publico usi sunt.

[3] The Indici of the Vatican Archives give: Bangorensis episcopus orator in conc. Pisam. 63, 7 p. 741.

[4] Henricus Episcopus Menevensis ad Concil. Pisam, *ibid.* 63, 7, 85, 667.

[5] *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 355, 6. It is the oldest text, except the Gospel, in the MS., and is evidence of the kind of authority that was considered desirable in an ecclesiastical title-deed.

[6] Pp. 312, 376. See Latin text, pp. 67, 111, 112.

"The privilege of St. Teilo, and his Church of Llandaff, is granted to him and to all his successors . . . and confirmed by Apostolic Authority." It is also stated that when Oudoceus ascended the Episcopal throne, "he visited the threshold of St. Peter, and received the privilege of SS. Dubricius and Teilo". There seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the evidence. Again, in 1039, Joseph, Bishop of Llandaff, died at Rome.[1]

The custom of paying official visits to Rome lasted far into the Middle Ages. Sometimes the Welsh bishops appear in compromising situations. Under the year 1452 mention is made of a bishop of Llandaff who was suspended (for what cause does not appear), while twelve years later a brother prelate, John Milverton, Bishop of Menevia, was lying in durance vile at the Castle of St. Angelo, whence, however, he was subsequently freed. Usually the Welsh bishops occupy a less ignominious position. Richard de Carew, known among the Welsh by the title of Yr Athraw Risiart O Gaer Ryw, was consecrated Bishop of Menevia by Pope Alexander IV in 1280; John Trevor as Bishop of St. Asaph in 1353; Llewelyn ap Madoc nominated to the same See at Rome by Papal Bull in 1357; Howel ap Grono to Bangor at Avignon in 1371; Edmund Bromfield to Llandaff, and John Trevenant, whose name bespeaks his origin, to that of Hereford in 1389. These visits, *ad limina*, were links in the chain connecting Britain with Rome.

But neither the prestige of old Rome, nor the authority arrogated by the Papacy, nor the alleged direct derivation of the Roman Church from St. Peter, is sufficient to account for the power which drew the nations to the Eternal City, and impelled a cloud of Celtic saints, confessors and churchmen, braving personal peril, or facing personal dis-

[1] *Annales Cambriae*, A.D. 1039. *Brut y Tywysogion* gives 1043.

comfort, across the Alps and Apennines. The lives of Roman Martyrs, their unflinching heroism, their naif insolence, their indomitable hope, appealed irresistibly to the mind and flung a halo over Rome for sixteen hundred years.

The first to hang out the bloody flag of persecution was Nero. Among the many dark sinister figures that cast their shadows over the early Church, Nero gained an unhappy pre-eminence. An amalgam of contradictions, at once terrible and grotesque, sublime and ridiculous by turns, tyrant, buffoon, and actor in one, he suddenly found himself clothed with irresponsible power. The Roman world was fast lapsing into decrepitude, and offered scope for uncontrolled indulgence of his caprices. His madness took the form of a literary and musical craze, uniting certain æsthetic tastes and artistic qualities. His orgies and massacres might make a king of Dahomey blush, and many mournful chronicles of evil deeds are registered against him. July 19th, A.D. 64, is memorable as a particularly blood-stained page in the annals of his reign and in the life of the Church. A portion of the Imperial City was reduced to ashes by a fierce conflagration which rendered thousands of the poorer inhabitants homeless and penniless. The Fiddler-Emperor[1] was suspected of having fired the Capital for the sake of securing inspiration and "local colour" for his new poem, "The Fall of Troy". The charge gained credence, and the Emperor was held up to public execration. To divert suspicion, he first charged with arson the Jews, a morose race, a people apart, owing allegiance to a Mystic Being, and notorious abominators of images. The fact that the Jewish Ghetto beyond Tiber had escaped lent support to the accusation. It was no difficult matter to play upon the passions of the mob, and

[1] *Citharoedus princeps.* Juvenal, *Sat.*, viii, 198.

by inflaming hints and appeals to cupidity to arouse public feeling against a race of rapacious infidels, such as these stern Puritans of the Greek and Roman world were considered to be. The investigations, however, of detectives and informers led to a discovery which, while it mitigated the treatment of the Jews, marked out the Christians as victims of fanatical frenzy. For the first time a difference was found to exist between Jews and Christians. At once the latter were hunted out by sleuth-hounds of the Imperial Court and tortured to glut the eyes and ears of a degraded populace. It transpired (so Tacitus tells us) that the City walls harboured a vast multitude[1] of these pestilential foes of the State, haters of the human race, of established order, of the pantheon of the old gods, with whose worship the fortunes of Rome were indissolubly linked. The scenic representations by night, in Nero's Gardens, where, by a singular irony, the Vatican now stands, were illuminated by Christians of both sexes wrapped in pitch, the "shirt of little ease" of the satirists.[2] These living flambeaux, and other features in this programme of horrors, revolted even the debased and callous idlers of the Metropolis, and remained an awful memory in Rome. This first anti-Christian movement was a landmark; for not only did it discriminate between Jews and Christians and inaugurate massacres against the latter, but it branded them a dangerous political society, with ramifications all over the world.

The history of the Church in Rome was written during three centuries in characters of blood. One of the most human documents ever penned is the small anonymous Latin treatise, *On the praises of martyrdom*, which

[1] *Ingens multitudo.* *Annals*, xv, 44.

[2] *Tunica molesta.* Martial. *Epig.* x, 25, 5 ; Juvenal, viii, 235 ; Seneca, *Ep.* xiv, 5.

enables us to realise, to some extent, the feelings with which these gentle souls engaged in a conflict to which there could be but one issue. They sorely needed such sustaining motives and animating appeals. A removal of the fear of death (the spectre which haunted the life of the Pagan like a shadow), a belief that the sufferer would be transported immediately from scenes of carnage to a realm of glory, and a sense of communion with the noble army of witnesses to the Faith who had come out of great tribulation, nerved them against the rack, and steeled them for the long-drawn-out agony of the amphitheatre. While a few could not face the fiery ordeal and returned to rally around the drooping standard of Paganism, the Church was obliged again and again to check the ardour of candidates for the martyr's crown. If apostacy was a calamity to be guarded against with the utmost vigilance, the value of endurance as an object lesson to the heathen and an instrument for disseminating the Faith, could not be over-rated. In the chief Christian centres, schools of martyrdom were established, where the visions and dreams of blessed sufferers were read aloud and repeated from memory. Each aspirant to martyrdom was supplied with the martyr's *vade-mecum*, containing rules for preparation against the supreme trial. The training for the mortal combat included a long and carefully-graded course of mortifications.

The evidence of the series of martyrdoms which sullied the fair fame of some of even the noblest Emperors, but were doubtless inspired by patriotic motives, is of a varied character. The Acts of the Martyrs[1] are one source.

[1] The records relating to early Christian martyrs fall under the following heads: (1) Acta Proconsularia, official reports of trials and executions, e.g., the "Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs", discovered by Armitage Robinson in the British Museum; (2) descriptions by eye-witnesses, e.g., the epistle on the martyrdom of Pothinus in 177,

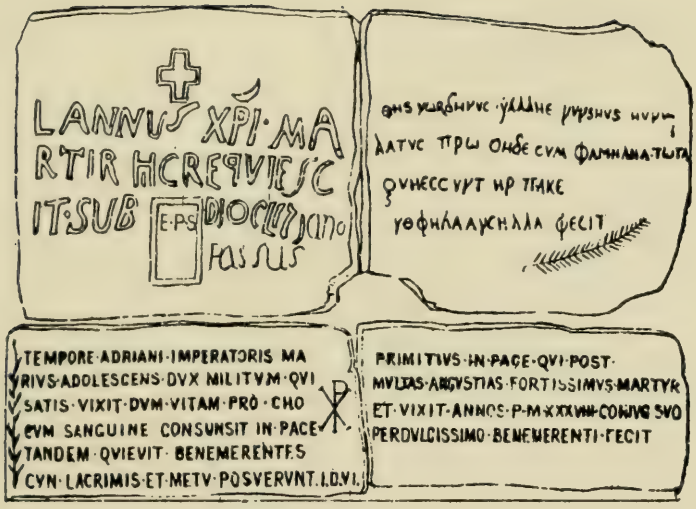
For the earlier period these are comparatively rare, and, having been composed, with a few notable exceptions, at least two centuries after the events, of questionable authority. Under this head falls the Martyrology of St. Jerome, compiled in the middle of the sixth century, but embodying memoranda dating from an earlier period. The same may be said of the so-called *Liber Pontificalis*, a work which had, in part at any rate, a great vogue from the sixth century. To these documents may be added fragments of contemporary Christian writers of undoubted authenticity.

The presence of the remains of an army of Martyrs[1] in this Aceldama explains the concourse of pilgrims who congregated in Rome, at seasons when the deaths of celebrated confessors were commemorated. None of the graves were, however, opened, nor were any bodies extracted. The votaries were well content to introduce scarfs, called *brandea*, to touch the holy relics, and carried them home to display to the astonished gaze of less fortunate friends in distant lands. So carefully were the precious remains guarded that Churchmen of the highest rank found it difficult to obtain portions of them for their cathedrals.[2]

given in *Eusebius*; (3) narratives based on (1) and (2), but composed long after the event; (4) historical romances founded on oral tradition.

[1] Renan, who cannot be suspected of partiality, brushes aside all arguments concerning the small numbers of martyrs, and dwells on the drastic character of the persecutions between A.D. 135 and A.D. 180. Cf., S. Cyril. *Contra Julianum*, lib. x, n. 327, p. 1003, Migne.

[2] But another kind of relic was obtainable and seized upon with avidity, namely, the "oil of a martyr". This consisted of the oil, often mixed with balsam, which was kept burning in a lamp near the tomb. A catalogue of the phials at the end of the sixth century has lately assumed historical importance, and has largely helped the modern explorers of underground Rome. This document is known as the "Monza Papyrus".



To face p. 164.

Martyrs' Epitaphs
from the Catacombs, Rome.

Here was a fit theme for the bard, and Huw Cae Llwyd has sung of these prized treasures :—

"KYWYDD Y KRAIRAV O RYVAIN.

llyma r byd lle mae r bedydd
llyma n jawn ffawd lle mae n ffydd
a try r mor ar tir ar main
entro ir wyf mewn tre Ryvain
af i roi ir wyf ar ol
oedran jesv n dernasol
pymthekant Rivant yr hain[1]
pv Ragor pvmp arigain
kael a wnaf am vy llavur
gras y pab ar groeso pur
mae kywrad[2] a mikari[3]
mae enw a sydd i mynwes j
Pedr wynn[4] helped yr enaid
pennaf i Rodd pan vo Raid
poni rodd pan orweddwyf
Pawl am i rodd palmer wyf
gorav gras a gavas gwr
gweled vernagl[5] duw varnwr
drycha llenn[6] gweled pennav[7]
Pedr a Phawl dduwiawl ddav
da yw gweled gwialen
i droi n had o Aron hen[8]
y kusan[9] ar vaink jesv
ag ar vord y gwr a vy
vn o esgyrn yna wisgwyd
y lawrens[10] yn ledrens lwyd
a thudded wrth ddioddef

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[1] v. l. rhifant o'rrhain. See *Iolo Goch* (ed., C. Ashton), lvi, lines 39, 41-2, and lvii, lines 65. [2] Curatus, curé, curate.

[3] Vicar. Cf., Micariaid personiaid saint, Iolo Goch—and for the change of the initial letter, *villain, bilain, milain.*

[4] Blessed.

[5] The Vernicle. See next chapter for this and other objects of interest mentioned in this poem. [6] The Kerchief.

[7] Under the high altar in "Sancta Sanctorum" or the "Chapel of Clericorum", enclosed with other relics, of which the Pope keeps the keys.

[8] "Hit turned water into blod
And from blod to water agen
To shewe that they weare gode men."
Vernon MS. (ab. 1370 A.D.), fol. 314.

[9] Perhaps Judas's kiss.

[10] St. Lawrence, a Roman deacon. These seven deacons of Rome are now represented by the fourteen Cardinal Deacons, of whom the senior is called *Primus Diaconus* (not *Archidiaconus*). Lawrence was martyred in the Ninth Persecution (under the Emperor Valerian), August 10th, 258. The Prefect of Rome ordered him to surrender the treasures of the Church. The deacon appears from his answer and from a certain speech during his martyrdom to have had some sense of humour ; he collected all the blind, lame, widows, orphans and aged, who were supported by the Church in Rome, and presented them to the Prefect, as being, on

a oedd yn wisg i dduw nef
y brethvn vy yn sychv r saint
ysgairedd jesv gywraint
pais oedd o hapvs weddi
o varw i troes yn vyw r tri
y ffiol of a goviynt
a vy n dwyn y gwenwyn[1] gynt
awn ir kapel[2] i weled
nida gwraig yndo o grod
awn ir ystaer[3] dan ras duw
wenn a gerddoedd yn gwirdduw
awn or kwrt yno ir kor
i kynvllwyd kann allor[4]
pwy draw n ael Pedr na wyla
ai pennav n dwyn piniwn da
sant Andras a lvcas lan
ebostol a Sebastian
kyrff gwynion Simon a Svd[5]
a sy yma heb symvd
o dy bedr yn duw bydawl
i daw y byd i dy bawl[6]
lle dwyvawl llai da oveg
llvn duw at y llaian deg
y kor ir oedd dan y krwys
gyrff jauaink yn gorffwys
kadwyn Pawl wr dwyvawl da
ne vraich wenn i verch Anna[7]
yn eglwys Vair[8] mae krairav
a Mair i hvn ny mawrhav[9]
daear o gyrff dauwr gall
Sieron Mathias[10] arall
gwnaeth ef oi ddioddevaint
lawrens[11] wynn lawer yn saint
vn da oedd yn dioddef
ystyffan[12] [i]stwffio nef
am vn sant i mae ynn son
ar saethav ynyr ais waithon[13]
gogof[14] oedd ag a gaf j
enaid rhydd vyned trwyddi
kaer a sydd ym kares wenn
kaer sy ail kaerysalem[15]
mae n ddaigrav y man ddagrair
ag yn waed mab o gnawd Mair
ar llaeth[16] well well wrth allawr
bronn wenn mam y brenin mawr
naw draen a vy ny drinoedd
yspaenis ar yspwns[17] oedd
mae or groes a droes yn dri[18]

---

account of their prayers, the greatest of the treasures of the Church. He was tortured to death on a gridiron, and was buried where the church of St. Lorenzo fuori le Mura now stands. His head, formerly kept in the Pope's private chapel in the Quirinale, is now on the altar of the little chapel of the Pope's Sacristan, in the Vatican.

[1] The Gall and Vinegar. All in Sancta Croce, or Holy Rood.

[2] Sancta Sanctorum (see above), to which women are not admitted.

[3] Santa Scala. [4] St. Peter's. [5] Jude.

[6] San Paolo fuori le mura. [7] B. V. Mary.

[8] St. Maria Maggiore. [9] An image of the Virgin.

[10] Buried in this Church. [11] See above, line 26.

[12] St. Stephen. [13] St. Sebastian.

[14] Probably the catacomb under St. Sebastian's Church. This was never lost.

[15] Rome, a second Jerusalem. [16] A relic in St. Maria Maggiore.

[17] Sponge (S. Matt. xxvii, 48), in Santa Croce.

[18] Miraculous multiplication of relics.

oes darn i bv grist erni
a Rivau graira n Ryvain
a Rive r mor ef ar main
gwethiav yn gaeth awydd
gan vn or hain am gwnai n Rydd
duw a roes ynn ar dir saint
drom ddiod or maddyaint
a bod yn rodd gan bedr ym
byw a gweled mab Gwilym."

Huw kae llwyd ai kant (1450-1480).[1]

The visits to the Catacombs, and the possibility of acquiring relics, added a powerful impulse to the pilgrim movement which had set in towards the end of the fourth century and continued without interruption until the Reformation.

Meilir, in his poem, (1120-1160) *Marw Ysgafn*, "The placid death of the bard", acknowledges his allegiance to Peter and avows his admiration :—

"Mi, Veilyr Brydyt, berierin i Bedyr
Porthawr a gymedyr gymmes deithi."[2]

The power of the Keys and the protection of Peter formed the subject of the following lines by Einion ap Gwalchmai (1170-1220) :—

"I will crave a boon of God, on the Gates of Heaven,
That Peter place no locks to hinder me."

and others by Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch (1260-1300) :—

"The protection of Peter the peculiar one of the throne of petitions, of porters the best."

Similarly in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* we read :—

"I love to praise Peter, who can bestow true peace,
And with him his far-reaching virtues ;
In every language he is, with hope, acknowledged
As the gentle, high-famed, generous porter of Heaven,"

and in Gwynfardd Brycheiniog's *Can Dewi* :—

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[1] Brit. Museum MS. Add., 31, 075, fo. 70; Llanstephan MS. 134, f. 94.

[2] I Meilir the poet am a pilgrim to Peter,
A porter that regulates appropriate merits.

"Ef cymerth er Duw ddioddefaint
Yn deg ar dòn a charreg a chadw ei fraint
A chyrchu Rhyfain rhan gyrreifiaint[1]
A gwesti yn efre y gwst[2] diamraint."[3]
Llanstephan MSS. 133, poem 831.

CHAPTER IX.

The Thresholds of the Apostles—Sights of Rome.

No place in the world offered so many attractions to engage eye and ear as Rome. A network of rites and ceremonies which had gone on from year to year in unbroken continuity; relics hallowed by association with the Saviour of the world; innumerable "trophies" and other memorials of saints and confessors, not to speak of the remains of Pagan civilization—such were some of the objects which riveted the astonished gaze of the visitor.

The oldest manuscript in Welsh, probably executed in the scriptorium of Carmarthen Priory, contains a poem which shows the magnetic attraction of Rome:—

"Y mae vimrid ardebed.
Arowun ar mor ẇyned.
Etyl butic bitaud ked.

"Y mae vẏmrid ar kighor.
Arowun mẏned ar mor.
Etẏl butic bẏtaud ior.

"Dẏrcheuid bran ẏ hadein.
Arowun mẏned ruvein.
Etyl butic bẏtaud kein.

"O eissillit guledic a gueith
Wtic wosprid aphedir pen pop ieith.
Sanffreid suẏnade[4] in imdeith."[5]

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[1] Pardons, indulgences. The word "pardons" in Article xxii of the xxxix means indulgences. It was the common word in English, and is still used in French and Breton. *Pardoun* is a pilgrimage to which indulgences are attached. [2] Toil.

[3] *Amraint*, "against the franchise or privilege of a city".

[4] *Suynade*, (*swyn*, *signum*), bless us.

[5] "I have a mind to see sights,
Intending to go to sea;
May a useful purpose become a treasure!

Kynddelw (1150-1200) has summed up his lively impression of the sights of Rome in the following vigorous lines :—

"Caer rufein ryued olygawt.
caer uchel uchav y defawt.[1]
Kaer ehang ehofyn y chiwtawt.[2]
ny chyfret y phobyl ae phechawt.
caer arheul caer didreul didrawt.
Kaer bellglaer o bellglot adawt
Kaer barchus barhaus barawt
a berit i bererindawt."[3]

The centuries rolled by, and brought with them revolutions in religious thought and in the political world, but even the Reformation failed to break the spell of Rome, as appears from the following poem :—

"Sion Caerau Hen (1580-1620) yn Llundain, pan geisiai ei gymmydogion ganddo vyned i Ruvain gyda hwynt."

"Nid av i Ruvain gain tra vo gwydd, a rhisg,
I ddwyn rhwysg heb grefydd,
Ar v' einioes yr av i Vynydd
Y Rhiw i gael enaid rhydd."[4]

"I have a mind for an advice,
Intending to go to sea ;
May the purpose be useful, Lord!

"Let the raven uplift its wing,
With the intention of going to Rome ;
May a useful purpose become glorious!

"From the progeny of the sovereign and victor
Gwosprid, and Peter chief of every language,
Saint Ffraid, bless us on our journey!"

Black Book of Carmarthen, xxvii. Skene, ii, 43.

[1] Rule. [2] *Civitatem*, "people".

[3] Can Tyssilyaw, in the *Red Book of Hergest*. Cynddelw was bard to three princes (Owain Gwynedd, Madog ab Meredydd, and Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd). It appears that his unorthodoxy drew down upon him the censure of monks of Strata Marcella. They called upon him to recant his errors and make satisfaction to Holy Church. See Cynddelw's *englyn* in *Myv. Arch.*, i, 263. [4] *Viz.*, absolution.

Of all the wonders on which Rome could pride herself, none were more impressive to the pious votary than the Catacombs, a circuit of Christian cemeteries where yet reposed the bodies of the martyrs. The re-discovery of the Catacombs was opportune. Pope Damasus had opened to the faithful these dim, subterranean galleries with their serried rows of tombs, the bottles of wine, and earthenware oil lamps placed beside the departed.[1] But a day came when they were lost to sight; and between the seventh and fifteenth centuries the very existence of all these burial-places but one[2] was forgotten. It was at the time when the Renaissance was dazzling men's minds, rivalling and bidding fair to eclipse the Church, that the thoughts of Churchmen turned to these guardians, who, as it were, kept silent watch over the Eternal City. May 31st, 1578, was a Red Letter day in the annals at once of the Church and of Archæology.

[1] This mode of burial was dictated by two considerations. First, Christ had been buried in a rock tomb. Next, the survivors liked to think of the departed in their *cubicula* or crypts, (which in some cases served as a family mausoleum, but generally contained the mortal remains of one martyr), as waiting there for the Resurrection Day. The same idea underlies the Greek κοιμητήριον, whence came the word cemetery. The term "bury" is not found in the Christian inscriptions; the usual expression is "deposited in peace" and "deposition".

[2] The cemetery under the Church of St. Sebastian—called "ad catacumbas"—on the Appian way, was known throughout this period. Paschal I (817-824) removed the body of St. Cecily from the Catacomb of St. Calixtus to the church in the Trastevere, on the site of her own house, and restored and decorated the chapel in which it was found. This is certain from inscriptions found there. The catacomb of St. Sebastian, the name of which has given a popular name to all these underground cemeteries, was constantly visited during the Middle Ages. That of St. Calixtus was only found by G. B. de Rossi in the reign of Pius IX. He had made up his mind as to where it ought to be, and persuaded the Pope to buy a certain field, where the entrance was found.

Workmen digging pozzolana in a vineyard on the Via Salaria suddenly broke into one of these ancient cities of the dead.[1] The Holy Roman Church was reeling under the blows inflicted by Luther and Calvin and crippled by the faithlessness of its rulers. Ignatius Loyola had been dead twenty-two years. More was dead. Erasmus was dead, and with him the prospect of compromise between the new and the old forms of faith had passed away.[2] But the discovery of the numberless tombs, which, on the smallest calculation, stuns the imagination,[3] re-kindled hope that had well-nigh died down in the bosoms of the faithful. The resting-places of these heroes and heroines of the Faith in the labyrinthine windings of underground Rome enable the historian to reconstruct in an unexpected manner the condition of the Church in the first centuries, and to lift into the realm of serious history time-honoured traditions which once appeared to have been relegated to the limbo of discarded errors. There is still room for difference of opinion with regard to the doctrinal teaching of the Tombs; but no one can be insensible to the pathos of the story which is being unfolded year after year by the roll-call of these ancestors in the Faith, as these multitudinous memorials yielded up their secrets, or to the evidences of the inward calm that the Christian communities enjoyed;[4] nor will anyone be blind to the importance of the sidelights shed by these burial-grounds upon documentary accounts of the stormy course of the Church, before she was shielded by the Emperors.

The story of the excavation of these subterranean

[1] Ellis Roberts, *A Roman Pilgrimage* (describing a visit to Rome, 1910), p. 79. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] The usual estimate gives three million graves.

[4] As appears from the inscriptions and frescoes.

God's Acres and the revelation of their long-hidden mysteries has been a veritable romance. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Bosio's researches revealed the vast field recovered for the historical imagination ; in the nineteenth, Marchi set a fresh example of patient, scientific enquiry. De Rossi believed that sufficient evidence would be found to elucidate the history of the martyrs of the first two centuries. His anticipations have been singularly verified, and he has succeeded in rehabilitating many of the martyrologies which had been hitherto dismissed as pious fancies, accepted with a half-hearted confidence, or tolerated by disheartened credulity. These interminable corridors have echoed to the tread of generation after generation of devotees from Britain, musing the pathetic story, striving to hear spiritual voices amid the silence, roughly carving their names with a petition to the martyr at rest, or scanning the graffiti on the walls and listening to their weird, changeless testimony to a long distant past. With the restoration of peace to the Church in the fourth century, sepulchral stones became rarer and in the fifth, interment in these Catacombs ceased. Pope Damasus, the celebrator of the spiritual gifts and graces of the saints, who himself died in 384, reverently shrank, as he informs us in his own epitaph, from intruding into their company. But the faithful continued to assemble together on the anniversary of the martyr's death ; for which purpose *memoriae*, that is to say, chapel-tombs, or "confessions", were erected. The reputation of those reposing in these tombs, their humility, their intrepidity, their life-long ascetism and self-effacement, their lofty morality, their present influence among high and low—these considerations concurred to invest the Catacombs with a halo of sanctity and to attract foreigners from every clime.

The first martyrologies or calendars of martyrs' days were compiled to meet the wants of visitors to the illustrious dead; and as every catacomb guarded the remains of some eminent son or daughter of the Faith, entries like the following, from the old Kalendarium Romanum, are typical:—

III. Non. Mart. Lucii in Callisti.
VI. Id. Dec. Eutichiani in Callisti.
XIII. Kal. Feb. Fabiani in Callisti, et Sebastiani ad catacumbas.
VIII. Id. Aug. Systi in Callisti.[1]

Itineraries were composed for the benefit of the visitors who flooded the City, especially at high festivals and anniversaries. The original compositions were probably drawn up in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries; but it has been plausibly conjectured that they were transcribed from yet older itineraries, and that some of the originals may yet be recovered.[2] The information they contain is singularly accurate, and has contributed in no small measure to the elucidation of subterranean Rome. They have proved also the truth of Renan's opinion, that the number of the Roman martyrs has been underrated. It is expressly stated in such guides that they were prepared for the use of pilgrims from Britain, Gaul, Spain, Germany, and Switzerland. One of them deals with the shrines on the Via Vaticana, and describes the crypts under the great Basilica[3] of St. Peter. This

[1] Ruinart, *Acta*, tom. iii.

[2] Bucherius published several of these records.

[3] There is some confusion in the use of the word, *basilica*. It means; (*a*) a Roman Imperial Court, ; (*b*) a Church with certain privileges ; (*c*) a court which became a church ; (*d*) in Roumanian *Bisirica*, in Romansch *baselgia*, means "church" in any sense, whether building or society. This seems to suppose a period when "Basilica" had become the colloquial Latin word for "church," and for a time superseded "ecclesia". It must have been the word when Roumanian and Romansch were in process of formation from Low

itinerary was composed by William of Malmesbury for the use of the Crusaders.[1] He lived and wrote in 1095, but that he borrowed from a much older document is clear from the fact that he enumerates tombs in Catacombs of which the memory had been before his time lost; and he speaks of the champions of the Faith as still resting in their tombs, although it is known, from other sources, that their remains had been, three centuries earlier, translated to Roman basilicas.

Anthony Munday, who was set as a spy on the movements of Welshmen in Rome during the reign of Elizabeth, in his report entitled "The English Romanyne Life", describes the pilgrimage of the Catacombs:—

> "They have certain Vautes underneath the Ground, wherein they say how, in the time that the persecuting Emperors lived in Rome, the Christians were glad to hide themselves, and there they lived many years, having no food nor nourishment to maintain them, but only that they were fed by angels . . . At a church there called St. Pancratia,[2] there is a Vaute, wherein I have gone with the Jesuites of the English College and the Students; and there they have shewed me in diveres places, made on either side in the Vaute as we go, that there lay such a Saint, and there lay such an other; then they were buried, and none was there but they were all Saints. Then (having everyone of us a waxe Light in our Hand, because it is impossible to see any Light in the Vaute and for those Lights the Fryers, that keep the Church, must have Money, which we put into a Basen that standeth at the Going Doone into the Vaute) they looke on the Grounde under their Feete as they goe;

Latin, at any rate locally, just as Κυριακή (which usually means "Sunday") must have meant "church" (unless Κυριακόν was the form) for a time and somewhere, if, as is not quite certain, *Kirche*, *Kirk*, *Church*, come from it. But *Basilica* is certainly now only a "church" in a restricted and rather technical sense, especially in Rome.

[1] It appears among the works of that author.

[2] Evidently San Pancrazio is meant.

and if they chaunce to find a Bone they can presently tell what Saint's Bone it was, either Saint Fraunces, Saint Anthonie, Saint Blaise, or some other saint that pleaseth them to name: Then must no Bodie touch it without he be a Priest, or it must be brought home for an especially Relique; and thus (saving your Reverence) encreaseth the Genelogie of the holy Reliques in Rome . . . Without Rome, about the Distaunce of half a Mile from the Cittie, there is a huge great Vaute, which they call S. Prescillaes Grote; and within this Vaute there is a great many of severall Places, turning one this way, another that way, as, in one street, there may be divers Streetes and Lanes turning every way so that when they goe into this Vaute, they tye the end of a Line at the Going in, and so goe on by the Line, else they may chaunce to loose themselves, and so misse of their coming out again; or else if they have not a Line, they take Chalk with them, and make Figures at every Turning that at their Commin again (being guided by Torch Light, for Candles will go out with the Dampe in the Vaute) they make Accompt, tyll they get foorth; but this is not so ready a Way, as by the Line . . . One of the Priestes, two of the Schollers and I took with us a Line, and two or three great Lightes, and so went to this aforesayde Vaute: We going along, in farther and farther, there we saw certaine Places, one above another, three and three on either side, during a great Way in Length; and these Places, they sayde, to be some of them Graves of persecuted Saintes and Martyirs, when they hid themselves in the Time of the cruell Emperors of Rome, and there they died.

"Proceeding on forwarde, wee came to an olde Thinge like an Aultar, whereon in old and auncient Painting, which was then almost clean worne out, was Christ upon the Crosse, and our Lady, and S. John by him; there the Priest sayde, S. Peter, S. Paule, and many other Saintes had sayde Masses to the Christians that hid themselves there."[1]

The Catacombs were not the only inducements to seek Rome. The churches contained precious objects, and visits to the shrines containing them were rewarded with indulgences, or other privileges, with the result that during the Middle Ages the eventful story of the Cata-

[1] If this was really a representation of the Crucifixion, it was probably a fresco added in the sixth or eighth century.

combs was forgotten. The presence of the bodies lent an impulse to the popularity of the churches where they had found a final resting-place, such as St. Praxedes or St. Pudentiana[1] with its 2000 bodies of the slain, the most ancient church in the world. But even this estimate falls short of the truth ; there was hardly a church of importance which was not honoured by the presence of some hero or heroine of the Faith. To a different class of sanctuaries belonged the Basilica Salvatoris, a building of fourth century origin, now known as the Church of St. John Lateran, "Omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput";[2] so ran the swelling formula on the façade of the

[1] St. Pudentiana (or in Italian Pudenziana) and St. Praxedes (or in Italian Prassede). The Latin form of the latter is that of the modern Brev. Rom. The two Saints were sisters, supposed to be daughters of Pudens, probably the Pudens of 2 Tim., iv, 21, and possibly of Martial iv, 13. The two churches are close together, near St. Mary Major on the Esquiline Hill, or perhaps rather in the valley between that and the Viminale. It is St. Pudentiana, which is supposed to be on the site of the house of Pudens. The mosaics over the tribune, though much restored, are probably fourth century, and the vaults below perhaps belong to the house in which St. Peter lodged. But St. Praxedes was built by Paschal I., in 822. Probably St. Pudentiana is the oldest church in the world, though not the oldest building used as a church, for the Pantheon is older. It is hardly necessary to refer to the identification by Welsh writers of Claudia (also mentioned in this verse) with Gwladys Ruffydd the daughter of Cogidunus, a British chief ; the tissue of idylls woven around her name ; her friendship with St. Paul, and her efforts to send missionaries to Britain. Martial celebrates a lady of British birth, xi, 53. He calls her Claudia Rufina ; the Claudia whom Pudens marries (iv.13) he calls Peregrina.

[2] " Of all the Churches of the City and the World the mother and chief." Of the original basilica attributed to Constantine only fragments probably exist. After an earthquake and two fires, it has been a good deal altered. What one sees now is mostly late (sixteenth century and onward), except the thirteenth century mosaics in the apse and the cloisters. The old basilica of Constantine went on until the beginning of the sixteenth century, and

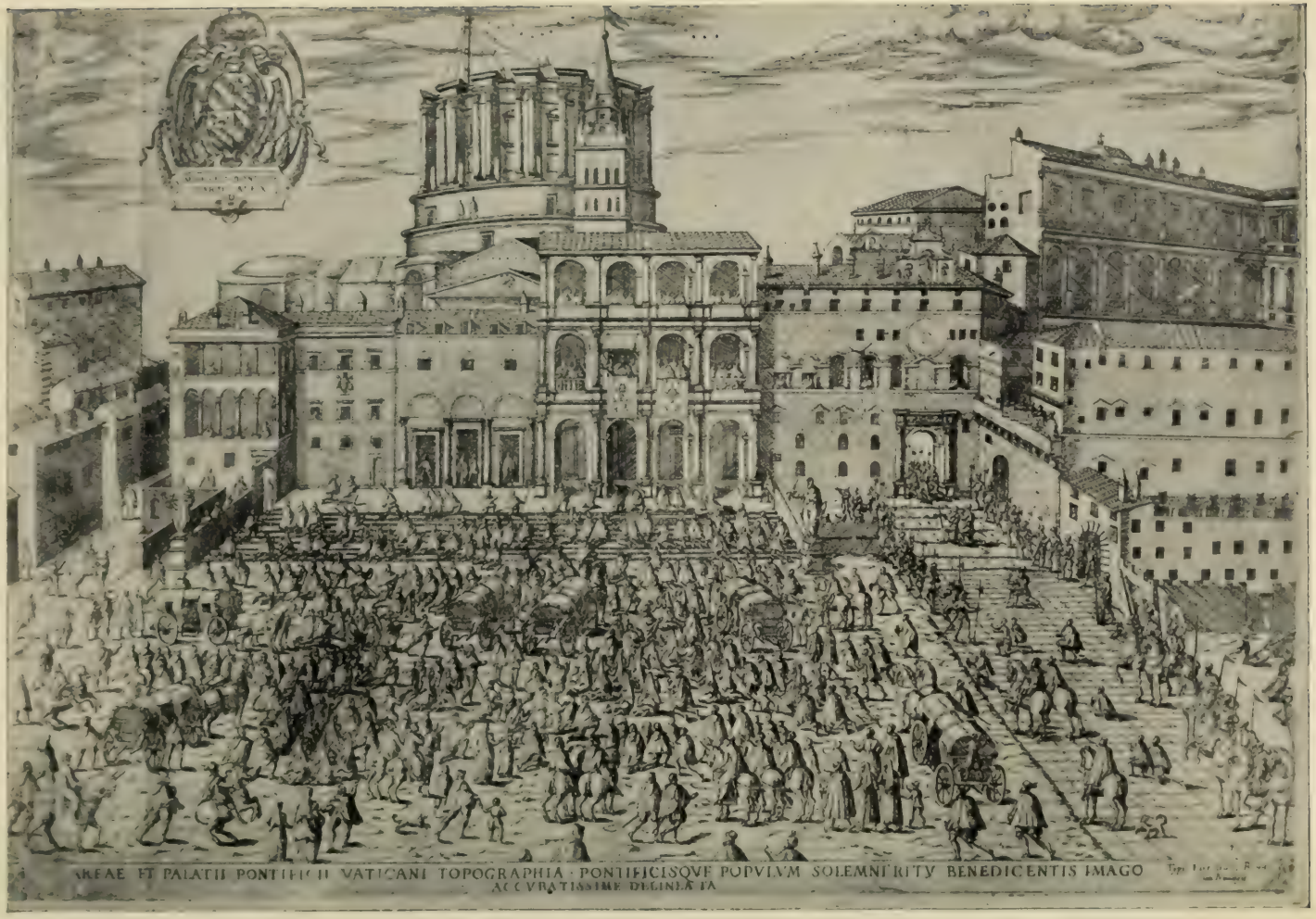

Photo by Donald Macbeth, London.

To face p. 177.

Old St. Peter's, Rome, from a rare print in the British Museum.

Basilica and on the medals borne away by pilgrims.[1] This structure was at once replete with historic associations and rich in memorials of the dead. But gradually the Basilica of St. Peter arose in its gigantic proportions, eclipsed the ecumenical Cathedral in splendour, and superseded it as a centre of ecclesiastical government. Hither the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were translated.[2] Here the devout tourist was brought into communion with all the holy spirits of the past; here he gazed into the Confessio, where St. Peter's remains reposed, or up at the superscription blazoned around the dome:—

"Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam Meam."

In truth, shrines or scenes illustrating the development of religion and chronicling epochs in the growth of the Church were to be found all over the City. Under this category may be included the Scala Santa, reputed to be the identical stairs in the Praetorium at Jerusalem which had been trodden by the feet of the Saviour;[3] the

the new building was not finished till 1626. Theoretically the Lateran has not been eclipsed by St. Peter's. The former is still the Cathedral of Rome.

[1] Giraldus gives an interesting account of the Churches of Rome, iv, 268.

[2] "On Easter Eve I went to see at St. John Lateran the heads of SS. Paul and Peter, which are exhibited here on that day. The heads are entire, Peter's with the hair, flesh, colour and beard, with a brilliant complexion approaching the sanguine, with grey peaked beard, and a Papal mitre. Paul is of a dark complexion with a broader fuller face, a large head, and thick grey beard. These heads stand in a recess away above you. When they are shown the people are called together by the ringing of a bell, and a curtain is then slowly pulled down, behind which you see the heads placed side by side. The time allowed for viewing them is that in which you can repeat an Ave Maria." Montaigne, *Journal de Voyage*, ed. Lautrey, p. 261.

[3] The only portion of the old Lateran is the Sancta Sanctorum at the top of the Scala Santa and it was here that the relics of the Apostles were deposited for a long time. The pentameter "non est

crypt in San Pietro in Montorio, occupying the very spot where Peter was crucified; at "Tre Fontane" the miraculous springs which gushed out where St. Paul's head[1] rebounded thrice from the ground; St. Cecilia's house and scene of her martyrdom. To these and other equally well-authenticated objects of veneration pilgrims streamed from all parts of the civilised globe.[2]

The Church of Santa Croce di Gerusalemme carried the thoughts back to the very beginning of the pilgrim movement. Founded by the Empress Helena, the heroine of the Inventio Crucis, on her return from pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it is said to contain the actual superscription by Pilate,[3] and itself to have been built for the reception of

in toto sanctior orbe locus " inscribed on the chapel at the top of the Scala is of uncertain date.

It was a common custom in the Middle Ages to bring back memorials from the Holy Land. Colonel Irving, of Bonshaw, chief of the Border Clan of Irving, tells me that an ancestor of his who is said to have been in the first Crusade, brought back a piece of the Old Temple at Jerusalem. Calling at Rome on his way back he obtained a special Papal benediction on any Irving who should pray beneath it. When he reached home he fixed the stone in the roof of the hall in his Castle (Bonshaw Tower). There it is still to be seen hanging like a vast seal and bearing, in Hebrew raised letters, I.H.S. in monogram. To this day a large number of Irvings come from all parts of the world, most of them Protestants, ask permission to stand under the " Crusader's stone " and invite a blessing. Perhaps some chips of stone from what was exhibited to wondering pilgrims as Pilate's Palace and embodied in the Scala gave rise to a new devotion. A similar Scala Santa may be seen at Bonn.

[1] No reasonable doubt of the connection of the two Apostles with Rome can be now entertained. From the fifth century pilgrims were shown the very chair in which the Apostle sat while teaching, (sedes ubi prius sedit S. Petrus), and the cemetery of St. Peter's font where he had baptized, (cemeterium ubi Petrus baptizaverat). Other relics of St. Paul are mentioned by Giraldus, iv, 275.

[2] Cf. Giraldus, iv, 275 and 279.

[3] It was in Hebrew, Greek and Latin written backwards and in sunken characters; only a third of it remains. See R. de Fleury,

Photo by E. G. Wood. *To face p. 178.*

Rome: The "Scala Santa", and the "Kiss of Judas".

the True Cross.[1] Of the traditions which recalled our Lord's Passion or Crucifixion two may be mentioned here, because of the references to them in Welsh literature. One of them relates to the Marchog du dall of Mediæval lore.[2] If the legend is to be accepted, he was the Centurion who pierced the side of the Divine Victim. Disease or old age impaired his vision, but, the blood of Christ happening to drop on his eyes, he recovered his sight. Thereupon he renounced the profession of arms, threw in his lot with the Apostles, was instructed by them, and lived at Caesarea for 28 years, where by the constancy of his life and death he converted many unbelievers.[3]

"Mémoires sur les instruments de la Passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ." Giraldus mentions several other relics, iv, 272, 275.

[1] The "True Cross" was deposited at a church erected by St. Helen at Jerusalem; a piece, however, was sent to Constantinople for insertion in one of the statues of Constantine.

[2] A statue of Longinus is one of the four which stand under the dome of St. Peter's.

[3] The legend occurs in many Welsh poems and it seems desirable to trace its genesis and development. It appears in an old Syriac manuscript of the eleventh century, but the legend is much older. Longinus figures in an old Cornish drama, edited by Norris, Oxford, 1859, where there is no confusion between the Centurion and Longius (or Longeus), as he is called there. In the poem *Pascon an Arluth* (The Passion of Our Lord), there is "un den henwys Sentury" (a man called Sentury), who makes the Centurion's speech as given by St. Matthew and St. Mark. Later on "un marreg Longis hynwys, dal o ny wely banna" (a knight called Longis, blind he was, he saw not a drop) pierces the side of Our Lord and recovers his sight. The three Synoptic gospels only tell of the Centurion's speech. St. John's Gospel tells of the piercing, but does not mention the Centurion. Nicodemus tells of both, and calls the *soldier* "Longinus". The passage in St. John, ἀλλ' εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξε, explains the origin of the name of the soldier. It would be very easy to misread it ΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΧΗΣ, and Longis is probably the original misreading, Longinus a confused afterthought. But the confusion with the Centurion is not found in the East. The *Synaxarion* for October 16th, "The Memory of the holy martyr, Longinus the Centurion, who was over (in charge of) the

The legend is embodied in the popular devotion entitled "Breuddwyd Mair" :—

> "Yr Iuddew du dall oedd y Fall a Dy dwyllodd
> A dyn y Fall, wedi dallu[1] a'i dwyllo
> Yn Dy bigo dan Dy fron aswy."

Similarly, in Brittany, Longinus is styled the Blind (Longinus an dall).[2] Gwilym Tew[3] in an ode to Our Lady of Penrhys refers to Longinus's blindness, as follows :—

> "A'r dyn dall a'r glwyd yn donn,
> A'r gwayw aruthr a'r goron."

It also occurs in a charm included in Meddygon Myddfai :—

> "Fal hynn y gwnaeth Rhiwallon Feddyg rhag gwaedling i Lograinys farchog, Sangiws Farchog a ddywanodd ystlys Crist fab Mair wyry ag ar hynt doeth y gwaed a'r dwr."

The tradition survived in Protestant Wales. A halsing or

Cross", says that he was a Cappadocian, and only tells the story of his confession as St. Matthew and St. Mark do, saying nothing about the piercing. He rejected the gifts of money from the Jews, "to give a false account of the Resurrection", with two other soldiers (one of whom may possibly have been the soldier with the spear) who later were martyred with him. He left the Army and preached the Gospel in his own country. Ultimately he and the other two were beheaded. His head was sent to Jerusalem, and, because of an arrangement between Pilate and the Jews, was buried "before the city in a dunghill". The story proceeds, long afterwards a Cappadocian lady who had lost her sight came to Jerusalem with her only son, to seek for a cure at the Holy Places. Her son died. St. Longinus appears to her in a dream and tells her where his head is, and that if she will rescue it she will be healed and shall be made aware of her son being in glory. She follows his directions and recovered her sight. There is therefore here a certain association with the cure of blindness. Probably *Longinus* was the real traditional name of the Centurion. The cure of blindness by the head of St. Longinus imports an element into the story which is not found either in St. John or Nicodemus.

[1] ei ddallu.

[2] M. Anatole de Braz in his "Le pays des pardons", alludes to a Breton hymn which seems to be the same as *Breuddwyd Mair*.

[3] *Circ.* 1430-60.

carol, attributed to Richard Williams, contains another allusion to Longinus :—

"Gwnai plant y Fall[1] i hen ddyn dall
I hela i ffon o dan ben i fron;
Y gwaed a lithrodd ag a redodd
Ar hyd y ffon yn ddiferion:

"Trawodd e'r gwaed wrth i lygad,
Yno canfu farw'r Iesu.
Hwn a grioedd ag a lefoedd,
'Mab Duw oedd hwn; iddo credwn'."

Similarly Lewys Morganwg in a poem addressed to the Rood of Llangynwyd :—

"Amarch gwaew dür marchog dall";

Sion ap Hywel ap Llewelyn Fychan :—

"y dall milain."

and Morys ap Hywel :—

"Ny wybv r dall angall oedd
sowdiwr mae jesv ydoedd
am a erchais y marchog

"pan droes ar y groes y grog
Ef a roes y gwir jesu
geyr bronn i elynion lv."

Very different were the sentiments cherished towards Veronica, another personage who figures in the ascent of the Via Dolorosa. To her as distinguished a place has been assigned in art as to the Wandering Jew in literature.[2] The tradition illustrates the laws which govern the development of a legend. Veronica, a lady in Jerusalem named Prounikos or Bernice, seeing Christ sinking beneath the Cross, came out of her house and wiped His face with a veil. Our Lord returned the cloth when it had performed the work of mercy and lo ! imprinted on it was a likeness of the Man of Sorrows.[3] Veronica was after-

[1] *Y Fall*, "Devil"; originally it seems to have meant a basilisk. Cf. Y Fall felen, used for Y fad felen, as in "I'r oer vad velen o Ros". Dafydd ap Gwilym. For the last quotation, see a paper by Rev. J. Fisher, entitled *Private devotions of the Welsh*, p. 33 (Liverpool Welsh National Society). [2] Cf. Giraldus, iv, 278.

[3] As the Vernicle is so often referred to in Welsh poems, it may be advisable to analyse the name. It seems to be a more general term than "Veronica Kerchief". It is certainly applied to the profile portrait engraved on an emerald, which the Sultan Bajazet II

wards identified with the woman that had an issue of blood.[1] St. Veronica carried the miraculous portrait to Rome and there consorted with St. Clement. It so happened that at the time the reigning Emperor was sick. The two repaired to the Palace and by means of the veil restored

gave to Innocent VIII in about 1485. Copies of this portrait, painted generally on panel, with inscriptions in many languages, are very common. The name Veronica occurs fairly early, and Greek and Latin were not often mixed up. One would expect "Vera Effigies" (the expression commonly used for the copies of the emerald, when the inscription is in Latin) or else ἀληθὴς εἰκών. More probably the lady's name was Berenice (Βερενίκη, the Βερνίκη of *Acts*, xxv, 13, would be pronounced Verenéekee, and the confusion with words ending in ικήι as simply adjectival terminations, unconnected with νίκη would soon change the position of the stress accent). It was a common name enough, and much more probable than a fantastical hybrid Latin and Greek compound. There is very little doubt that at the beginning of Christianity the common Greek of the East was pronounced almost as Modern Greek is now—by accent, not by quantity, and with B pronounced V. As to the truth of the legend, it is hopeless to find out anything. St. Veronica is identified with the "woman with an issue of blood", of *St. Matthew*, ix, 20, and the other Gospels, and was said to have set up a statue of her healing at Caesarea Philippi (which is associated with the Bernice of the Acts, for it was there that she and Agrippa met with St. Paul—but no one has suggested that she was St. Veronica). The statue was thrown down by Julian. In the Gospel of Nicodemus, which is very early, "Veronica" is given as the name of the woman in *St. Mark*, who is there one of the witnesses at the Trial of Christ. With regard to other "miraculous veils" they are probably painted copies. But the legend of the impression of the Face of Christ on a cloth is found in several forms. It comes also into the story relating to Abgar of Edessa. Though "Veronica" is given as the name of the woman with the issue of blood in the Gospel of Nicodemus, the story of the kerchief is not there. The oldest work that I know of in which it appears is the eighth century "Cura Sanitatis Tiberii". The story of that comes into the Cornish drama "Resurrectio Domini".

[1] Other "miraculous veils" exist in Christendom, at Jaen in Andalusia, Laon, Cologne, Milan, and Genoa. The two Roman Veronicas are placed respectively in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Basilica of St. Peter and in the Church of St. Sylvester.

the Emperor to health. The Gospel of Nicodemus,[1] which enjoyed a wide circulation in the Middle Ages, as a repertoire for such literary and legendary lore, was probably the channel by which the story was transmitted.

KYWYDD Y VERNAGL.

"Nydâ n gaeth enaid vn gwr
os y Vernagl sy varnwr
wylais[2] pan hu welais hwn
wyneb Iesu n y basiwn[3]
wrth gyvarch i bymp archoll
wyneb a dawn[4] y byd oll
O varn gwlad Vernagl ydoedd
wyneb duw yny byd oedd
a vu yn gwaedu oi gig
vry ar wyneb y vronig[5]
gwynder oedd dri ag vnduw
pan na bai deg wyneb duw
penna ywr mab hyn ywr modd
piar wyneb an prynodd.
wyneb an dyg i anaf
wyneb an dyg i ben dâf[6]
llvnoedd[7] yn well i wyneb
na llvn a wnaeth llaw [na] neb
kael wyneb kyviawndeb ku
sy ras o chwys yr jesu
ar vrenin y brenhinioedd
i bur chwys nyd o barch oedd
y Vernagl a vy arno
a sydd vawr Iesu oedd vo
duw gwyn bes gwelid ganwaith
rhydd enaid a gaid bob gwaith
peris ar liain purwyn
vronig lwyd vernagl yn
y vronig oedd vorwyn gall
Erod ynghôd oedd angall
pilatys wr pwl ytoedd
barnv ar y jesu r oedd
ef a ddyg kig[8] Addaf kaeth
or varn hon ir vrenhiniaeth
os vo wnai a vynnai vo
i ddwyn y bobl o ddyno
marw a wnaeth ar y marn j[9]
mab ag ol ymob gweli
Syddas ai rhoes i oddef
soniwn am y sy ny nef
jôn yn jsrael a nas[a]reth
ag yntay piav bob peth
os aval a dorres Eva
jesu vab duw sy vab da
gwaer dyn ar gwaewyr ny dal
a roi nef er vn aval
ny wyl vyth yny ol vo
ar y prenn wr ai pryno
maer tad ar mab mewn kadair[10]
ar vn mab vu ar vron mair[11]
jesu yn ol gras a nerth
dan wybr[12] ydiw yn aberth

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[1] A very good account of the "Gospel according to Nicodemus" (which appears to be composed of two originally independent documents) will be found in C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Lipsiæ, 1853. Cf. pp. vii, 599, Prolegomena and pp. 203ff.

[2] v.l., wylais i. [3] Passion. [4] Gift, blessing.

[5] Veronica. [6] Joyful. [7] v.l., luniodd.

[8] v.l., yn gu. But Cf. pan oedd ar y ddaiar hon yn dwyn cig a chnawd. *Buchedd Collen.*

[9] In my behalf, for my guilt. [10] Throne.

[11] The Bambino. [12] Sky.

dyn oedd dduw dan y ddaear
duw a dry gwyllt[1] yn dra gwar
prynawdd y byd ar vnwaith[2]
ar dduw gwyn ir oedd y gwaith
brenin yn kael i bryniad
barned ef gair bron i dad
nyd brenin i gyfrinach
ond a wnel enaid yn jach
grywndwal[3] oedd garu vnduw
gwaer dyn a ddigaro duw
gair ny bydd a gwir ny bu
gair nydoes gwir ond jesu."

Robert laia ai kant (1450-1490).

"Duw oi hun oedd wr du hael
A Du fydd dragywydd dro
Y Fernagl a fu arno."

Guttor Glyn, 1450.

"Duw yw'r Fernagl drwy
Farnwyr."

Lewis Glyn Cothi, 1450.

"Glas iawn oedd glwys fwyn ei ddair
Golygon fwyn gloyw gain Fair,
A glas oedd Fernagl Iesu
Ag un gwedd ag eurddrom gu."[4]

The same author in praise of the V. Mary.

"Ag aur yn Gerygl[5]
Nef[6] eurnaf Fernygl
Tyrrau a phinygl tair ffynnon,"[7]

Lewys Morganwg, in praise of the Monastery of Glynn Nedd, 1520.

Pictures of the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin were held in deep reverence. In the middle of the fourteenth century votaries crowded to see the portrait of Christ, the Volto Santo. According to Petrarch[8] even old men were impatient to make this pilgrimage.[9] The other picture was said to have appeared above the heads of the worshippers assembled in the Cathedral of San Giovanni Laterano on the day of dedication. Pope Nicholas IV, while rebuilding the vault in the year 1291, placed the

[1] v.l., a wnai'r dwr. [2] The All-sufficient Sacrifice. [3] Foundation.
[4] The *Cynghanedd* of line 4 is faulty, as it stands.
[5] Chalices. [6] v.l., Naf.
[7] There is a tradition that the bard composed this *awdl* for the Eisteddfod held at Neath Abbey on Whit-Sunday in 1490, to teach the young bards the old measures. [8] *Sonetto*, xiv.
[9] The Volto Santo of Lucca is a Crucifix attributed to Nicodemus, brought miraculously from Palestine in 782. It is of cedar wood. Apparently Petrarch's sonnet does not refer to this. "E viene à Roma seguendo'l desio, Per mirar la sembianza di Colui" etc.

miraculous image there.[1] It is described by Petrarch as follows :—

> " Faciemque agnoscere Christi
> Vel quae faemineo servatur condita panno,
> Vel populo quae visa olim sub vertice templi
> Emicuit, perstatque minax horrore verendo."[2]

There was also a portrait of the Virgin by St. Luke in St. Maria Maggiore.[3] Llewelyn ap Howel ap Ieuan Gronow saw it on his visit about the year 1540.[4]

The history of its appearance is preserved in a ninth century manuscript belonging to an account of this church entitled " Discourse of the dedication of this church of our Saviour." It was declared that fire never injured it. Dafydd ap Gwilym also refers to this picture as one of the sights of Rome, and implies that Welshmen of his day repaired to Rome for the purpose of seeing " Llun Crist a'r apostolion".[5]

[1] In 1318, John xxii granted an indulgence to those who made a pilgrimage to this picture. After being exhibited it was removed to the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Scala Santa. There is a parallel to the picture that appeared in the Lateran in the " Madonna del Buon Consiglio" at Genazzano. This is said to be still suspended in the air without any support ! Copies of this picture are very common. It is a Byzantine εἰκών of ordinary type.

[2] *Carm.* i, 2, Ep., 5.

[3] There is still a picture of the Virgin Mary attributed to St. Luke in St. Mary Major. The story goes that it is mentioned as early as the time of St. Gregory the Great, being carried by him in procession in 590. It seems to be much later. Most of the pictures attributed to St. Luke are Byzantine pictures of the eighth or ninth century. The one in St. Mark's Venice, was brought there by the Doge Dandolo after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. It is said to have been the one sent to Constantinople by the Empress Eudocia, *circ.* 440, from Jerusalem. It does not seem as early as that, but is certainly Byzantine. There is a theory that the Luke who painted the pictures was a Greek monk of a much later date.

[4] Cf. *Mémoires sur la vie de Pétrarque,* vii, pp. 204-5.

[5] A very interesting point arises in this connection. The traditional type of countenance attributed to Our Lord must rest upon some solid foundation. When so many authorities independently

Llewelyn ap Howel ap Ieuan Gronow in describing his visit gives a rapid survey of the sights of Rome. The poet's soul was stirred within him at the architectural wonders and arresting associations of the City :—

"Cywydd i ddangos dull a gwychder Rhufain."

"Kawn dref a nef yn vn wedd
Ruvain a phethav rhyvedd
gorav hwnt ydiwr gaer hon
a phennaf or tair ffynnon[1]
paradwys yr eglwysi
pwy ydiw nerth pedr i ni
deall saith igain allor
a wnn ag wyth yny gor
ywchel yw r llofft ywch lawr llu
vry n glos ar vernagl Jesu
llun oedd nas paintoedd llaw neb
ar llvn yn vn ar wyneb
eglwys bawl lle mae glwys bedd
a main gairw lle mae n gorwedd
teml ffabian[2] sabastianys
trwy wyr hon i traia rys
lle bu kennav y ddavwr
mwy na dwy oes mewn y dwr
lle gwnaeth saint Geraint yw gar
dyn ddieithr dan y ddaear

---

both in East and West, concur in representing the sacred lineaments in a way so remarkably similar, it is difficult to regard it as a purely arbitrary invention. It is significant that it differs widely from the classical ideal. Nor is there any reason to doubt that these portraits ascend to a very early period. (See the portraits on early Christian glass.) Consequently the tradition has become a fixed heritage of the Church. There is an excellent discussion of the whole question of the Likeness of Christ in Sir Wyke Bayliss's "*Rex Regum* : a Painter's study of the Likeness of Christ". In the Print Room at the British Museum there is an album or portfolio of drawings by T. Heaphy of various early portraits. See Mrs. Jenner's *Christ in Art*, for a short discussion. See also A. N. Didron's *Christian Iconography*. The letter of Lentulus, Proconsul of Judæa, to the Roman Senate (probably not genuine) is not found earlier than a twelfth century MS. But St. John of Damascus (eighth century) gives a very similar account.

There exists also a Welsh version of the letter on the subject, Llun Crist, Peniarth Manuscripts, i, part 2, p. 485, 424. Hafod MS. 23, at the Cardiff Library, and other MS. collections contain a long and interesting portrait of Christ's physical appearance for example, "Mab melynwyn addveindwf oedd mal yn oet deuddeng-mlwydd . . . . peis ac ossaneu or ystinos teneu klaerwynnaf, maen gwerthfawr a gelfir yn Ysbaen eithaf, ac a ellir i nyddu ai olchi yn y tan pur a elwir yn Uriel". See Canon R. Williams's selections from Hengwrt MSS. *Pryt Map Deo*, p. 444.

[1] Cf. *pinygl tair ffynnon*, on p. 184. [2] SS. Fabian's and Sebastian's.

Photo by Donald Macbeth, London.

To face p. 187.

The Seven Churches of Rome, from a rare print in the British Museum.

yno mae ol yny maen[1]
jesu ydiw os adwaen
llawer gwyrth i wellae r gwan
a sy yn eglwys jaean.[2]
gweled penn pedr a vedrwnn[3]
a phawl or lle goroff[4] hwnn
o vwriad tuw ar vord deg[5]
a oedd yddaw ai ddaeddeg
kist voesen gwialen gall[6]
ar porth aur or parth arall
tri main o hyd da vyd vu
tri drws ol traed yr Jesu
ar klych kyntaf heb lavur
yno i maent yny mur
ar ystaer vawr i ystad[7]
o balis naeadd bilad
Ar ddav biler[8] vn gerynt
o vaen gwyn a vy vn gynt
pann holltes bronn y Jesu
yma vn vodd y maen vu
kwplaeodd kapel jaean

myned glwys ym enaid glan[9]
eglwys lle mae grwys y grog[10]
yw gwarant[11] y dre gaerog
i mae ynghapel Elenn
y drain byw vu draw ny ben
o yna hawdd yw enwi
eglwys wenn lle gwelais j
y llech wrydd[12] ar llewych wres
i doluriwyd sant lawres[13]
ar maen vu ar y mennydd
ystyffan ddiogan [yw] ddydd
lle kaid gweled maithred Mair
lle yw ynn wella anair
a delw dduw yny dwylaw[14]
a wnaeth lvc vnwaith o'i law
lle mae rhif oi llu mawr hi
wrth orwedd oi verthyri
gwaed saint yn gywadav sydd
am gerig y magwyrdd[15]
llawer mil oll ar y main
oedd on rhif ddoe yn Ruvain

---

[1] The Chapel of the Palmalle, or *Quo Vadis*, where St. Peter met Jesus, and asked him "Whither goest thou?" Two thousand years' pardon was offered here daily, and remission of all sins. This legend supplied the title for Sienkiewicz' famous novel.

[2] St. John Lateran. [3] In the Confessio at St. Peter's.

[4] v.l., goroph. [5] Table of the Last Supper.

[6] Aaron's rod. See p. 165, n. 8. [7] Santa Scala.

[8] The Pillar of the Flagellation. [9] v.l., mae nod glos ym.

[10] Santa Croce. [11] A sort of palladium or pledge of security to the City.

[12] Rudd. [13] St. Lawrence. See p. 165, n. 10. [14] v.l., ddwylaw.

[15] The Seven Churches were St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Paul's (outside the walls), St. Mary Major, Holy Rood, St. Lawrence, St. Sebastian, all famous for their relics.

Curzon (*Monasteries of the Levant*) says that part of the Cross is at Etchmiadzim, Armenia, part still in Jerusalem, and part in St. Peter's in Rome. The Roman fragment, exhibited with the Veronica kerchief on a Maundy Thursday, is not very large. It was brought to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme by St. Helen, and afterwards removed to St. Peter's. The Cross of the Penitent Thief, the Title, and one nail are still at Sta. Croce. The palæography of the Title is a puzzle. It con-

wrth rhoi i rhad eithr ar hwnn.
maddaeaint[1] duw maddaewnn
gostwng yn war yn arab
bob ddav[2] yn pennav ir pab[3]
minnae aethym dygym daith
yn lan dan i[4] law vnwaith
ne ddel ynof yn ovwy
bechod mawr heb jechyd mwy
a ffysig lan gyffesawl
a ffon vu[5] gan bedr a phawl
breiniol yw i berinionn
a phrudd a hir ywr ffordd hon
llawen wyf am lliw ynn wael
yn Ruvain er vy n rhavael
o myn duw ym enaid j
gael ennill y golaini."[6]

"Llewelyn ap Howel ap Jeuan Gronow," 1540.

The pilgrimage to Rome, in common with those made to other resorts, operated in the promotion of social equality. It softened asperities, removed class prejudice, facilitated international intercourse, promoted the spirit of brotherhood, created charitable institutions, and instilled a care for the poor. No less was its influence in extending the mental horizon. These results were indeed of general import and shared by other centres, but there were effects peculiar to the Roman pilgrimage. It was a powerful factor in shaping the course of ecclesiastical history. The enthusiasm of the visitors did much to impress those who lived outside the Catholic pale, and to consolidate the papal monarchy over Latin Christendom. The proclamation of a Jubilee Indulgence used the increasing trend of

tains the same sentence, the form in St. John's Gospel, in all three languages (or did, before it got so badly wormeaten), the Latin and Hebrew correct, the Greek spelt all anyhow. It was lost (for some centuries, I think), and was found bricked up in the wall of the church in the late 16th century.

[1] v.l., meddiant.

"In Rome is muche pardoun more
Then I haue told here bifore
Or telle schulde with al my miht,
Thouh I weore her bothe day and niht."
Vernon MS. ab. A.D. 1370. Cf. p. 203.

[2] Bob yn ddau. [3] For the Papal benediction.
[4] The Pope's. [5] v.l. a bod ar ffons, Latin fons.
[6] A stock phrase with regard to Rome in Welsh religious poems.

thought towards Rome not only to deepen devotion, but also to concentrate the attention of Christendom by attracting fresh adherents and riveting the allegiance of those already within the Catholic fold to the Papal See. Such results could not fail to redound to the prestige of the Church of Rome and furnish opportunities for shaping the intellect of Europe on a Roman pattern.

CHAPTER X.

The Thresholds of the Apostles.—Celtic Period.

The reasons for the popularity of Rome as a religious centre have now been furnished. We proceed to give instances of the accomplishment of the pilgrimage, and the spirit in which the faithful embarked on the difficult, not to say hazardous, enterprise. Numberless stories, some of a thrilling, others of a touching nature, are told of the devout pilgrims, who made this venture of faith in the early centuries of the Christian era.[1] For not only did these heroes, scholars, doctors and preachers of the Faith, overcome obstacles to reach Rome but some of them settled near the Apostles' tombs. With the formal adoption of the Christian Religion in the reign of Constantine persecution ceased, and the pilgrim movement recommenced with renewed vigour. Alluding to the custom of erecting buildings over the graves of the Martyrs, called Martyries, in the early period of the Church (canon of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451), St. John Chrysostom

[1] St. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, fifty years after the Apostle St. John, writing at a time when the persecutor's hand bore heavily upon the Christians at Rome, eulogizes the Bishop of that day, Soter by name, for his relief of "brethren" condemned to the mines, and the encouragement of sojourners from abroad. The encomium is strongly corroborated by Eusebius, who recites a long list of celebrated visitors. H. E., iv, 23, 10.

wrote: "One might see whole cities running to the monuments of the Martyrs and Apostles. In their death they were more honourable than the greatest kings upon earth; for even at Rome emperors and generals of armies, flock to the sepulchres of the Fisherman and Tentmaker in the royal city of Rome."[1]

Ussher in his *Chronological Index*, under the year 388, admits that "in these times the Britons were wont to visit Rome, Jerusalem and Syria", and evidence exists in other quarters that pilgrimages from Ireland were extraordinarily numerous. Celts were in the habit of calling such pilgrims "exiles of God". The old biographer of St. David, a Welsh bishop of the eleventh century, alludes to the "inextinguishable desire of the Irish to visit the relics of the Holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul", fired as they were with the hope of seeing for themselves the scenes of the charities of the Saints, their lifelong penances, and the spots they tenanted in life, and hallowed by their deaths.

Brynach, called in Welsh the Gwyddel, namely, the Goidel or Irishman, was soul-friend,[2] that is, confessor and chaplain to Brychan the Irish conqueror of Brycheiniog. He went to Rome[3] and is credited with several miraculous

[1] Similarly in a later passage he observes: "Even he that wears the purple goes thither to embrace these sepulchres . . and he that wears the diadem begs the Tent-maker and the Fisherman as patrons". Jerome, Augustine, and Ennodius of Pavia also bear unequivocal testimony to the practice.

[2] Irish *anam-chara*. The expression *tad enaid* occurs in a similar sense of a father confessor. Ellis Gruffydd, Mostyn MS. 158, f. 463, describes "Solemniti mawr ymysg yr Embasadowrs ynn Eglwys bawl . . . . ac yn y modd hwnnw i kerddassant twy nes i dyvod wynt goruwch hanner yr Eglwys hrwng drws y gorllewin ar grisiau yssydd yn myned ir kor yn y man ir ydoedd bump o Esgobion nid amgen nog Esgob lluddain ddoctor dwnsdal docttor Sdandis Esgob llanhassaph Esgob llandeilo gwr or Ysbaen a *thad enaid* y Vrenhines Kattrin". [3] Romam ingressus est. *Cambro. Brit. Saints*, p. 5.

achievements. The great St. Bridget of Ireland (Brigid of Kilmaine) is another who made the journey, as we learn both from other sources, and from a legendary life by Iorwerth Fynglwyd, written in the second half of the fifteenth century. From the life of St. Aidan of Ferns we gather incidentally that St. Molaisse of Devenish had a mind to visit Rome, and called upon St. Aidan at Ferns. To these examples should be added Senan, (who gave his name to Llansannan in Denbighshire,[1] and was probably patron of the parish of Land's End),[2] Canice of Kilkenny, Finbarr of Cork, patron of Fowey, Cornwall, Condlaed of Kildare, Enda of Arran-More, Macisse (first bishop of Connor), Laserian (bishop of Leighlin), Flannan (bishop of Killaloe), Wiro (bishop of Dublin), Killian and his companions (martyred at Würzburg), and Malachy of Armagh.[3]

Findan of Leinster undertook a pilgrimage to Rome in fulfilment of a vow. On his return he stayed four years in Alemannia, in the exercise of the clerical office. In 851 he entered the monastery at Rheinau, apparently a Benedictine foundation, and five years later became a recluse. Findabar, arriving as a pilgrim in the sixth century, became bishop of Lucca, and ended his days in Italy.[4] In the same century Sillan, known in Italy as Silao, journeyed to Rome, but died on his return at Lucca and was buried there. St. Pellegrinus's real name was

[1] Williams, *Hist. and Antiquities of Aberconwy*, 1835, pp. 198-200.

[2] *Colgan*, i, p. 6, 4; viii, Mart.

[3] Britons in Armorica who went to Rome—St. Meen or Conard Meen, a native of Gwent, St. Carentin and St. Brienne. Lobineau, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne* (June 21, Dec. 12, May 1).

[4] His name in religion was Frigidianus, whence the Italian equivalent Frediano. See G. Fannuchi, *Vita di San Frediano*, Lucca, 1870; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i, p. 794; P. Franciotti, *Storia dei Santi di Lucca*; E. M. Fiorentini, *Vita di S. Silao, vescovo Irlandese.*

forgotten, but the main facts of his history survived. "He penetrated to the Holy Land, and fasted forty days in the Desert where the Temptation took place." From Egypt he sailed to Italy, landed at Ancona and settled in the mountainous district of Garfagnana.[1] St. Cathaldus went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and about the year 680 became bishop of Taranto. In the ninth century Donatus, while passing through Florence on his way to Rome, was taken by force in obedience to a supposed sign from heaven and elected bishop of Fiesole.[2] These names have emerged from obscurity, but others have, for the most part, sunk into oblivion.

Stray notices like the following are not uncommon. We read, for instance, that when Samson was at Ynys Byr[3] on the south coast of Wales, Irish monks arrived on their way back from Rome. Whether celebrated or unknown to fame, Celtic pilgrims found ever open to them the doors of the Celtic monasteries or hospices, which stretched across the Continent like a chain and dated from the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. Reichenau (Angia Major), for example, situated on an island in Lake Constance, lay on the direct route to Rome, was in consequence much frequented and preserved traces of Irish culture.

Nor did ecclesiastics alone embark upon these expeditions. Donough O'Brien, son of King Brien Boroimhe and sovereign of Munster, undertook the journey, to do penance for the part he had borne in the murder of his brother, donned the monk's cowl, and ended his days

[1] Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 202.

[2] To the same category belongs Andrew, Archdeacon of San Martino.

[3] Caldey Island.

under the shadow of St. Peter's.[1] Under the influence of religious impressions other men of the sword turned their faces towards Rome and landless sovereigns idled in the precincts of the Vatican. Cyngen, Prince of Powys, laid his bones in St. Peter's, A.D. 854. Hywel ap Rhys, a prince of Glamorgan, betook himself to the same city in the year 880, and died three days later, owing to the heat, at the age of 124. In 975, Dunwallon, the last champion of British independence in Strathclyde, went to Rome and received the tonsure.[2]

The visit of King Cadwaladr Fendigaid, a famous but somewhat nebulous figure in the annals of Wales, is frequently mentioned in Welsh literature. The prince had taken part in the ineffectual struggles of the Welsh of North Britain against Oswin. Geoffrey of Monmouth states that he took refuge in Armorica, abdicated his throne and retired to Rome, where he died between A.D. 687 and 689. Historians furnish an explicit and circumstantial account of his residence in Rome. He lived five years with Pope Sergius, and established a hospice for Welsh pilgrims. But this tradition must be dismissed as pure fiction. It arises from a confusion between Cadwaladr and Ceadwalla of Wessex, who, it is historically ascertained, did end his days at Rome in

[1] The assumption of the cowl during life or at death was common in Wales as elsewhere. A.D. 1175, Cadell son of Gruffydd ap Rhys died at Strata Florida; 1197, Owain Cyfeiliog at Ystrad Marchell, which he had founded; 1199, Gruffydd ap Cynan at Aberconwy; 1244, Maredudd ap Robert of Cedewain, at Strata Florida. In 1240, according to *Annales Cambriae*, died "that second great Achilles", Llewelyn son of Gervasius, son of Owain Gwynedd, then Prince of Wales, after assuming the monk's habit in the House of Aberconwy with great devotion. In 1251, Morgan son of the Lord Rhys died at the same Abbey after taking the religious habit. In 1254 Rhys ap Maelgwn entered Strata Florida.

[2] *Brut y Tywysogion*, A.D. 975 (Gwentian); Haddan & Stubbs, i, p. 286.

689, and was buried there. In memory of him an epitaph, couched in laudatory and turgid language, was placed in old St. Peter's.[1] The story of Ceadwalla's pilgrimage is dramatic. His wild career ended in storm. A house where he had taken up his abode was fired, and his companions perished. Glutted by a career of bloodshed, and perhaps stricken by the death of a brother, he shook off his feet the dust of the kingdom and turned his face Romewards. Arrived at his destination, he was instructed in the Christian Faith, and on Easter Eve, 689, was baptised by the Pope Sergius the First, taking the name of Peter. He had expressed a desire to die soon after his baptism and ten days later his wish was gratified. The inscription in St. Peter's gave rise to a curious controversy. A document in the Vatican Library[2] contains an earnest and wordy protest addressed to the Pope by Robertus Oenus. Jealous of his countryman's memory and of the honour of his race, the disputant remonstrates against the ascription of the epitaph of Ceadwalla. But he might have moderated his indignation, and consoled himself with the reflection that Ceadwalla himself probably had British blood in his veins, as his brother's name *mul* (half breed) seems to convey Welsh ancestry on his mother's side.

A pilgrimage to Rome is associated with the foundation of the See of Dublin. The Danish princes of that city in the twelfth century on becoming Christians took to travelling. Sitric, of Clontarf renown, Amnlaffe, and another Sitric, crossed from England to the Continent and included Rome in their tour. Their visit was not in vain. Pope Gregory VII, the master mind of the Roman

[1] Fabretti, *Inscr. Antiq.*, 1702, Rome, p. 735, No. 463. The epitaph was written by Bishop Benedictus Crispus, Archbishop of Milan.

[2] Vatican, 6160.

Church, had at that time reared a majestic fabric of pontifical power. So impressed was Sitric by what he saw, that he returned from Rome a devoted adherent of the Papal See, and afterwards gave tangible proof of his devotion. De Rossi, in excavating the Atrium Vestae, unearthed a collection of Anglo-Saxon and Danish coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which Sitric sent to Rome as a contribution to Peter's Pence. With regard to the whole question of Irish pilgrimages to Rome, a passage in a letter of St. Columba to Gregory I, throws a valuable light on the attitude of Irishmen towards the Holy See. He writes to Gregory that temples or triumphal arches testifying to the might and majesty of old Rome, the Queen of Cities and the seat of world-wide Empire, possess no fascinations for him. "Just as we read in the learned Jerome's narrative, that certain men went some time ago to Rome and, wonderful to relate, searched in Rome for something besides Rome, so would it now be with me; I should eagerly seek out thee, not minding Rome, saving the reverence which is due to the Saints."[1]

In connection with the Roman pilgrimage special interest attaches to the personality of Ninian, as affording a proof of the glamour, the cosmopolitan character and the gradually centralized authority of Rome. Little is known accurately of his pedigree except that his folk

[1] *Epist.* 1, ad Gregor. Papam. The letters of St. Columbanus to the Pope of Rome in the sixth century afford evidence of the attitude of the Irish Church towards the Cathedra Petri. The views expressed reflect the opinion of Irish Churchmen and were almost certainly imbibed in Ireland. The writer recognised the Pope's *auctoritas* 164,31 ; 165,23 ; 174,25 ; 177,15 ; he is "omnium totius Europæ ecclesiarum caput" (Ep. 5, p. 170,20), and again, "unius enim sumus corporis commenbra, sive Galli, sive Britanni sive Iberi sive quaeque gentes" (164). But this recognition justifies the writer in expostulating with the Pope on his *perversitas* (175).

were Brythons. According to Aildred his father was a Roman Christian. His home probably lay on Solway Firth. From an early age he had displayed a singular aptitude and enthusiasm for knowledge. The British lad conceived a desire for a pilgrimage to Rome. Ultimately he succeeded in obtaining permission from his superiors and started on his journey.[1] Arrived at his destination he was placed in the Lateran School, and educated under the eye of Pope Damasus. The term "regulariter", applied to his education by Bede, implies life under monastic rule, and probably means that Ninian lived in one of the Collegiate houses. The time of his advent in Rome is noteworthy. Assuming, as is likely, that he arrived at the end of the fourth century, he must have found Rome passing through a stage of transition. The conflict between Paganism and Christianity was now over. The Church, in the first flush of victory, was girding itself for further conquests, but the old gods had died hard. Until that time Christianity had been confined to the towns; it was in the year 368 that the old nature-worship was first described by the Emperor Valentinian as *religio paganorum*, the "religion of peasants". Not that the Church at once divested itself of the pagan elements. The art of heathen temples was retained as the handmaid of Christian worship. Damasus, scholar, antiquarian, poet and statesman, was on the Papal Throne, and he had thrown open the Catacombs to the pilgrims who poured into the City.

Such was the atmosphere which Ninian breathed in the Roman capital. His future history shows that the susceptible youth readily surrendered himself to its fascinations.

[1] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, iii, c. 55-158, "a holy man of the British nation who had been regularly (regulariter) instructed at Rome in the Faith and mystery of the Truth".

The period was signalised also by the appearance on the world's stage of two forceful characters, who left an ineffaceable impression on contemporary life and thought. Twenty years before Ninian's birth, Jerome had laid in the Roman School of Donatus the foundation of his literary eminence. Nothing, therefore, forbids the supposition that, before Jerome's departure for Bethlehem, the young euthusiast fell under his influence. Be that as it may, his highest hero-worship was reserved for Martin of Tours. To Tours in all probability Ninian directed his steps, and there joined the community which, though as yet a mere cluster of wattled cells, was destined to grow into the Majus Monasterium.[1] But the condition of his native land called loudly for teachers. Among the Southern Picts idolatrous error was rife. After the fall of Maximus, who in 388 had, on the battlefield of Aquileia, paid the penalty of aspiration towards the purple, the wildest anarchy reigned in North Britain. Here, therefore, work lay ready to Ninian's hand. Here he built his famous house, Candida Casa or Whithern,[2] overlooking Solway Firth, dedicated to St. Martin, Ninian's paragon, and constructed in a style of architecture to which the Brythons were strangers. The Irish were not behindhand in their admiration for Ninian. Whithern left an equally abiding impression on the Welsh of Strathclyde ; while the success of his evangelising efforts is evinced by

[1] Marmoutier. Probably derived from some oblique case, e.g. de Majore Monasterio. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* Lib., x, c. xxxi), speaks of St. Martin building a *Basilica* in honour of S.S. Peter and Paul" in monasterio quod nunc *Majus* dicitur".

[2] Leukopibia or Leukoikidia (Ptolemy). It is stated that when St. Ninian was just finishing Candida Casa he heard of the death of St. Martin (probably 397, or somewhere between 395 and 400, but the exact date is uncertain) and promptly dedicated the church in his honour. It is one of the earliest instances of that kind of dedication.

the number of noted Irish and British Saints who were trained there, Tigernach of Clones, Enda of Arran, Eogan of Ardstraw, and Finnian of Moville, his personal popularity in the Sister Isle is shown by the prefix Mo (my) attached in Irish calendars to his name as a term of endearment, for example, by Angus the Culdee, who styles him "Monenn,[1] the shout of every mouth." Ninian's burial, which probably happened on September 13th, A.D. 432, enhanced the fame of the monastery and his shrine was crowded. Addressing the English inmates of Whithern, Alcuin bespeaks their prayers to our holy father Bishop Ninian "whose many deeds of power have shed lustre on his name". His marble cist continued to be visited for many centuries and the Middle Ages saw no abatement of his cult. In 1428 James I granted a general protection to all strangers entering Scotland on pilgrimage to Ninian's Church. In 1473 Margaret, James III's Queen and members of her suite travelled thither. In 1516, the Regent Albany guaranteed a safe conduct to all visitors hailing from England, Wales, Ireland and the Isle of Man, by land or water, to do homage to the Saint. The usage lasted until the Dissolution when the monastery was dissolved in the general chaos, and pilgrimages to Whithern were pronounced a crime.

Of the British alumni three became famous prelates. St. Enda was ordained at Rome,[2] and is said to have built a monastery near there. It has been suggested that monks from this religious house in Italy followed Enda to Arran More. One of its Abbots was Cairnech, son of a Brython chieftain named Senan, and a daughter of Loarn, king of Alba, the land of the Northern Picts.

Another is St. Kentigern, the missionary from North

[1] "My Ninian."

[2] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, March xxi.

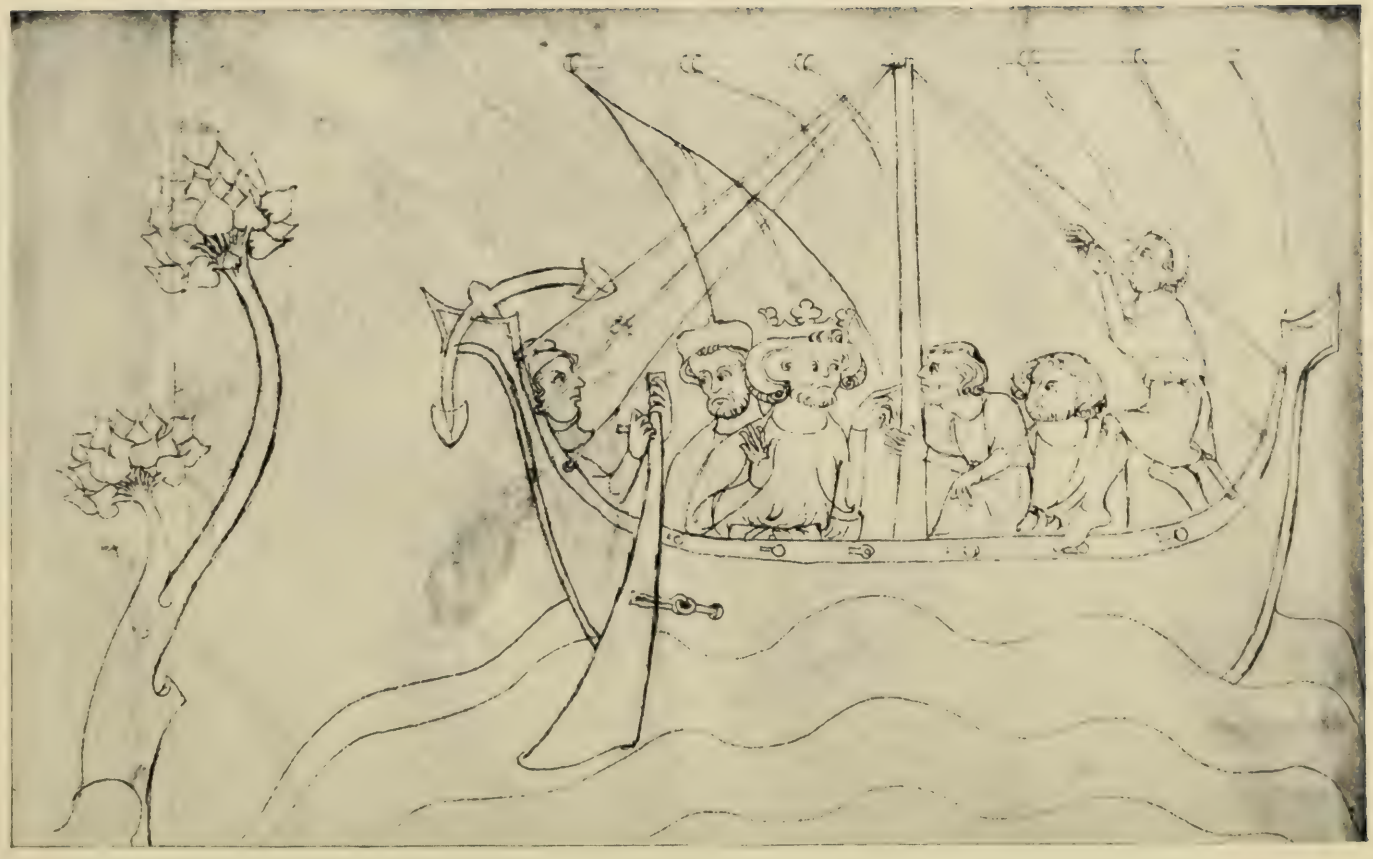

Photo by Donald Macbeth, London.

To face p. 199.

King Offa crossing to Flanders on his way to Rome, to secure the canonization of St. Alban and the Pope's sanction for the erection of the Abbey.

[*From the British Museum Cotton MS. Nero D. i, f. 22b.* Matthew Paris "Chronica Majora".]

Britain, who founded St. Asaph, and returned to end his days in his own land. He likewise probably accomplished a visit to Rome; also the British pilgrim Mochta, who predicted the birth and greatness of St. Columba[1]. He is commemorated in the Calendar on August 19th. Landing at Louth with twelve followers from Britain, he was dubbed with the title of Proselytus, or "Newcomer". After studying at Rome for some years, and being ordained by the Roman Pontiff, he is said to have enjoyed the confidence of the Apostle of Ireland. A quaint story, which may well be true, is told of his sojourn at Rome. The quidnuncs of the City had taunted him with hailing from the same country as Pelagius of heretical memory, and the pleasantry provoked the retort, "If for the fault of one man the inhabitants of a whole province (Britain) are to be banned, condemn Rome, from which not one, but two, three, or even more heresies have started; and yet none of the heresies could either fasten on or shake the Chair of Peter, that is, the See of the Faith. . . . Why do people raise questions about my country? I am a pilgrim, as all my fathers were"[2].

[1] Adamnan, second preface.

[2] Migne, Patrologia, p. 1023, and Moran, *Early Irish Church*, p. 298. The history of the Anglo-Saxons throws a sidelight upon the experiences of the Celtic Britons. A fondness for travel marked the English in the Middle Ages, and their pilgrimages began, according to Eddius, about 700. Du Cange, *Peregrini.* They especially affected Rome. Ine, King of Wessex, founded an English School for Saxons near St. Peter's in 727, to which Saxon princes, bishops, priests, and others might betake themselves as pilgrims or students. He himself grew old there "cloathed in a plebeian habit among beggars," xv. Scriptores, 248. The building was burnt down several times, *e.g.*, in 816 (Saxon Chronicle) and re-built by Ethelwulf. After the Norman Conquest it fell into decay, and by the time of King John little of it remained but the Church. In 1204 the hospital Santo Spirito was established on the site. The Saxon name Rómfeoh or Romescot (Peter's pence) and the Italian terms Borgo (Burg or Burgh), Sassia

The account of Gildas's pilgrimage is furnished by himself. He went to Rome "to invoke the merits of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, that by their intercession he might obtain from the Lord the pardon of his sins".[1] He assures us that he himself was actuated by the purest motives. After condemning the practice of installing traitors "in the Chair of St. Peter", he proceeds to speak of "unworthy Britons who found a difficulty in obtaining their dioceses at home", because some people protested strongly against the traffic in Church livings. Intriguers of this sort, "covetous of a precious pearl, delighted to cross the seas and travel over extensive countries, after they had carefully sent their messengers beforehand". He refers doubtless to simoniacal transactions. Victricius, bishop of Rouen, was another British pilgrim to Rome. He made two journeys to see Pope Innocent I. Paulinus of Nola describes him as another St Martin, "a brilliant light drawn from obscurity

or Via Sassia, and Vicus Saxonum, are survivals of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimages to Rome.

Wilfrid, who was born in 634, during the interregnum of paganism between the death of Edwin of Northumbria and the accession of Oswald (Bede, H.E. iii, 1), was one of the most noted Anglo-Saxon pilgrims to Rome. During his tempestuous career he paid three official visits to that City. While visiting the shrines he purchased relics for the comfort of the churches of Britain. These he labelled with the Saints' names and to them he ascribed his safe return. The visit withered his insular patriotism, and the profound impression left on his mind is attested by his unfaltering devotion to his ideal of Roman unity, supremacy and discipline, and by his dogged endeavours to assimilate English Christianity to the model of the rest of the Church; he succeeded very well at the Synod of Whitby in 664.

Bede v, 7, furnishes the motive animating Anglo-Saxons. Ina went "being desirous of spending some time of this pilgrimage on earth in the neighbourhood of the holy places, that he might be more easily received by the Saints in heaven"; "the same thing was done by crowds of the English nation."

[1] Mabillon, *Acta, S.S.* i, p. 142, *Vita S. Gildae.*

by the authority of the Apostles and placed in the Candelabrum". A second St. Barnabas, he exercised his great gifts in making peace between the British Hierarchy.[1] The list of Welsh pilgrims may conclude with the following story which illustrates the passionate longing to see Rome. The chief actors in the story are Gwyddmarch and Tyssilio, and the scene was laid at Meifod. The old man had set his heart upon seeing Rome, whereupon Tyssilio said: "I know what this journey to Rome means, Thou wouldest fain see the palaces which be there. Dream of them instead of going". The aged Abbot was taken for a long trudge over a neighbouring hill, until he sank down from exhaustion and then fell asleep on a grassy bank. On awaking, he was asked by his companion how he could bear the fatigue of the journey to Rome, if such exertion wearied him. The Abbot replied that he had seen in a dream a magnificent city and the sight sufficed him.

The relations between Rome and the British Isles were interrupted not only by barbarian attacks from without but by dissensions within the pale of the Church. British bishops refused to co-operate with the Roman missionaries to the Saxons, and disagreed over minor questions of discipline. But to speak of a schism between the British and Roman Churches would be misleading. It would be equally true to describe the adoption of the Roman rite in Spain, in the latter part of the eleventh century, as closing a rift and incorporating the Spanish Church with the Roman. The British representatives did dispute with St. Augustine over their adherence to Easter, which they had

[1] Migne, Patrologia, vol. lxi, pp. 240-2.

originally received from Rome.[1] The questions of tonsure and the form of baptism were other grievances. These quarrels, however, find analogies in other countries whose Catholicism from the beginning was never doubted.[2] Ultimately, at the beginning of the eighth century the Celtic Church conformed to the See of Rome with regard to the observance of Easter, Strathclyde in 688, North Wales in 721, and South Wales in 777. When these points at issue were adjusted, a closer connection between Britain and Rome, as a religious and literary centre, ensued. It gratified the pilgrim instinct in amplest measure. The very fact of roaming amid the ruins of ancient splendour of the Eternal City, whether secular or ecclesiastical, produced an elevating and ennobling effect upon the mind.

[1] Colman at the Synod of Whitby claimed to have taken his Easter from St. John ; he seems to have a vague notion of Quartodecimans in Asia Minor. For an earlier alteration in conformity with the Roman cycle, see the beginning of *Annales Cambriae.*

[2] The Celts held out for a while in favour of their own method of finding Easter, but no doctrine was involved. It was purely a question of astronomy, and though Dionysius Exiguus, whose corrected cycle is used to this day by the whole Church, Anglican, Roman, Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Unorthodox, happened to live in Rome, it was more an Alexandrian than a Roman model that was followed. The remark of Cummian in his letter to Segen, Abbot of Iona, is in point here : "Remember that Britain isonly a pimple on the face of the universe. Surely it is foolish to say, Rome errs; Jerusalem errs; Alexandria errs ; Antioch errs ; all the world errs; only the Scots and Britons know the truth." It must have been the model for Article xix. The coincidence is too exact to be accidental.

The Celts were all the time in communion with Rome, as far as principles were concerned, and to speak of its independence or incorporation of the Celtic Church is reading post-Reformation ideas into the history of the seventh century. If Spain or France had split off from Rome at the Reformation, as good a case could be made out for the independence of those countries, for the limits of Papal (or what was more correctly Patriarchal) jurisdiction were very little defined and constant disputes arose.

See also ch. v, p. 83n, and viii, p. 155n.

CHAPTER XI.

THE THRESHOLDS OF THE APOSTLES.—NORMAN PERIOD.

The movement towards Rome reached its zenith in the thirteenth century, when the Crusades came to a close. The death of St. Louis, in 1270, sounded the death-knell of the heroic attempts to rescue the Holy Land from the grasp of the Infidel; and though pilgrimages to Palestine were revived for a time, they had practically ceased. But the abandonment of the Crusades redounded to the benefit of the Papacy. The attention diverted from Jerusalem focussed itself on Rome, and lent point to an innuendo conveyed in an old English poem[1]:—

"If men wuste grete and small
The pardoun that is at grete Rome.
Thei wolde tellen in heare dome.
Hit were no neod to mon in cristiante
To passe in to the holy Lond over the see,
To Jerusalem, ne to kateyrne."[2]

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[1] Vernon MS., about A.D. 1370, at the Bodleian.

[2] Two St. Catherines are frequently mentioned in mediæval literature, (1) Catherine of Siena (fourteenth century), commemorated on April 30th. (2) Catherine of Alexandria, November 25th (Gwyl Saint Katrin—Mostyn MSS. 88, p. 13), is probably referred to here. The legend ran that after her martyrdom her body was carried by angels to Mount Sinai. Cf. Joannes Capgravus's *Life of St. Katherine,* ed. Horstmann. The Convent of St. Catherine on the height of Jebel Musa was said to have been founded by Helen. This famous house with the saint's relics, and the attendant marvels, are described by Mandeville, book i, ch. 5, and by De la Brocquiere (1432-3) in an early part of his Travels. It is autocephalous, but was once under the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Now the Abbot is also Archbishop of Sinai and extra-Patriarchal. There are many μετόχια or daughter houses. It was one of the chief pilgrim resorts—mentioned along with Jerusalem as an alternative point within the Holy Land—and is one of the centres most frequented by members of the Orthodox Eastern Church, who call it "The God-trodden mountain". It was in the fine library attached to the house that Tischendorf found the *Codex Sinaiticus.* There are several versions of the Saint's life in Welsh manuscript collections, *e.g.,* Llanstephan MS. 27, p. 131; 28,

Boniface, acting on the advice of his cardinals, turned the rising tide of religious fervour to Rome by proclaiming his Jubilee, and, as an eye-witness wrote, "the total number of pilgrims in 1300 amounted to more than twenty hundred thousand men and women". The best testimony to the progress of the movement and to the effect which the Roman pilgrimage had upon the nations of Europe is to be found in pilgrim terminology. The names Romeria, Romipeta, Romipedia, Romerius, and their derivatives in Italian and Spanish, all comprehend the name of Rome.[1] Not only so, the term Romipetagium in course of time was extended to other pilgrimages.

Giraldus Cambrensis vouches for the popularity of the Roman pilgrimage in his day: "Before all things the Welsh preferred to lay their devotions on the Apostle's Tomb", and his remark is borne out by historians and poets. Dafydd ap Gwilym asks,

"Ai gwaeth i ddyn gwiw ei thaid
Yn y llwyn enill enaid,
Na gwneuthur fel y gwnaetham[2]
Yn Rhufain ac yn Sain Siam."[3]

167-76; 187, 87. Peniarth MS. 15, f. 143-144, *Y Wyry Vendigeit Seint Katrin*, ends as follows:—Ar gwr drwc yna (Maxen) a laddawdd y phen a llaeth yn lle gwaet a redawdd allan a'r egylion a ddueasant eneit y vorwyn vendigeit yr nef ae chorff a gladdasant ymynydd Synau ar neb a ddel yno y geissaw iechyt ae a gretto yd dioddeifeint hi wynt a gaffant iechyt A phedeir ffrwt ysydd yn redec trwy y tethi oe broneu o oley trwy y rei hynny y kaffas llaweredd o wyr a gwraged waret. Ac nyt oes dyn a wyppo eu rif a hynny a wnaeth Duw yrdi (erddi) A ninheu a adolygwn y diw (i Dduw) yr y charyat hi trugaredd yn eneiteu. Ac a rodho ni vywyt yn y byt hwn yma megys y gallom dyfot y diwedd da a charu Duw ae wasanaethu megis y gallom dyvot yr llewenydd ny dervyd vyth yr Karyat Saint Katrin—Amen pat[r] noster.

[1] See Du Cange, *Romipeta*. The word *roamer*, though not connected etymologically with Rome, betrays the influence of the Roman pilgrimages. See p. 81 n.

[2] Same as *gwnaethom*.

[3] St. James of Compostela.

Gwilym ab Sefnyn (1430-1470) regrets that he cannot undertake the journey, and contents himself with confession and absolution at home :—

"Gwnn na allaf gan drafael
gyrchu Rhufain goelfain[1] gael
Llyma r gwir lle mae r gwared
a gras am bechod i gred."

He then confesses and proceeds,

"Kael gan fair edifeiriaint
a wnaf os archaf a saint
Krio ar hen Saint Bened
krist penna brenin am kred."[2]

In the light and airy poem which shall next be quoted the lover makes a metaphorical use of the Roman pilgrimage. His mistress has broken her troth and is told to seek absolution at the hand of the Pope :—

"Gwae fi wenferch erioed d'annerch,
gan ni bu imi 'm neges,
ag ni chawn dal am hir ofal,
a marw ydd wyf o haint gwiwnwyf
mawr o bechod yt liw manod[3]
Ladd dy was mwyn a fu'n d'orllwyn,[4]
Cymmer di ffonn bert o linon[5]
a dos ddyn fain hyd yn Rhufain.
Pab a ofyn itti wenddyn
'Pa ddrwg benna a'th ddug yma ? '[6]

"'O mynni Nef rhaid cyfaddef,
Yno ydd eddy gwenddyn anhy
Ei bod ar fai am ai carai
Mai hi a wnaeth ei farwolaeth
Torri calon a fu ffyddlon,
I fab oi gwlad oi chariad,
a bod ei benn dan dywarchen,[7]
Yna gwisgir rhawn[8] am feinir[9]
Er dwyn penyd dros ei bywyd,
am ladd oi bodd mab ai carodd.
Maddeued Mair i'm dyn ddiwair
Mal ydd wyf fi n maddeu iddi,
Fy nyn gannaid nef iw henaid."

"Rhys Goch o Dir Iarll, ab Rhiccert ab Einion ab Collwyn ai cant." (1140-1170.)

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[1] This is an interesting word, meaning : (1) stones of the testimony ; (2) good tidings, gospel ; a gift to bearers of good news.

[2] British Museum Add. 14, 971, f. 109, § 51. [3] Fine snow.

[4] Escort. [5] Ash. [6] A case reserved for the Pope's absolution.

[7] Under the sod. The word has also a technical meaning ; in the Middle Ages the poor were buried without coffins and a green sod placed under their heads, "y dywarchen farw". Cf. "mewn bedd o saith droedfedd a than y ben las dowarchen." Twm ap Ieuan ap Rhys. [8] Hair shirt by way of penance. [9] Maid.

Chronicles such as the *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion* record the departure of Welsh princes for the same destination. In 1064, Dwncath, son of Brian, died on his way to Rome. In 1152, Cadell, son of Gruffydd ap Rhys, went on pilgrimage leaving all his possessions in charge of his brothers, Maredudd and Rhys, during his absence.

The charm of the "Italian journey" (iter Italicum) for the Irish mind is attested by the following anecdote relating to an Irish prelate. In 1176, Cornelius Conchoard or Concord[1] (each of these names appears in the local annals), Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, stayed at the Benedictine Priory of Lémenc, near Chambery. There he fell sick and died. The presence of the remains of so high an ecclesiastic lent lustre to the religious house. A chapel was dedicated to him and his memory was venerated in the whole country-side. In 1630, a plague broke out, which was only stayed by the intervention of the holy man. In 1643, a guild was established in his honour.[2] Thenceforward many of his countrymen on their way to Rome made a point of halting at Lémenc, to venerate his relics.

The experiences of churchmen who display a curious but unobjectionable mixture of devotional and secular interest may fitly find a place here, not only because they shared any indulgences that came in their way, but

[1] His name appears in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under 1175:—"Conchobar [Connor] MacConcoille, Abbot of the monastery of Peter and Paul at Recles at Armagh, and *coarb* to St. Patrick, died at Rome, where he had gone to confer with the *coarb* of St. Peter." *Coarb* properly means (1) co-partner in power; abbot, vicar; (2) successor (?). The idea may have been that St. Patrick continued as Abbot and that every successive Abbot was a co-partner with him.

[2] See Trépier, *Recherches historiques sur le Décanat de Saint-André de Savoie* (Chambéry, Chatelain), p. 201. *Revue Celtique*, viii, 166.

because their adventures illustrate incidentally the conditions in which pilgrimages pure and simple were undertaken.[1] The year 1214 saw a troop of ecclesiastics[2] on their way to Rome, Galfridus, Bishop of Menevia, with "almost all the Bishops of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, as well as those on the near and further side of the Alps". It would be impossible to detail their movements;[3] but three pilgrims to the Thresholds of the Apostles call for special mention.

[1] The Roman Church maintains the living, continuous tradition of making pilgrimages, as appears from a recent advertisement of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The ideas of "special intentions", "sending substitutes", and partaking to some extent in the spiritual benefits by contributing to the expenses of poor pilgrims (see chapters ii and xiii) likewise reappear unchanged, *e.g.*, with reference to a pilgrimage to Lourdes: "The intentions of the pilgrimage are fourfold: 1st, The Holy Father's; 2nd, the renewal of the dedication of England to Our Lady; 3rd, the restoration of religious peace in France; 4th, the private intentions of each pilgrim. Many guilds (confraternities) may wish to send representatives; persons who have means, also, may wish to send 'substitutes', who will pray for their intention at Our Lady's shrine. Every Catholic, in fact, can help in this way by forwarding a small offering towards the cost of sending a sick poor pilgrim, who will lay these petitions at Our Lady's feet. All persons thus contributing will be classed as 'associates' and will share in the spiritual benefits attaching to the pilgrimage".

[2] Priests who went on pilgrimage drew their usual stipend, provided they were not absent more than three years.

[3] Though the road to Rome was "the best estafetted road in Europe", the journey from Canterbury to Rome took three months. The clergy sometimes assumed a disguise for greater security, since "necessity knows no law", says Gerald. Some clergy and monks, when on pilgrimage to Rome, for the sake of safety, throw off the clerical or monastic habit, and adopt temporarily secular dress with sleeves, and irregular modes of tonsure. Hence the couplet:

"Tutius ut peterem laici sub imagine Romam,
Fas erat ut sinerem luxuriare comam."

It is a pity, proceeds our author, in effect, that monks and clergy do not confine themselves to this concession to the world, and refrain from copying only too faithfully the layman's manner of life.

The first is Walter Map.[1] He had been commissioned by the English King to attend the Council convoked by Pope Alexander III, probably the Lateran Council of 1179. As a royal representative and a literary celebrity he was honourably received at the Courts and monasteries in the countries that he traversed.[2] At the Synod, Map was the man of the hour. The Waldenses were just rising into notice. Their teaching apparently constituted a menace to the Church; orthodoxy was at stake. It so happened that at the time of the congress, delegates from the sect had been sent to Rome to obtain authority for preaching and reading the Scriptures in the vernacular. "Imagining themselves skilled disputants, but in reality mere charlatans, who preferred ditch water to the pure fountains of Holy Writ," they earned the Archdeacon's scorn. Although only the least of all the thousands forming that august assembly, Map laughed at their scruples about the claims of these rude and untutored petitioners. His self-reliance drew upon him the observation of the Council, and the upshot of the affair was that Map was deputed to champion the Catholic cause. The recalcitrants found in him more than their match. He undertook the contest single-handed, a target for the slings and arrows of critics. Two leaders were introduced who tried to argue on the subject of the Faith, for no love of searching for truth (be well assured) but simply to seal

Although the Roman Church seemed to connive at the practice as regards costume, the Carthusians and Cistercians too showed a laudable courage—so Gerald has one good word to say for the obnoxious Order!—whenever business with the Curia required their presence at Rome; they preferred facing the risks in their own habit, to purchasing security at the price of consistency. iv, 336.

[1] For Map's connection with Wales, see Professor Lewis Jones, "Walter Map", in *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1905-6, and J. Bardoux, *De Walterio Mappio*, 1900.

[2] *De Nug. Curial.* v, c. 5.

his lips. When the ordeal arrived, it was not without some trepidation that Map entered the lists, in the presence of so many famous lawyers and jurisconsults. The Chief Pontiff gave the signal and the Archdeacon began to catechise, starting off with the simplest questions imaginable, *sciens quod asino cardones rudenti indignam habent labia lactucam*: "Do you believe in God the Father?" "We do believe"; "And on the Son?" "And in the Holy Ghost?" "In the Mother of Christ?" he continued. Their replies were greeted with peals of laughter. The disputants retired in confusion as they richly deserved for posing like Phæthon, "qui nec nomina novit equorum", while yet willing to be guided by none.[1]

The life of Giraldus Cambrensis, the Wilfrid of Wales, illustrates the combination of motives, business, devotion and culture, that took pilgrims to Rome. A scion of a Norman family, holding an office which was considered in those days so onerous and responsible that it was a subject for popular speculation whether an Archdeacon could possibly be saved, Gerald was by his own showing a frequent and welcome visitor at the Papal Court. The See of St. David's, always a theatre of intrigue and bone of contention, was vacant, and the question of succession turned upon the rights of the Welsh Church to elect its own Bishop.[2] Gerald put himself forward and went to maintain the supposed metropolitan rights of St. David's and push his own claims at the Papal Court, where he did not let the grass grow under his feet. He soon found that he had embarked with a light heart on a contest which gained him a momentary triumph and a thousand mortifications; but we cannot help admiring the intensity of his physical exertions and the persistency of his endeavours. The graphic details furnished by Gerald afford an insight

[1] *De Nug. Curial.* i, c. 31.

[2] *Opp.*, i, 398; iii, 51, 77, 90.

into the manners of his age, the nerve-shattering perils of a pilgrimage, and the perfidy of human nature. But Master Gerald, deprived by the same stroke of money and retinue at the very outset of his journey, learned to bear with equanimity the onsets of fortune and the outrages of adversity.

The popularity of the Roman pilgrimage among the Welsh is further attested by an incidental remark in Gerald's account of his second visit. He states that crowds of pilgrims from his own country were at the time flocking to Rome, and came forward of their own accord to give evidence in his favour.[1] But apparently Gerald's arguments failed to carry conviction; he was obliged to return home and collect fresh evidence. He was soon on the road again. Hurrying from Strata Florida over the mountains of Elenit[2] towards Cwmhir,[3] and entering England by way of Keri he hastily crossed the Sea of Flanders at Sandwich.[4] He awaited his messengers for more than a fortnight at St. Omer. At the latter place Master Martin, Canon of Menevia, fell sick and was obliged to return to England—a second calamity. Gerald found, however, two youths from his own church studying in those parts, and as they might stand by him in

[1] Et cum multi peregrini de Wallia per turbas varias tunc forte Romam confluerent. omnes sponte coram auditoribus comparentes, testimonium electionis archdiaconi primæ et præcipue de auditu et fama patriæ publica perhibuerunt.

[2] In the region of Plinlimmon. [3] In Radnorshire.

[4] Sandwich was frequented in the Middle Ages by Genoese and Venetian galleys, and became the chief seaport for London. A hospital of St. John was founded there in 1280; the brethren were poor and allowed to beg down by the ships. The "Harbinge" was erected for poor pilgrims. By a law of 9 Edward III, pilgrims were commanded to embark and return by way of Dover "in relief and comfort of the said town". Richard II, in 1389, issued a similar ordinance.

defence of the metropolitan rights of the see he enlisted them in his service. Our hero now found himself involved in an untold labyrinth of embarrassments, aggravated by the hostility of the Court and fear of pursuit. He ran the gauntlet, however, with determination and emerged unscathed. Unable to proceed straight to France owing to the fierce war which was raging between Phillip, King of France, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders (who had sided with the King of England) he decided to fetch a long circuit through the heart of Flanders and Hainault and to thread the mazes of the awful forest of the Ardennes, then to skirt Champagne and to penetrate Burgundy. At last he reached the main road in the company of pilgrims and merchants. His anxiety must have been alleviated and his drooping spirits raised on learning that he was a man of destiny, and that his coming had been foreshadowed in a dream. His own-self-love prompted him to appropriate a career of glory for which he believed himself reserved.

The clouds continually thickened around Gerald. Fully aware that emissaries on the side of Canterbury had been despatched, who would not colour the matter too favourably for himself, and conscious that he was no match for the accomplished diplomatists of the Roman Court, he had taken with him three trusty companions, a canon of Llandaff and two canons of St. David's.[1] Crossing the Alps, and traversing Italy and Tuscany, about the time of the festival of St. Andrew, he reached Rome,[2] weather-stained and weary. He lost no time in approaching the feet of the Pope, Innocent III, and presented him with copies of his literary lucubrations adding, "Praesentant alii vobis libras, sed nos libros". The Holy

[1] iii, 240. Ivor, Bishop of Llandaff, gave evidence, iii, 248.

[2] Salvus conductus ad peregrinandum Romam pro justicia sua prosequenda in Curia Romana, iii, 66.

Father, no mean judge of literature, kept the volumes at his bed-side for nearly a month; they were his inseparable companions. When the Cardinals waited on his Holiness he drew their attention to the elegance and terseness of the language. On the whole, he inclined to assign the palm to the "Gemma Sacerdotalis". At the earnest entreaty of the Cardinals he lent each of them a copy of the other works, but the Gemma he would not part with at any cost. The Gemma, however, did not win Gerald his suit.

Of Gerald's many trials, not the least was treachery. The miserly Bishop elect of Bangor carried to his grave the stigma of an ungenerous action towards Gerald; for though he had been supplied with money and wholeheartedly supported by the Archdeacon, after having transacted his business at Rome, he left his friends in the lurch, harassed with cares and in the most poignant distress, and ingratitude barbed the dart of injury. But Heaven was just. (Gerald never wanted for a copious supply of impetuous invective.) The self-centred Bishop Elect met his reward in this life. With unaccountable imprudence he had started home unattended. While penetrating a forest he fell among brigands and was stripped of the money which he was taking back with him (no small sum either), his letters and everything else. Within two days of his departure he was back again at the Curia. Entering the Archdeacon's lodgings he related his misfortune, confessing that he had got his due, for refusing to oblige with a loan an old comrade, a good friend, and St. David the patron of Wales. This was why Providence had employed footpads to relieve him of that exact sum for which he had been asked. Gerald not infrequently recounts with undissembled glee the judgments of Providence on his own opponents.

The year 1203 saw Gerald again in Rome. He describes the favourable reception and the subsequent proceedings at the Papal Court. But though Gerald tried to steer his course adroitly he derived but little satisfaction from this visit. The Curia would be neither flattered nor frightened into compliance. Misfortune seemed to dog his footsteps and he set forth homewards in the company of palmers and pilgrims. France was at the time in a state of turmoil owing to hostilities with England. Gerald fell under suspicion, was challenged and taken prisoner near Castellio on Seine.[1] His anxiety was deepened by a consciousness that he had been the cause of the arrest, and had hindered the peaceful progress of the pilgrims, "who of all men should be allowed to enjoy peace unmolested".[2] But he was unnecessarily sensitive in taking the blame upon himself, for pilgrims had been prohibited from passing through the country. By this time Gerald had schooled himself to take Fortune's buffets and rewards with equal thanks. Finally the party were released, Gerald's companions escaping by means of a ruse; our hero by assuring his captors that he hailed from a poor country called Wales.

Our litigious pilgrim had now made altogether four journeys to Rome to assert the claims of Menevia against Canterbury, and nothing seemed to quench his energy. Soon after his last experience he determined to make yet another pilgrimage to the Tombs of the Apostles purely for his soul's health. At Rome, a round of duties occupied his attention from the Feast of the Epiphany until Quadragesima Sunday; and throughout the whole of the season of Lent he, without intermission, daily visited the

[1] Now Châtillon-sur-Seine, thirty or forty miles south of Troyes.

[2] See ch. xx.

stations,[1] as enjoined by the Blessed Pope Gregory. He was also initiated into the brotherhood of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, an institution founded by Innocent III, who was then at the head of affairs. There he obtained remission of a seventh part of the penance enjoined upon him, and earned the right of taking part in the services of forty-five churches of the City of Romulus and the Abbeys, as well within the circuit of the walls as those lying in the suburbs, in all masses and privileges.[2]

The Archdeacon personally reaped but little profit from his tireless exertions on behalf of the Welsh Church. In 1214 the See of Menevia became again vacant and the Cathedral Chapter nominated Iorwerth, Abbot of Talley,

[1] Originally masses were said and other services held at the tombs of martyrs (or at their churches) on their anniversaries, and the Popes and Clergy of Rome would make processions there. The matter was in a rather vague state until (according to the story) St. Gregory the Great regulated it. He is supposed to have arranged the stations much as they are now. The expression *Statio ad* occurs in a modern Roman missal against about eighty-four masses. The days are: The four Sundays and three Ember days of Advent, Christmas Eve, the three masses of Christmas Day, the three days after Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, every Sunday and week-day from Ash Wednesday to Low Sunday inclusive, Ascension, Eve of Pentecost, Whit-Sunday and all the week, and the Ember days in September. Except in Lent, when other churches to the number of thirty-four are stations, the stations seldom take place at any but St. Peter's, St. Paul's, outside the walls, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, Santa Croce, the Sant' Apostoli, and St. Lawrence outside the walls. The present arrangement in the missal differs very little from the quite old one, but there have been a few alterations from time to time. At the present day stations do not take place. On some days the clergy assembled at one church (this assemblage was called a "Collecta") and went in procession to the Station Church. See the "Commentarius Praevius" to the "*Ordines Romani*", § v (Migne. Patr. Lat. tom. lxxviii—last volume of *S. Greg. Magn.*, col. 866), and Ordo xii and xvi in the same volume.

[2] i, p. 137-138.

from whose reforming zeal they had nothing to fear. Gerald's susceptibilities were wounded to the quick. The sands of his life were running out. He resigned his ecclesiastical offices and devoted himself in retirement to the revision of his books up to his death in 1223.

The case of Adam of Usk, in the fourteenth century, in some respects presents a parallel to that of Gerald. Like Gerald he exhibited an aptitude for intrigues, and stooped to diplomatic servility. Like him, he pathetically complained that he lacked the all-important requisites for successful negotiation. Born at Usk, in Monmouthshire, between 1360 and 1365 he had already had a chequered career and had witnessed many stirring scenes. His departure for Rome, in 1402, was acclerated, if not occasioned, by a charge of highway robbery in which he seems to have been implicated, for a King's pardon of compromising import granted to Adam is still extant.[1] The existence of a pardon is not absolutely conclusive, for Welshmen were sometimes graciously pardoned for crimes uncommitted. Still, in the case before us—grievous as it is to relate of a dignitary of the Church and a Doctor of Laws in the University of Oxford—the evidence is awkwardly circumstantial. Adam, however, did not allow these trifles to stand in his way.

Adam took ship at Billingsgate. The wind was propitious and brought them in one day to Bergen-op-Zoom in Brabant. Crossing Flanders by way of Diest and Maestricht, our traveller arrived at Aix-la-Chappelle and Cologne, then followed the course of the Rhine. Basel, Bern, Luzern, lay on his route. The terrors of the journey were calculated to shake nerves of steel. At Mount St.

[1] Pardon in 1403. *Patent Rolls*, 4 Henry IV, ij, § 22. The wording of the indictment may suggest that Adam was only technically involved in the tort of his servants.

Gothard he was drawn in an ox waggon along giddy heights "half dead with cold, and with his eyes blindfold lest he should see the dangers of the pass". Emerging into Lombardy he made his way to Milan, Piacenza and Pisa, but was obliged to "turn aside from Bologna, Florence and Perugia, on account of war". The great comet of 1402 which was said to portend the approaching end of Prince Gian Galeazzo of Milan was blazing in the heavens as our traveller was making his way from Cologne to Pisa.

Having arrived at Rome he succeeded in ingratiating himself in high quarters, and assures us that he wielded no inconsiderable influence at Court. Whatever view we may take of Adam's credulous simplicity, his Latin Chronicle affords a valuable insight into the social life of the Capital. It contains a lively and engrossing narrative of the author's thrilling adventures and proves that he was a favourite of the Chief Pontiff, and an acute observer of the progress of events, as well as a consistent place-hunter. Soon after his arrival he had been taken under the patronage of a future occupant of the Pontifical Throne, Cardinal Balthasar Cossa, who presented him to the reigning Pope, Boniface the Ninth. He had already made the acquaintance of Cardinal Cosimo dei Migliorati, who was also destined for the Tiara. Raised to the position of Papal Auditor, he justified the confidence reposed in him by his august master, and the best evidence exists (Adam is his own biographer) that he bore an honourable part in contemporary events. His services were rewarded by benefices in England, but he complains that he was not allowed to enjoy the fruit of his labours owing to his Welsh nationality. Ultimately he received "valuable preferment" in Wales. The tide turned in Adam's favour when Cardinal dei Migliorati ascended the

Papal Throne, assuming the title of Innocent VII. From this point onward his fortunes were closely linked with those of the Pope, of the integrity of whose Court he had formed no very high opinion. But Adam shall speak for himself:—"Everything was bought and sold, so that benefices went not on merit but to the highest bidder. Hence everyone who had wealth, and coveted vain glory, kept his cash in the merchants' bank to further his advancement". Clearly he himself was not above occasionally yielding to temptation; but his conscience was uneasy, and he confesses to a dread of the divine displeasure. In the year 1404, he describes the election of a successor to Boniface:—

> "The Cardinals entered the Conclave, which was entrusted to the safe-keeping of the King of Naples, with six thousand of his soldiers. The pestilent Roman people were divided into two parties, Guelphs and Ghibellines. For the space of three weeks with slaughter, robbery, and murder they harried each other, either party urging the creation of a Pope of its own; yet, by reason of the said guard, they could not come near to the palace of St. Peter, nor to the Conclave. And so their partisanship brought about the election of one who lay not in the bosom of either party, namely, Innocent VII."

Adam tells us elsewhere of the scenes enacted at Innocent's Coronation:—

> "At the moment of his coming forth from the Chapel of St. Gregory, the clerk bearing the long rod, on the end of which was fixed some tow, cried aloud, as he set it aflame: 'Holy Father, thus passeth away the glory of the world,' and again in the middle of the procession, with a louder voice, twice: 'Holy Father! most Holy Father!' and a third time, on arriving at the altar of St. Peter, thrice: 'Holy Father! Holy Father! Holy Father!' at his loudest; and forthwith each time is the tow quenched."[1]

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[1] The ceremony with the lighted tow is still kept up at the coronation and enthronement of a Pope. Judging by the analogy of the salutation of the Chrism, etc., on Maundy Thursday, "Ecce

An entry in Adam's diary for the same year contains some interesting allusions to the Ghetto (on the banks of the Tiber)[2]:—

> "In this street the Jews offered the Pope their law, that is, the Old Testament, seeking his confirmation; the Pope took it gently in his hand, for by it we have come to the knowledge of the Son of God and to our Faith, and thus answered: 'Your law is good, but ye understand it not, for old things are passed away, are become new'.[3] And, as if for a reproach, since they, being hardened in error, understand it not, he delivers it back to them over his left shoulder, neither annulling nor confirming it."

Our author furnishes glimpses of the state of civilization in Rome, for example:—

> "Being lodged near the palace of St. Peter I watched the habits of the wolves and dogs, often rising at midnight to this end. For while the watchdogs barked in the gateways of their masters' houses, the wolves carried off the smaller dogs from the midst of the larger ones; and although, when thus seized, the dogs, hoping to be defended by their large companions, howled the more, yet the latter never stirred from their posts, though their barking waxed louder."

The incident set Adam moralizing:—

> "And so I pondered on the same sort of league which

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lignum Crucis", etc., on Good Friday, and the "Lumen Christi" and "Alleluia" on Easter Eve, "louder voice" ought to mean a higher note. The rubric for the second "Lumen Christi" is "altius cantat", and for the third, "adhuc altius dicit". For the "Alleluia" at the Gospel of Easter Eve, it is "Et totum decantat ter elevando vocem gradatim: et chorus post quamlibet vicem in eodem tono repetit illud idem". The rubric at the Good Friday, "Ecce lignum crucis", only directs parts of the crucifix to be uncovered and the cross itself to be elevated a little more with each repetition, saying nothing about the voice, but the practice is to raise the note a degree of the scale (which is what "elevando vocem *gradatim*" means, *i.e.*, by a *gradus* of the *scala*). With a "loud voice" would probably be "magna voce", and an audible, but not very loud one, "clara voce"—the "loud voice" and "audible voice" of the English Morning and Evening Prayer. [2] p. 264. Cf. 270 and 271. [3] II *Corinthians*, v, 17.

> we know doth exist in our parts between the great men of the country and the exiles of the woods."[1]

A rebellion and the Pope's flight gave rise to some thrilling episodes.

> Thunder had long grumbled in the air. For scoffing in the Consistory at the Pope and his deeds, fourteen chief citizens of Rome were at San Spirito slaughtered by his nephew, captain of the men-at-arms. This was a signal for an outburst of mob-fury. "To the number of three hundred thousand the Romans rose in frenzy, shouting 'Death to the Pope, to all his courtiers, and to foreigners'. Wilder and wilder, thicker and thicker, madder and madder the crowd surged. 'And', he continues, 'that day was to me, the writer of this history, a day of wrath and calamity and of misery, for being stripped even to my shoe-latchets I hardly escaped their tyranny with my life, lying hid for eight days in the garb of a friar'. His woes did not cease there. 'By the help of a certain Roman, I, like the beggar that I was, for a merchant at the first report had fled with my moneys (evidently Adam had himself adopted the censurable precaution of lining his pockets to compass his private ends) in company with sailors, passing by way of the Tiber, Ostia, and the city of Albano (where Brutus, grandson of Aeneas, and first King of the Britons was born), came to the Pope at Viterbo, telling him all. Wherefore jeering at me he used to say: 'Get thee back to thy mates, and don thy sailor's garb again'."

As Adam shared his master's unpopularity, designs were harboured against him; but happily the murderers were thwarted and the infamous plot failed. He was poisoned by "the dart of the envious" and laid out for dead, beyond restoration. The Pope, however, came to his rescue and sent him his personal physician, a Jew,[2] Helias by name, who saved Adam's life. His Holiness thought it consistent with his dignity to apply a Scripture text to

[1] p. 269.

[2] Benjamin of Tudela mentions, with evident satisfaction, that two hundred Jews live at Rome and are very much respected. Of this number several are in the service of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181).

the occasion, remarking: "Adam the man is become as one of us".[1]

The fifteenth century, in spite of the ominous signs in the ecclesiastical firmament, saw no abatement of interest in the Roman pilgrimage. Lewis Glyn Cothi addresses the following ode to Davydd ab Sion of Cil Vai[2]:—

"Awdl i Ddavydd ab Sion, o vro wyr,[3] pan oedd wedi myned i Ruvain.

"Aeth synwyr tir Gwyr i geurydd y Pab,
Hebog[4] Sion ab Davydd;
Adre doed yu dra dedwydd,
Ganto'r haf ag enaid rhydd.[5]

Yn ieuanc yr aeth o'r Llys Newydd, baun[6]
A fon big, ac allwydd;[7]
A dyfod a wnel Dafydd
Hyd tir ei dad, cyn tri dydd.

Cymmru'n hiraethu am yr hydd, o bryd
Brodyr a chwiorydd;
Cerddorion, hyd Von Vynydd;[8]
Dros hwn yn pryderu sydd.

Wrth wyn Mawd,[9] y fawd dda ei fydd, a'r saint;
Wrth wyn Sion[10] yn drydydd;
Wrth wyn pob overddyn vydd
Ei dro ev drwy'r holl drevydd.

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[1] *Genesis*, iii, 22.

[2] Cilfey. [3] Gower. [4] Alert as a hawk.

[5] "Enaid rhydd" was evidently a phrase with a special significance, probably, religious. From its usual context it would seem to have meant the "state of grace", *i.e.*, freedom from mortal sin. If so, it was the equivalent of "calon lan", or "asgre lan".

[6] A strutting peacock, the poet's *beau idéal* of an aristocrat. Cf., p. 18, *ein paun dof an pendefig*, and *paen ystradling jevank kawr*. Thomas ap Jeuan Madog.

[7] A palmer's staff and a key. The signs of a pilgrim to Rome were a cloak marked with cross-keys and the vernicle.

[8] Probably Holyhead Mountain in Anglesey.

[9] Agreeably to Maud's wishes.

[10] His father.

Ev aeth i Ruvain, eryr o'r Dwyrain
A Duw'n ei arwain Edwin orwyr;
Ydd wyf yni ddel heb vedd, a heb vel;[1]
Heb gafael canel[2] wrth oleu cwyr.

Heb win yn y byd, heb gartref hevyd;
Heb einioes ennyd, heb un synwyr;
Gwell ym, a'i galled, wyliau ei weled;
Nog i wr o Gred weled ei wyr.[3]

Troi natur eos yn nydd, ac yn nos,
Yn agos i glos Vernagl a wyr;[4]
Plygain,[5] dwyrain dawn, anterth, aberth iawn;
A boreu a nawn, a phyrnawn[6] hwyr.

Cwmpas Ystasiwn[7] a dry val yn drwn,
Cael pardwn[8] memrwn i dalm o wyr;[9]
Yn Rhuvain rhivaw dros win a chiniaw;
Ac yno lleisiaw wyth-gan Llaswyr.[10]

Dan un, hollsaint ner oll a'i nertha ev,
A ninnau'n un llev arnyn yn llwyr;
Dwyn ofrwm dinam (ei vardd ef, ai vam)
I Dduw a wnaetham ddoe a neithiwyr.

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[1] Until he returns I am without mead or honey.

[2] Cinnamon; L., Latin *cannella*; Fr. *cannelle*; O. Engl. *canelle*.

[3] A reference to the saying: "Ni cherir yn llwyr Oni ddelo yr wyr."

[4] Near the shrine of the Veronica Kerchief. See pp. 181-184.

[5] *Plygain* is an interesting word. Its explanation is to be found in Breton (Pelgent), where it means the Midnight Mass of Christmas. This is now only called "De Nocte" (as the other two are "in Aurora" and "in Die"), but in e.g., the Sarum Missal it is "in Gallicantu". No doubt "plygain" and "pelgent" are really "in pullicantu". The Breton word is in regular use. "Ha pelgent a vezo henoz?" (Is there a midnight mass to-night?), "Ia, hag offeren goulou-deiz war-he-lerc'h (Yes, and the Mass of Daylight after it.). Cf. p. 256, n. 1.

[6] *Prydnawn.*

[7] For the stations see p. 214, n. 1.

[8] "Pardwn memrwn" (Cf. "enwedig y memrwn" in 2 Tim., iv, 13) is the Latin word *membrana.*

[9] He was commissioned to bring back Indulgences in writing for his friends.

[10] Psalter, prayers, rosary.

I edrych adrev bid ei wyneb ev,
O drev Rhuvain grev hyd ar Gaer Wyr[1]
Dros vynydd Mynau, glan Rhin a'i glynau,[2]
Drwy vlaenau 'r Deau wlad, hyd vro Wyr.

No less enterprising were the Catholics of North Wales, as witness the following panegyric :—

"Kowydd moliant i Sion Trevor o Drefalun yw groesawu adre o Ruuain."

"Maelawr[3] wen mawl a ranwyd
mawr y bar ddoe, morr b[y]rudd wyd
Pruddion dynion mae deunydd
pawb oth vewn pa obaith vydd
hiraethus yw rhai weithion
hiraeth y sowaeth[4] am Sion
Trefailiodd aer Trefalun
trwy vor hallt ond rhyfawr hynn
Sion wr pur synhwyra penn
Trevor aeth i wlad Rufen
y fentriodd sathrodd bob sarn
Gyt ag aer Sackvild gadarn
Ond hir i mae tu hwnt ir mor
Ond ryfedd am Sion Trevor
dechweled deled eilwaith
Sion Trevor i vaelor vaith
Vilwr doed i vaelor i dir
Er ei fyned i Rufendir
ai gwir vyth y gair a vu
gwir och wyr ei garcharu[5]
karcharwyd kuddiwyd yn kar
kyrched Duw ef or karchar
na bo modd lle yr adroddwn
I Itali hir i atal hwn
kadwed Duw rag codiad dig
ein paun dof[6] an pendefig."

The poet proceeds to enumerate the dangers besetting pilgrims :—

"Rrag lliw angau rrag llongwyr[7]
rrag llong wyllt rrag lleng o wyr
rrag drwg dwr rrag draic o dan[8]
rrag ffrwyth tylwyth Italian
rrag karn lladron aflonydd
rrag dynion ffeilsion ei ffydd[9]
rrag tri pheth, odieth ydyn,
a dull dic i dwyllo dyn
tair ff[10] ddig nid trwy ffydd dda
ffames : fflwctws : et ffemina[11]
rrag karchar galar gwiliaw
rrag kyfraith estroniaith draw
rrag gofal ddal meddyliau
rrag hiraeth braw alaeth brau
rrag klevyd or byd ar bel[12]
rrag briw arf rrag braw o efel
rrag kaled vrwydyr rrag gelyn
rrag brad twyll rrag bwriad dyn
rrag kryd oer[13] symyd ar Sion
rrag nod[14] a rrag newidion

---

[1] Abertawe, Swansea. [2] The Alps and the Rhine. [3] Maelor.
[4] *ysywaeth.* [5] A rumour that he had been thrown into prison.
[6] Cf. p. 220. [7] Corsairs. [8] Fiery dragon.
[9] Heretics. [10] Words beginning in "ff". [11] All Latin words.
[12] War. [13] Ague. [14] Pestilence.

rrag klevyd mewn brithfyd brau
rrag gwenwyn a rrag heiniau
Gweled a wnaeth kywaeth kain
Gweled tref a gwlad Ruvain
Gweled teml Pedr[1] a vedrodd
Gweled i merched ai modd
Gweled avon Urddonen[2]
Gweled i ffyrdd gwlad ai ffen
poen dra eglur pen dreiglai
plasau teg Napyls[3] ai tai
edrychedd gwilied pob gwych
adre i del wedi edrych
mae iddo un peth ni vetha
mae bendithion dynion da
Delo ir wlad lle karo kant
i Drevalun drwy voliant
Ir tir iach ar twr uchel
ag i wlad i dad i del.

Sion Tudur ai kant.[4]

The Jubilee of 1450 fell appropriately during the pontificate of Nicolas V, itself the culminating point of Latin Christianity. The occasion drew together an immense concourse of the faithful to Rome, eager to pay their well-deserved homage to the reigning Pope. No Jubilee was more splendidly celebrated. Strangers from all parts of Europe swarmed in the streets of Rome. A Welsh poet who joined the throng, has recorded his impressions of the voyage :—

"Cywydd y llong pan aeth y bardd i Rufain gida phererinion eraill, 1450, pan oedd Nicolas yn Bab."

"Y llong tan y fantell hir
ysgafnwen waisg[5] a ofnir
aredig mor ir ydwyd
aradr y Saint[6] ar ei draws wyd
blin f'anrhaith yw y daith dav
blin ty anedd blaen tonav
Cwrt hordd raffav cyrt[7] a hwyl
cist a llvn castell anwyl
es[m]wyth fych os mi ath fedd
dan vn dewin o Wynedd
a oes bryd[8] mor ysbrydawl
a bod ar ffordd Beder a Phawl[9]
tvedd ag ymyredd mawr[10]
Tre Rufain tyrfa ryfawr
pvlpyd lle i cyfyd cwfaint[11]
pen gorsedd a senedd saint

---

[1] St. Peter's. [2] The river Jordan. [3] Naples.

[4] Llanstephan MSS. 54, f. 171. Sion Tudur graduated as "dysgybl pencerddaidd" at the Caerwys Eisteddfod of 1568; he died in 1602.

[5] *Waisg*, swiftness, alertness.

[6] Conveying pilgrims to the saints' shrines.

[7] ropes. [8] v.l., byd. [9] To the City of SS. Peter and Paul.

[10] v.l. y kymmyredd mawr. Cymyr, "boldness", "confidence". Cf. cymyru, "have courage, confidence".

[11] Convent.

cael cyffes cynes i caid
a tharo drwy'r porth evraid[1]
cerdded plas yr yswasiwn[2]
ar gris hir mawr yw'r gras hwn
tramwy am ceidw [i] rhag trymaint
temlav a sercelev[3] [y] saint
f'enaid teg oddi fewn ytwr
oedd fernagl[4] dduw farnwr
edrych i bvm ar oedran
Ranus fab Eleius lan[5]
mil a ffedwar cant bar main[6]
a deg yn ol y devgain
term pardwn gwn yn gall
A threm[7] rhyw beth arall
maddevant mi a wyddwn

---

[1] *Porth euraid.* This probably means the "porta aurea" (or Porta Santa) at St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, and, I think, St. Paul's. The door is walled up, except during the Jubilee year, when it is opened and closed at the end with great solemnity. In that case "gris hir" is not the Santa Scala. It probably refers to the steps up to (old) St. Peter's; what follows seems to be all in St. Peter's. The Dean of the Sacred College (Senior Cardinal Bishop) performs the ceremony of opening and closing. When it is closed a large metal cross is placed on it. In Frascati Cathedral there is (on the wall) the cross from the Porta Aurea of St. Peter's, put there by Benedict XIV, after the Jubilee of 1750 and removed by Henry IX (Cardinal York) in 1775 and given to his own Cathedral. In the inscription the door is called *Porta Aurea.* The trowel used by Henry IX on that occasion was in the Stuart Exhibition at the New Gallery in 1888-9, lent by Lord Braye. Cf. p. 187, l. 10.

[2] No doubt *ysdaciwn,* for which see p. 214, n. 1.

[3] This may be (1) circles, as in "*serclau,* lleuadau llydain" (Tudur Aled), used here in the sense of domes. The word is in some dictionaries derived from the Latin *circulus.* No doubt *sercel* is formed from English after c before a thin vowel had ceased to be k and become s. If it had come direct from Latin it would have been *cercel* or *cyrcul*; as a matter of fact, *cylch* and *cyrch* are probably both from *circus.* But, like the *seremoniau* of the preface to the Welsh Prayer Book, *sercel* was an English loanword after the softening of the Latin c. *Croman,* the usual word for a dome, is from the root *crom,* which in Breton, Cornish, and in the Scottish Gaelic of Ossian, suggests, *inter alia,* a circle. *Crom,* in Ossian, means a (so-called) Druidical circle. *Cromlech* (kroumlec'h), in Breton, a circle of stones. Our poet may have thought *sercel* a poetical synonym. Or (2) borrowed from the French *cercueil,* sarcophagus, coffin. Low Lat., *sarcus*; High Germ., *sarc*; Mod. Germ., *sarg*; Wallon, *sarkô.*

[4] The Vernicle. See pp. 181-184.

[5] v.l. The text is probably a corruption of the Latin words Annus Jubilaeus.

[6] v.l., vardd main.

[7] v.l. therm.

Sain coe hael sy'n nwylaw hwn.
[A goriad pedr ai goron[1]
Gyda'r groes ar gadair gron.]
Gwarcheidwad cariad y cor
gwregys a bagl Sain Grugor
curais gan[2] bynciau arab
cael ysbort[3] Nicolas Bab
madde gair gweithred meddwl[4]
ymrthod ar pechod pwl
cyfeirio ir fro ar frys
cael pen ffordd Elen ddilys
a dyfod rhag cydfod cvr
ar warthol i lwybvr Arthur[5]
devall cwmpasav Deien[6]
A mynd fal hynt Mawndfil[7] hen
wrth wŷn y ffrwd arth wen ffriw
ywin llong[8] hafn ewinlliw
cyrch y cefnfor egored
ath garthen[9] lwydwen ar led
od ai lle ni feiddiai fad[10]

---

[1] *Agoriad Pedr ai goron.* The bronze statue on the south side of St. Peter's holds a key, but the statue has no crown. Moreover, it used to be in church of St. Martino ai Monti until Paul V (1605-1621) brought it to St. Peter's.

[2] v.l. curiais am.

[3] Perhaps *esborth*, nourishment, spiritual sustenance.

[4] In "thought, word and deed".

[5] St. Helen's journey to Jerusalem, and King Arthur's supposed visit to Caer Seion. See pp. 89-92, 98.

[6] There are conceivable explanations of this obscure line. *Deien* suggests (1) a proper name or (2) *dien*, death, destruction, personified; *dihenydd*. (Cf. Hebrew *Abaddon*.) Dafydd ap Gwilym uses the word, "Dien drwg a fo i'r dyn draw". Notice also the v.l., mwndi (Lat., mundi) for "a mynd". *Cwmpassau* might then denote "regions" like the Hebrew *sabib* in Ecclesiastes, i, 6, rendered cwmpasoedd, or *chug*, in Job, xxii, 14. But in the light of the references to Sir John Mandeville's travels, *deall cympasau*, may, perhaps, mean "understanding the mariners' compasses". A knowledge of the compass was said to have been brought to Europe by Marco Polo. It was long contended that as a nautical instrument (the Chinese used it on land before the Christian era and at sea about A.D. 300) it came into vogue through Flavio Gioja a native of Amalfi, c. 1362, but he probably introduced improvements. The compass was enclosed in a binnacle for the sake of light in the evening, as now. Hugh de Berry (thirteenth century) relates that the sailors on dark nights, for fear of losing their route, lighted a candle, to observe the needle from time to time. But the text is probably corrupt.

[7] Sir John Mandeville.

[8] Cf. ch. xiii.

[9] A *nithlen*, or winnowing sheet; probably used here for the mainsail.

[10] Where a boat would not venture.

A ni i eiste yn wastad
serchog wyd na chas orchudd
Sarn Badrig ym mrig mor Rhudd[1]
lluest o dderw a llvain
llemhysten fantellwen fain
parlwr fal twr ar fol tonn
prenol[2] y pererinion

tuth draig ymdrochwraig drachref
tynn ar draws y tonav ir dref
na ddos teg ith naddasan
ar lwff dros fyned ir lan
rhed ar frig rhavadr ar frys
a ni unwaith in ynys[3]
a rhad ar nawdd rhadav'r nef
ymerodres mor[4] adref.[5]

"Robin Ddu ai cant."

The pilgrims returned to disseminate throughout Europe the fame of the resuscitated majesty of the Roman Pontificate, the Pacificator Pope, and his magnificent embellishments of Rome.

"Cywydd i Rys ab Dafydd Llwyd aethai i Rufain yn Bererin."

Gwilio 'rwyf mae'n gul yr ais
Troi golwg at Dre galais ;[6]
Pan aeth y mab pennaeth mau
I dy Bedr da wybodau ;
Y Llew o gorph Dafydd Lhwyd,
Ag o Rydderch i gwreiddiwyd ;
O daeth Rys i'r daith rasawl,
Bid ar ei ffordd Bedr a Phawl ;[7]
Llwyr ein[8] bernir mewn hiraeth,
Llew main i Rufain i'r aeth ;
Anturio wnaeth o'n tir ni,
'Gael wyneb y goleuni ;[9]

Lle i[10] ynnill llawenydd,
A lle caid, rhoi Enaid rhydd ;[11]
Cael cyffes cynes i caid,[12]
Er ynnill nef i'r Enaid ;
Cael yn ol, ffydd Gatholig,
Pardwn Duw rhag purdan dig ;
Cael gweled o'r trwydded draw,
Y fernagl[13] a fu arnaw ;
Cafas ef yno hefyd
Faddau holl bechodau byd ;
A'i olchi 'ngradd cyfaddef,
Yn un o dair ffynon nef ;[14]

---

[1] Red Sea. [2] Coffer, v.l. Prennock. [3] Britain.
[4] The Blessed Virgin, protectress of travellors by sea. Cf. ch. xvi.
[5] Llanstephan. MS. 124, f. 196.
[6] Calais, v.l., ar golwg rhof ar Galais.
[7] v.l., a bod ar ffordd bedr a ffawl. [8] v.l., ym. [9] Cf. p. 188, n. 6.
[10] v.l., a lle. [11] A lle y kaid enaid rydd. Cf. p. 220, n. 5.
[12] Cf. p. 205, n. 6. [13] The Vernicle. See pp. 181-184.
[14] Cf. p. 184.

Pedr a Phawl i'r freiniawl fro,[1]
A Duw gwyn a'i dyg yno ;
Padarn ail fal Pedr o nef,[2]
A'i dy gwydr a'i dwg adref ;[3]
Mae'n ofnog oludog wledd,
Deau a chwbl o'i duedd ;
Gofalus oedd Cyfeiliawg,[4]
Yno ddewr hael na ddae 'rhawg ;
Nid af[5] i 'mddiddan a dyn,
Ion Dafydd ond yw ofyn ;[6]
Chwareu a wnai'r chwiorydd,
Er wylaw'r dwr lawer dydd ;
Mae ar Gatrin wedd hinon,
Ofn a braw o fewn ei bron ;
A minnau a ddymunwn
Gael oed Hydd[7] a gweled hwn ;
Mwya cur dolur dilys,[8]
O fewn y mron ofn am Rys ;
Ag nid rhaid f' enaid yw fo,
Myn Dwynwen[9] ofn am dano ;
Er aros mab, aral,[10] aeth,
Nid hir ond rhiw naturiaeth ;
Nid myned mewn tynged taith
Ddiwael elw[11] a ddel eilwaith ;
Ai mael gwr ym mol gorallt,
A roes gwin yn aros gwallt ?[12]
Pan ddel Rhys i'w lys a'i wlad,
Gwallt a dyf gwyllt ei dyfiad ;
Pawb a gan fal pibau gwydd,
Ol yn ol o lawenydd ;
Llyna'r byd yn llawenach,

---

[1] v.l., Pedr a ffawl freiniawl fro.

[2] v.l., Padarn ail yw pedr.

[3] v.l., yw dy gwydr ai dwg adref. Cf. "Plas o wydr glas". W. Llŷn.

The Church of Llanbadarn Fawr, was dedicated to the Saint. It was in a "Ty gwydrin" that Merlin and his nine fellow bards went to sea (and, as might be expected under the circumstances, there was no report of where they went to.)

[4] Owain Cyfeiliog, a patron of bards and a poet in the twelfth century. See pp. 116, 118.

[5] v.l., nid a.

[6] Another MS. inserts here :—bydd wych bu fynych dy fod Dafydd mae Rhys yn dyfod.

[7] Proverbially longlived. v.l., dydd ; the bard would take a holiday to see Rhys.

[8] Unavoidable.

[9] v.l , ym Dwynwen ; the patron saint of lovers ; her shrine lay at Llanddwyn, Anglesey. See Ch. xv.

[10] v.l., mab arab.

[11] v.l., ddiwyl elw.

[12] v.l., Nid moel gwyl er aros gwallt, ar was gwych y mol gorallt, yields a better sense. There may be an allusion to hair cut in token of a vow, or the tonsure.

Fod Dafydd, ail Nudd,[1] yn iach; Ag oes hir lle gwelir gwin,
Llyna ras yn llenwi 'ran, I'r por aur[2] ar pererin.
Ag urddas yn Gogerddan ;

Lewis Trefnant, a'i cant. (1550-1580).

CHAPTER XII.

The Thresholds of the Apostles—The Reformation.

The intellectual stimulus afforded by the Roman pilgrimage produced a far-reaching effect, as well upon nations as individuals, and ushered in a new era of enlightenment. Rome was the centre of Western Christendom, and Italy the chief seat of culture. Arts and sciences, which had risen to notice elsewhere, gravitated towards Italy and combined to render that country a world's University—for a country, as well as a college, may furnish all the essential elements of an academical education. The very word "university", in its rudimentary idea, implies an assemblage of strangers drawn from a wide extent of territory, a collection of teachers and learners gathered from all quarters for the communication and circulation of thought. Italy combined these advantages in an eminent degree, and they were concentrated in Rome.

It is clear from St. Augustine that there were great schools at Rome in the fourth century.[3] He wished to go

[1] v.l., Fod Dafydd law nudd yn iach. Nudd was a nobleman of of the sixth century, one of the three generous ones of the Isle of Britain and rich in herds of cattle (Triads.) He was counted a saint and said to have founded Llysvronnudd. The v.l., law Nudd would refer to his openhanded liberality.

[2] *Eques auratus.* Knight of the Golden Spur, one of the insignia of knighthood, or (more probably) *aur* means here splendid, illustrious. For the former meaning compare *aur gadwynog* and *aur goler* applied by the poets to Welsh noblemen. This emblem was derived from the reign of Diocletian, when two Roman Senators, SS. Simplicius and Faustinus, were drowned with a stone chained round their necks.

[3] It was the practice to go to Rome to finish a course of study. Students began in the Monastic School, passed to the Metropolitan

there because "the young men studied there in greater quiet and were subjected to a more orderly restraint", in this respect contrasting favourably with their counterparts at Carthage.[3] The year A.D. 370 saw a galaxy of literary luminaries together in Rome, namely, Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. Damasus, himself no mean poet and scholar, was Pope. The effect of Roman culture was felt even in *ultima Thule*. Nynias, or as he is best known, Ninian, Apostle of the Picts, was another who had at this time studied at Rome, and had drunk deep of the old Roman spirit. He was taught the Faith "and the mysteries of the true religion according to the rules of discipline".[4] The indirect influence of so central and so frequented a city, of the environment by which the young provincials were there surrounded, and of the very atmosphere that they breathed, was unmistakable. Rome became the centre of a vast intellectual propagandism, an ecumenical teacher, and an emporium of polite literature, the common fatherland of all Christian men.

The flow of students received a check in the fifth century from the barbarian invasions. Alaric and his Goths in 410 rudely closed for a time the schools at Rome. Re-

School, and ended in the Papal or Roman School. Cf. Bede, H. E., iv, c. 23.

[3] The Theodosian code records the measures taken for preserving discipline. *Codex Theodos.*, xvi, lib. 9. *De Studiis Liberalibus*, pp. 1397-8, ed. Haenel.

[4] *Monasticism.* Generally speaking, after about the eighth century "religio" meant not religion in the modern (or older) sense, but the monastic life. It is true that the "Quicunque vult" puts "Christiana veritas" and "catholica religio" as synonyms, and that hymn is probably not very much earlier, but usually from about that time to the Reformation—the restricted meaning was the commoner. Cf. the growth of the Welsh word, *Crefydd*, which, at the Reformation, changed both its gender and meaning.

scripts from the Emperors no longer summoned the youth of the provinces to study in the Capital, and yet we cannot suppose that the custom ceased altogether among the nations of the West. The spell of Rome upon artist and scholar, as well as saint, was not destined soon to be broken. The presence of foreign students and the deference shown to them is illustrated in the following anecdote :—

> "Or it is three of Brigit's household that made this hymn when they went to Rome and reached Placentia.[1] And a man of the people of the city came to them outside and asked them whether they needed guesting. They said that they did. Then he brought them with him to his house, and they met a student who had come from Rome, and who asked them whence they had come, and why they had come. They said that it was for guesting. 'That is a pity', said he, 'for this man's custom is to kill his guests', and they asked that through the student's teaching. So poison was given to them in ale, and they praised Brigit that she might save them, and they sang *Brigit be bithmaith*,[2] etc. They drank the ale with the poison, and it did them no harm. So the man of the house came to see whether the poison had killed them. And he beheld them alive, and he beheld a comely maiden amongst them. Thereafter he came into the house, and was seeking the maiden,[3] and found her not, and he asked them: 'Why has the maiden gone?' and they said that they had not seen her at all. So a chain was put upon them that they might be killed on the morrow, unless they would disclose the maiden. So the same student came to them on the morrow to visit them, *et inuenit eos in uinculis, et interrogauit oes quomodo euaserunt et cur ligati sunt.*"[4]

When we come to later times, it was mainly in Italy that the complex movement called the Renaissance, reached its high-water mark, in the fifteenth century. The decline

[1] Piacenza. The presumption is that the student also was an Irishman.

[2] "Brigit, the woman of constant goodness."

[3] Evidently, Saint Brigit.

[4] *Book of Lismore, Life of Brigit*, ed. Stokes, p. 198.

of "New Rome" and the Byzantine Empire generally, the fall of Constantinople before the Turks in 1453, the bequest to Rome of the masterpieces of Greek genius, the development of various cities and states, such as Florence and Venice, into centres of light and leading, the impulse communicated to the Fine Arts by the munificence of noble families and princely patrons, the stimulus imparted to talent by the competition of craftsmen, the play of genius, fancy, care for physical beauty, a worship of the body, wit, grace, and invention—all these co-operated to produce the result. To Italy, therefore, flocked aspirants after culture from all parts of the civilised world.

The attractions of Italy were reinforced by political events in England. Such an event occurred in the fifteenth century. Owen Glyndwr's negotiations with Charles VI of France, and his recognition of the claims of Benedict XIII against his rival Innocent, cemented the relations between Wales and Italy. Henceforward the Welsh Bards garnished their war songs with appeals to St. Peter, and invocations of the benediction of the Apostolic See to aid their just cause. This organised combination of forces provoked reprisals on the part of the Crown. Glyndwr had contemplated the idea of a National Church and a National University, but the ill-success of his military enterprise dissolved the fair fabric of his dream. This reversal of the national leader's aspirations involved grave consequences to the intellectual life of Wales. The hopes raised in that generation were shattered by a stab at its very vitals. For, on the failure of the insurrection, Henry and his counsellors proceeded to remorseless retaliation. They conceived that the best way of crushing the spirit of Wales was by crippling its youth, thus poisoning the springs of national life, and

postponing for generations the realization of Welshmen's educational ideals. Accordingly, Henry denied the Welsh the privilege of higher education. The result was that many a young Welshman of the day who aspired after culture, was compelled to seek it on foreign shores. Then began an exodus towards the Continent which continued for a long time uninterrupted.

The upheaval of the Reformation swelled the number of emigrants. Many went into exile for conscience sake; some of these votaries of knowledge exhibiting a remarkable combination of religious conviction, intellectual acumen and patriotic zeal. Their careers warrant some patriotic exultation. Gruffydd Roberts was one of these "Popish recusants". He flourished about the year 1570, and betook himself to the University of Siena to study medicine, but his patriotism was accentuated by exile. In 1567, he published a Welsh grammatical treatise. In its Preface he gives patriotic reasons for undertaking the task. In 1585, he reappears as the author of a Roman Catholic manual, entitled *Y Drych Cristionogawl*, which was published at Milan, under the direction of Roberts's fellow-countryman Rossier Smith. Sion Dafydd Rhys, another Welshman, found his way to Siena, and also graduated in the faculty of medicine there. He afterwards became public moderator of the school at Pistoja, and published two Latin treatises at Venice and Padua respectively. His residence in foreign countries did not cool his patriotic ardour, for a Welsh Grammar from his pen saw the light in 1588. Ultimately, he returned to his own country and followed his profession near Brecon.

There were others who offered to their Church and country something besides the Gibeonite service of hewers of grammatical wood or drawers of lexicographic water. William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI, a

"hot fiery spirit", but one of the "most learned men of his time", was probably a native of Radnorshire. He himself tells us that in 1544 he was "constrained by misfortune to abandon the place of his nativity", and probably refers to his religious opinions. In 1545, he is heard of at Venice. In 1552, he published a monograph bearing the title: "Il pellegrino Inglese nel quale si defende l'innocente e la sincera vita del pio e religioso re d'Inghilterra Henrico Ottavo", the English translation of which he dedicated to Pietro Aretino, the Italian poet.[1] In 1548 or 1549, he is found forwarding from Padua to his "verie good friende Maister John Tamworth, at Venice", an Italian primer which he had undertaken to compose at his correspondent's request. His Italian grammar and dictionary were the first of the kind printed in English, and reveal an intimate knowledge of Italian literature. Eventually he returned to England, where he drew upon the stores of knowledge accumulated during his residence abroad under the title of *The Historie of Italie*.[2]

The presence of the Irish lent colour and picturesqueness to Roman life. The following incident throws light on the racial rivalries which were brought into play in so distant and cosmopolitan a quarter as Rome, and at the same time illustrates the clerical amenities of the day. The Irish residents apparently nourished a grievance against the English, and were not averse from venting their spleen on any individual Englishman. The Dean of Lincoln happened to be staying in Rome. Certain of the sons of Erin heard of his arrival, and thought this a favourable opportunity for a ~~manifestation~~ demonstration against the representative of a race which had treated the Emerald Isle so ill.

[1] Cottonian MSS., Vespas. D., 18.

[2] The book was suppressed, but afterwards reprinted. The author perished in the reign of Queen Mary on Tyburn.

Biding their time, they delivered an assault on the Dean's lodgings. The dignitary, recognising that his life was in jeopardy, drew a knife in the mêlée and stabbed an aggressor. Every person of consequence went about armed, and bore at least a knife, nominally to cut bread.[1]

While "heresy" stalked through Europe the necessity of educating a priesthood for the "English vineyard" (to borrow the language of the time) was urgent, owing to the exclusion in the sixteenth century of adherents of the Papal See from the English Universities and the proscription of all who clung to the Roman Faith. Then began a network of intrigue. The exiles were divided into two distinct and antagonistic parties. The Jesuits, who were the main actors in the drama, realised that Queen Elizabeth, that "infamous Jezebel", would never be dethroned except by the aid of a foreign force. Accordingly the company bent their energies to accomplish that object. The Welsh ranged themselves on the side of the Throne. They were desirous of bringing England back to the Catholic fold by pacific methods, and shrank from subjecting the country to a stranger's yoke.[2]

Bishop Owen Lewis, while Archdeacon of Cambray, and afterwards as a trusted agent of the Pope, exerted considerable influence in ecclesiastical counsels. He was fully alive to the urgency of the crisis, and Cambray was evidently a rallying point for Welshmen who had gone into exile for conscience sake. The list of alumni at Douay also

[1] F. Novati, *Gli Scolari Romani ne' secoli xiv e xv*, and A. Bertolotti, *Gli Studenti in Roma nel Secolo xvi*, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. ii, furnish interesting accounts of student life in Rome.

[2] See the author's article in *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1905-6, p. 146, *et seq.*

furnishes evidence of the attraction that it possessed for Welshmen. Such were Robert Owen, a youth of "noble rank", who afterwards became a priest in France; Robert Gwinne, of Bangor; Nicholas ab Ithel, S.T.P., born at Calais during the English occupation; Robert Allan, of St. Asaph; Edward Hewes, of Chester; John Griffin, of St. Asaph; Owen Floyd, of Bangor; William Watts, of St. David's; John Probert, of Bangor; William Harrison, of St. Asaph; John Ithel, of Llandaff; Humphrey Ellis, of Hereford; Thomas Floyd, of St. Asaph; Lewis Hews, of Llandaff; Morgan Thomas, of St. David's; Roland Morgan and Jacob Powell, of Llandaff. These were among the earliest to join. The College register contains many other Welsh names, which testify to the origin of the bearers, as well as to the perils they encountered and the hardships they endured. Edward Hughes, for example, returned from prison at Framlingham and was driven into banishment a second time. Roger Floyd suffered a similar fate in the same year. But prison and torture seemed to have no terrors for them. No sooner were these driven out of the realm, or did they pay the death penalty, than others offered to fill the gaps in their ranks. Sometimes an entry of the following kind occurs:—

> "Mr. Edwards, who besides losing all his goods, had borne with signal fortitude various outrages during his confinement in prison for many years on account of his confession of the Catholic Faith, and was destined soon to return, crossed to us from England, bringing with him students entrusted to his charge by their friends."

Later we read:—

> "William Pearse, who, in order to escape the storm of persecution, had for some time held the office of school-master, arrived from England."

Again, "Robert Gwin reports success in Wales", or yet again:—

> "Thomas Edwards visited the college on his way through France to Rome for the sake of devotion. He intended sojourning at Bologna."

Then follows an account of the capture of a Welshman on his way, and his interrogation.

Meanwhile, measures were being taken elsewhere to supply the want of an English priesthood, by opening seminaries in the Spanish Peninsula. Through the energy of Father Parsons and the liberality of Philip II, a college was started at Valladolid. Henry Floyd, a deacon, was despatched thither, and others followed. Fuente, in his work, *Historia de las universidades, colegios y demas establecimientos de Enseñanza en España*,[1] has described the educational institutions founded in Spain. Not only at Valladolid, but at Seville also there were many English youths; Wales was likewise well represented at Salamanca and Alcala. Thus, for example, in the roll of martyrs,[2] appears the name of Rugier Cadauvllador,[3] priest, and Juan Roberts, priest and superior of the college at Valladolid.[4]

These pioneer institutions were in course of time eclipsed by the rising glories of the English College at Rome. The latter was intimately connected with Wales both in its original foundation and subsequent history, and, further, was directly derived from the pilgrim movement. The project of establishing a centre of instruction for Catholics in Rome itself was both initiated and put into execution by Owen Lewis. A nucleus for the prosecution of the scheme lay ready to his hand in the old

[1] ii, p. 467.

[2] *Ibid.*, 469.

[3] Roger Cadwaladr.

[4] For the part borne by Roberts in the Benedictine revival of the sixteenth century (largely a Welsh movement) see Taunton's *Black Monks*; Dom Bede Camm's monograph on John Roberts, and his article in *La Revue Bénédictine*, 1895-6, "Le vénérable Jean Roberts".

hospice for British pilgrims,[1] which popular tradition identified with King Cadwaladr's palace, though (as we have already seen) the report of that prince's acquaintance with Rome rests on a slender basis. The earliest period to which the house can, with any plausibility, be traced, is the reign of King Offa. According to a document in the Vatican, it was established to accommodate those who came to Rome "for the sake of religion". King Offa, as stated in the *Annales Anglicani*, had founded a school for the English at Rome. A church had been added in memory of King Edward the Martyr. It stood in Trastevere, and was probably located there for the benefit of sailors; either because that class most needed such entertainment, or because the overland route from England was dangerous in time of war. Its association with St. Thomas of Canterbury lent the institution a fresh impulse. To meet the wants of the visitors, a larger and more commodious building was erected within the city to his memory. Afterwards it was endowed to the extent of 1,500 ducats annually, which sum was expended, partly in entertaining pilgrims (plebeians received maintenance for eight days, those of noble rank for three), partly in supporting a body of *capellani* to attend to the pilgrims and to minister in the chapel. From among these chaplains a warden was each year chosen to look after the interests of the pilgrims and the revenues. It was at this point that Owen Lewis took the momentous step which redounded to the welfare of his Church.[2]

The stream of pilgrims continued to flow to Rome, and

[1] Barberini MSS., lv, 41, *Stato nel quale si trovava l'Ospedale ed ospizio della natione Inglese prima che fosse fondato il Collegio*, etc. Cf. Oliver, *English Hospital at Rome*, p. vii.

[2] See the author's article in *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1905-6. "Italian influence on Celtic culture", p. 148, ff.

the College to dispense hospitality to the stranger. The evidence is happily preserved in the *Liber Peregrinorum* or Pilgrim Book of the College, which extends back as far as the close of Henry the Seventh's reign. From this record it appears that between one and two hundred English pilgrims were admitted every year. It is also significant to observe that most of these pilgrims were laymen. Incidental allusions to the experiences of the alumni and of the pilgrims bear eloquent, if unconscious, testimony to the disturbed condition of Europe, the state of society, and the currents of religious opinion that prevailed from the time of the Reformation onward. The antecedents of the students who sought admission to the Roman College were various, as appears from the *scritture* or applications for admission. One native of Wales relates how he embraced the Catholic Faith at Venice. He came to Rome and was admitted into the institution. But as he was said to have a wife in Prussia, and as he could not deny the impeachment, he was dismissed from the college. Roger Says describes himself as a native of Llantwit Major, in Glamorganshire; his father was an esquire, justice and attorney-general to King James. His family had migrated to Swansea, and he received his early education there and at Saltash. William Morgan had already had a chequered career. A native of Flint, he had been educated at Westminster School, and thence went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and studied philosophy, "as it is taught there". When he had completed two years residence at Cambridge the Civil War broke out, and he took up arms for the King, leaving the University on the orders of the Earl of Manchester. He served under the Royal banner for two years. Taken by the Parliamentarians at the Battle of Naseby, he was thrown into prison in London. But in six weeks' time he received permission to

cross over to Belgium, where he served in Colonel Cobbe's English regiment and fought for His Catholic Majesty. Afterwards he completed his studies at Ghent, and proceeded to Louvain. He was now in Rome and wished to embrace the religious life.

The following entries in *Liber acquittanciarum de Anglia et fratrum receptorum in Roma*, tell their own tale :—

1506, April 2nd, a list is given of twelve Welshmen from the diocese of St. Asaph. Three days later Maurice London, a sick Welshman, arrives. He remains for sixteen days, and being unable to speak any language but his own, the Hospice is burdened with a Welsh interpreter, to wait upon him. On April 12th, Henry Johnson, a Welsh hermit, arrives. 1507, March 28th, comes John Conway, Abbot of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin in the island of Bardsey. April 16th, William Gutthrie, priest, of the diocese of Llandaff, comes from Bath. Under the year 1507, a party of twenty poor Welsh pilgrims appear on the scene.[1]

The destinies of the alumni varied no less than their antecedents. Some of them entered one or other of the religious orders. John Owen, a native of the diocese of Bangor, lapsed from the Faith and became a schoolmaster; a third, Robert Roberts, did not complete his studies. During his sojourn he had distinguished himself by his seditious behaviour, and, true to himself, was false to the Faith. But such instances were exceptional.

[1] The total number of poor pilgrims for the year was 156, and for another year 205. The Welsh pilgrims were freely admitted to other hospices and houses of entertainment, as appears from many incidental references in documents, like the following :—Admission of William Cecil and Margaret his wife to the Confraternity of the Hospital of Holy Trinity, Rome. Cecil was a Welshman of the Alltyrynys family. *Papal Registers and Letters*, Rolls Series, *Descriptive Calendar*, 1448.

Most of the students proved faithful. Many of those trained at the College were going to their doom. In the light of their subsequent history a world of pathos is conveyed in the simple greeting of St. Philip Neri to a gallant band of these candidates for the martyr's crown as they were setting out for England, "Salvete flores martyrum!"[1]

Of the pilgrims several are described as shipwrecked sailors. Other College records help us to realise the nature of the difficulties that aspirants after enlightenment, or those bent on devotion, were obliged to encounter:—Anno, 1630. "Non venerunt logici propter pestem quae per Italiam late grassabatur." War or pestilence caused frequent interruptions, and England no longer sent its contingent of students.[2] Anno, 1630. "Nulli novi venerunt ad collegium propter impedimenta viarum."

The picture given of the pilgrims by Lewis Owen, the spy, must be to some extent discounted on account of its political bias:—

> "First of all there are two sorts of Pilgrims, that is to say, rich and poore. The rich Pilgrim hath a new compleate or formall habit, and money in his purse, to defray his charges, and leave, and Letters testimoniall from his Pastor or Curat, and the Churchwardens of his Parish, to goe to Rome, or any other place of Pilgrimage: which Letters are confirmed, and ratified with other Letters from the Pope's Nuncio or Legate, that is resident in that countrey, where

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[1] "Salvete flores martyrum
Quos, lucis ipso in limine,
Christi insecutor sustulit
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas,"

From the hymn at Lauds on the Feast of the Holy Innocents in the Roman Breviary, but not in any English one. It is part of Hymn 12 of the *Cathemerinon* of Prudentius (fourth century). A translation is included in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (old edition), No. 68.

[2] Cf. *Clarendon Papers*, vol. iii, p. 305, A.D. 1657.

the partie dwelleth. This Pilgrim undertakes this long and tedious journey, upon some blind Devotion, or Superstition, either to perform a foolish Vow, which hee or some of his kinsfolks (who are dead) have made. Now if it be a short Pilgrimage, it is not worth a pin; neither is that Image (which these fooles doe trot so farre to see) in so much honour or respect in that countrey, where it is, as in farre countreys."[1]

"The other sort of Pilgrims are poore people, who (for the most part) have no dwelling, and that under colour of Devotion runne here and there, to Rome . . . . . One may ring the Bell at the gate long enough before that the Porter come, and when he commeth, hee will hardly open the gate to a Pilgrim, or any other poore man ; but will speake unto them thorow a little iron grate, that is in the middest of the doore, and tell them that they are poore Religious men, and many in number, and live by the charitie of other men ; it may be, he will bid them come after dinner, when other poore folkes are served: and if there bee any thing left, then they shall have their part. And what will it be, I pray you? Forsooth (peradventure) a crust of bread, or a messe of pottage, if they have dishes ; if not, they may goe and scratch their heads, and shake their eares. There one may see all the Rogues and Beggars in the towne, swearing, and fighting like so many Divels: for if one hath a better share then another, hee is in danger to bee beaten by the rest . . . . And if there bee any Souldiers, then there is no biding for other poore folkes there: for I have seene many Gentlemen and Citizens (when they were disposed to be merry) repaire to these Cloisters to see the Pilgrims, Souldiers, and Beggers fight; . . . . And what credit or benefit (trow you) is it for an honest man, to be seene among these rude Companions? But, it may bee, our Pilgrim will tell the Porter, that he is a scholler, and a good Roman Catholike, and hath good letters of recommendation from the Popes Nuncius, and other spirituall men; yea, that hee is a poore Englishman, that hath endured much for his conscience sake, and in the end banished; and therefore would entreate his Reverence to bring his letters and petition to the Abbot, Prior, Rector, or Guardian."[2]

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[1] *Running Register* (1626), pp. 29-30.

[2] *Running Register*, p. 31.

But they do not all answer to this description :—

> "Yet I confesse, that there are many charitable people among them, but they are not able (if they would) to relieve all Pilgrims, for sometimes there comes to their doore, more then forty or fiftie in a day; and besides, they have very many poore neighbours, whom they are bound in conscience to relieve before strangers, that doe wilfully cast themselves into a voluntary povertie."[1]

The attractions of Rome as a seat of learning appear from the following passage :—

> "Some curious Criticke may say, this cannot be so, for there are divers Schollers, as well of Oxford, as of Cambridge, and other inferior Colleges and Schooles of Learning, that travell to Rome, some upon a curiositie, others for devotion sake, and surely these shall have good entertainment, and bee highly advanced for their learning. Neither doth it stand with the Pope, his Cardinals, and the English Colledges credit, to send such men away discontented.
>
> Unto whom I answer, that it is true, if any young man, that is single and unmarried, a good Scholler, and of a pregnant wit, doth happen to come thither with Letters of recommendations . . . . . The most part of them all, will alwayes have a watchfull eye over him, and every one of them, will controll and domineere over him, untill that hee is made Priest."[2]

The privations encountered by these aspirants after knowledge argue uncommon zeal and hardihood :—

> "But this is the mischiefe; our English Students, when they come to Rome, doe die, like so many rotten Sheepe, by reason of the unwholsomnesse, and putrifaction of the ayre;

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[1] *Running Register*, p. 33. Sir Edward Carne, the last Ambassador to the Holy See, was an interesting personality; at the rupture of relations between England and the Papacy he assumed the government of the English Hospital in the City, *Cal. of State Papers*, Foreign, Aug. 23rd, 1558. Several of his letters are preserved in Burnet's *Collection of Records* and *Hist. of the Reformation*. Members of the Carne family are noted in the Bishops' lists of dangerous recusants, under the head of Glamorgan, § St. Donat's, 1577. Lewis Morganwg eulogised Sir Edward in a "cywydd i ddeisyf ar dduw ddanfon syr Edwart karn adref o Ryvain".

[2] *Ibid.* p. 48.

so that they are not able (God bee blessed) to send so many Locusts into England, as they entertaine of Logger-heads; for every year they bury more then ten or twelve, and sometimes twenty of these fresh men. And it is no marvell; for besides the corruption of the ayre, and the change of dyet, they are kept and penned in like so many Prisoners, and more straighter then those of Saint Omer."[1]

Among the visitors to the College appear the bearers of historic names, for example, Lord Herbert of Chirbury. His heterodox views were no bar to admission:—

"I was no sooner alighted at my inn, but I went straight to the English College, where demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner: 'Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language; I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place; if, without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I should be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of town.' The answer returned by him to me was, that he had never heard anybody before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honour; for the rest, that he could give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholic religion, received none; whereupon also he demanded my name. I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied, that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner; I told him that I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection; that I desired him to excuse me, if I did not accept it". The founder of English Deism took no pains to conceal his opinions and he proceeds, "The uttermost liberty I had (as the times in England then were) being already taken in coming to that city only, lest they should think me a factious person; I thought fit to tell him that I conceived the points agreed upon on both sides, are greater bonds of amity betwixt

[1] *Running Register*, p. 21-22.

us, than that the points disagreed on could break them ; that for my part I loved everybody that was of a pious and virtuous life, and thought the errors on what side soever, were more worthy pity than hate."[1]

CHAPTER XIII.

Santiago de Compostela.

The shrine of St. James at Compostela, in Spain, belongs to a third class of sanctuaries, but was second in importance only to the Holy Sepulchre and the Thresholds of the Apostles. For the origin of the cult it is necessary to go back to the ninth century. The legend of St. James, from which the shrine derived its celebrity, was congenial to the state of intellect in the Middle Ages. Unlike the other two great centres, Jerusalem and Rome, Compostela owed its fame to a reputed apparition and the consequent discovery of the remains of St. James in 816.[2] The first of the Apostolic band to drink the chalice of suffering, St. James the Elder died at the hands of Herod Agrippa the First, A.D. 44.[3] After the Ascension of our Lord and the Feast of Pentecost he bade adieu to his elder brother St. John the Evangelist, and afterwards went to ask the Virgin Mary for her benediction. To which

[1] See also Herbert's interesting reflections on Roman Catholicism and the Reformation in a later page of his *Autobiography*. After a round of sight seeing, Herbert saw the Pope in consistory: "the Pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddenly, which gave such a suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going by a byway escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half-an-hour, when the regent of the English College telling me that I was accused in the Inquisition and that I could stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly."

[2] Nicolai gives 812 as the date, They were said to be rediscovered in 1884.

[3] *Acts of the Apostles*, xii, 2.

To face p. 244.

The Cathedral at Santiago de Compostela: The Obradoiro Façade.

From a Block lent by the Booth Steamship Co., Ltd., 11, Adelphi Terrace, Strand.

she replied, "Since thou hast chosen to preach the gospel in Spain, the country which I love best of all European lands, take care to found a Church there dedicated to me in the town where thou convertest the greatest number of heathen". Accordingly, St. James left Jerusalem, crossed the Mediterranean, arrived at Tarragona, and there addressed himself to the task of evangelising, but succeeded in converting only eight persons. On February 4th, A.D. 36, he saw a vision on the plain of Saragossa, in which he was directed to raise a church in honour of the Virgin, under the title Nuestra Señora del Pilàr. A magnificent shrine rose on the scene of the marvellous vision. This was the beginning of the fame of Compostela. The translation of the Apostle's body to Ira Flavia (now called El Padron), the pious care bestowed by his fellow disciples upon the preservation of his remains, the appearance of a "field of stars",[1] the revelation of the place of his burial in 812 to Bishop Theodomir on the site of the Roman town Liberum Donum, the erection of the church around which grew the town of Santiago de Compostela, these features of his legend[2] doubtless belong in great measure to the region of fancy; but whatever credence may be attached to the story, the association of St. James with Spain possesses a high historical signifiance.[3]

The legend of Santiago is intimately connected with

[1] *Campus, stella.*

[2] Pardiac, *Pèlerinage de Compostela*, Bordeaux, 1863.

[3] There is another account of the conversion of Spain, St. Peter is said to have sent St. Torquatus and his companions, seven in all :—

> Urbis Romuleæ jam toga candida
> Septem Pontificum destina promicat
> Missos Hesperiæ, quos ab Apostolis
> Adsignat fidei prisca relatio.

the Crusades.[1] The fame of the shrine is linked on to Charlemagne, in whom mediaeval writers—nor did they greatly err—recognised the originator of the Crusading policy which made Christendom an armed camp of the Church Militant.[2] But viewed in the cold light of

> Hi sunt perspicui luminis indices
> *Torquatus*, *Tesiphons*, atque *Hesychius* ;
> Hinc *Indaletius*, sive *Secundus* est,
> Juncti *Euphrasio*, *Cæcilioque* sunt.
>
> Hymn for May 1st, in Mozarabic Breviary.

May 1st in the Mozarabic Calendar is the Feast of St. Torquatus and his companions, who eclipse SS. Phillip and James the Less.

[1] The conquest of Spain by the Saracens in 709—713 threatened the whole of Western Europe, including the British Isles, with subjection to Islam. The Hodoeporicon (or Itinerary) of St. Willibald describes the terror inspired by the Saracen invasion of France in the summer of 721.

Many passages in Bede's works prove that the alarm had reached Northumbria. The dreaded invaders soon spread beyond the Pyrenees. In January 729, two comets appeared which were interpreted as portents of coming woe. They blazed in the heavens "for a whole fortnight." The restoration of the invincible Abderrahman to the government of Spain, later in the same year, seemed to be a fulfilment of the omen. In 732, he led an army over the Pyrenees which came down like a desolating hurricane, sacked Tours, only to be utterly routed by Charles Martel and his Franks, Abderrahman being left dead on the field.

"A battle took place in Spain between the Christians and Saracens. In that battle it is said ten thousand men and three thousand women fell." *Brut y Tyw.* A.D. 1212.

[2] The only jarring note in the chorus of panegyric pronounced upon Charles the Great after his death, proceeded, curiously enough, from the Church. Santiago de Compostela interposed in Charles' favour, *Ystorya de Carolo*, Ch. xxxii. When the Emperor's virtues were weighed against his vices the latter would have sunk the beam had not *Y gwr o'r galis heb penn arnaw* (the beheaded apostle) redressed the balance by throwing into the opposite side of the scale the churches that Charles had built. The Saint's gratitude to his old champion did not terminate there ; Monseigneur St. Jacques (a Frenchman is our informant) obtained of our Lord this boon, "that men should speak of Charles so long as the world endureth."

historical science, the King's invasion of Spain cannot be ascribed to purely disinterested devotion to the welfare of Holy Church. The truth is that Charles intervened on behalf of the Caliph of Bagdad, his friend and ally, against Abderrahman, who fought out their quarrel in Spain. If this explanation was known to the ecclesiastical historian of the Middle Ages, it was too tame and prosaic; he pressed Charles, this lofty-minded son of the Church, into the service of Santiago. His enlistment in the sacred cause is described with circumstantial finish and in a manner characteristic of the period in the life of the great Warrior-Emperor, *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*,[1] the Welsh version of which challenges comparison with any other in existence;[2]

> "The Galicians, afterwards, as their sins merited, departed from their faith and returned to their unbelief until the time of Charlemagne the Emperor of Rome, France, Tiester,[3] and other nations. When Charlemagne had, by his might and power, conquered the four quarters of the world, and divers kingdoms, namely, England, France, Almaen,[4] Baicar,[5] Lotarius,[6] Burgundy, Italy, Brittany, and countless other kingdoms and cities from sea to sea, and had, by Divine power, subdued them, delivered them from

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[1] It is now almost certain that the first five chapters were written in the interests of Santiago by a monk of Compostela, about A.D. 1050.

[2] See the Rev. R. Williams's edition of the "Ystorya," which forms *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. xx, pp. 36-7, 72, 170. The quotations below are taken from his translation of the transcript made, in 1883, by the late Lady Rhys from the Red Book of Hergest.

[3] Germany; the name, perhaps, originated in *Theod* or *Teut.*

[4] Probably Alemannia, which is more or less Swabia, namely, Würtemberg, Baden, Hohenzollern, part of Alsace, and the western province of S. Bavaria, (Schwaben and Neuberg).

[5] Boicaria is an old form of Bavaria. It was taken by the Franks from the Boii in the seventh century.

[6] Lotharingia, Lorraine.

> the hands of the Saracens,[1] and brought them into subjection to the Christian rule, he, being weary through oppressive labour, resolved that he would henceforth rest and not go to battle. And thereupon he saw in the heaven a pathway of stars which started from the sea of Frisia and extended to Almaen and Italy, and between France and Angiw,[2] and went on straight by Gascony, Navarre and Spain as far as Galice, where the body of the blessed James was lying unrecognised . . "The pathway of stars which thou sawest in the heavens, signifies thy going from this place to Galice, with a great army, to fight the faithless paynims and to set free my way and my country and to visit my church and my tomb. After thee all people, from sea to sea, will make a pilgrimage to me and seek pardon for their sins, and declare the praise of God and His might and the wonders which He will perform.[3] And from thy day until the end of the world they will come".

The hand of a partisan betrays itself in a later passage:—

> "Charles then summoned a council in the city of Compostela, of princes and bishops. And then by the advice of the council, he ordained, to the honour of Santiago, that all prelates and Christian kings and princes of Spain and Galice, both present and future, should obey the bishop of Santiago. . . And the king put the whole of Spain and Galice in subjec-

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[1] The trouvères and jongleurs represented Charlemagne as conducting a campaign in Palestine and Constantinople. For the Welsh versions of this fiction see *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report, *e.g.*, II, i, p. 5.

[2] Anjou.

[3] The Spanish *ll* is a liquid *l*. If Compostela comes from "Campus Stella", it is rather curious that it should not be *ll*, for the word *Stella* has become *estrella* in Spanish (which, like Welsh and French, cannot manage *st* without a vowel in front). But there is also a word *estela* which means the wake of a ship, and there are *estelaria*, (star-wort), *estelifero*, *estelina*, *estelion*, *&c.* The tradition of St. James coming to Spain may have been vaguely current as early as the fourth century, though it did not assume a definite form until three centuries later. There is a story there about St. Joseph of Arimathea being associated with St. James in the evangelization of Galicia. If the Cornish saying "Joseph was in the tin trade" is true there would be a reason for St. Joseph going to Galicia, as well as to Britain, for there were tin mines there also.

To face p. 240.

The Shrine of St. James: Santiago.

From a photo lent by the Booth Steamship Co., Ltd., 11, Adelphi Terrace, Strand.

tion to that church . . . And that day it was resolved to call that Church an Apostolic See. . . . For as the Christian Faith was established in the East at Ephesus, through the Apostle John, the brother of James, so was there estabtablished in the West, in Galice, a seat for the Christian faith, and an Apostolic See. And no doubt those are the two seats which the two apostles begged of Christ, that they should sit the one on His right and the other on His left, in His Kingdom. There are three supreme Apostolic Sees established in the world which are justly above all others, namely, Rome, Galice, and India.[1] For as God gave the pre-eminence in His fellowship and His secrets to Peter, James, and John above the other apostles, as is evident from the scripture and the gospels, so God shewed them that pre-eminence in this world also, in the above three principal Sees.[2] And rightly is Rome regarded as the most pre-eminent of the Apostolic Sees. For Peter, the prince of the apostles, consecrated it by his preaching, by his own blood and by his burial. Compostela is justly the second See in pre-eminence."

The shrine was viewed, in the light of the Saint's patriotic achievements, as a national trophy of honour. He personified the struggle against the Infidel and the liberation of Spain from the Moors. The names bestowed on him symbolize the successive stages in his triumphal progress. During this heroic period he bore the significant style of St. Jacques le Baron; afterwards, in more peaceful times, when pilgrimages went on uninterrupted, he received the title—Monseigneur Saint Jacques. From the seventeenth century onward he bore the more usual title of Monsieur. He was the knight who, at the battle of Clavijo in 844, charged on his white steed at the head of the Christian army, striking panic into the opposing hosts as he brandished the white standard with the red cross, mowed down the Moorish ranks, and hewed his way

494 n 2

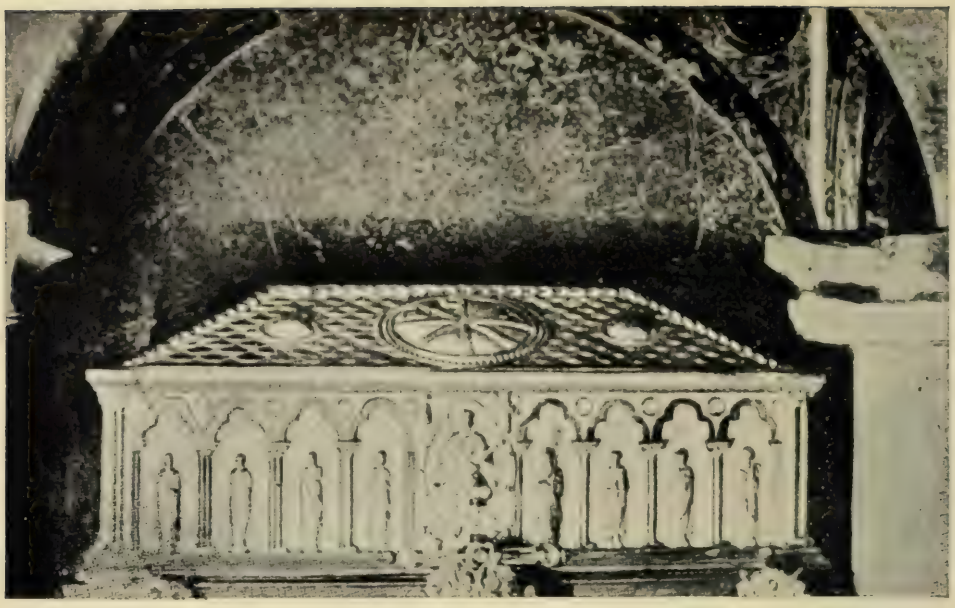
[1] See ~~chapter xxii.~~ Lat. J. gives Ephesianam.

[2] The seat of St. Peter is, of course, taken to be Christ's own seat.

through them unscathed.[1] It was he who forbade the continuance of the payment of the hateful tribute of the hundred virgins. It was he who appeared to Ramiro I, King of Asturias and Leon, and commanded him to engage the enemy rather than surrender the victims. When the bravery of the Saint's sons failed to protect Compostela, he let loose all his scourges, and, most awful of all visitations, the plague which decimated the foe. Such was the terror inspired by his name that the enemy himself felt constrained to respect and shield his altar. His military ardour entered into the soul of the Spaniards, who ever after sprang to battle and plunged into the fray to the cry, "Santiago! Santiago!" So doughty a champion of Christendom deserved universal homage, and the recompense was ungrudingly paid. As pilgrims to Palestine were in ancient documents designated, *palmati*, *palmigeri*, *paumiers*, as pilgrims to Rome were called *Romei*, *Roumieux*, *Romieux*, or *Romioux*, and the road to Rome *lou camin romiou*, so devotees of St. James were styled Jacobitae or Jacobipetae.[2] The decisive moment in the history of Compostela arrived in the twelfth century, with a pronouncement by Pope Calixtus in favour of the pilgrimages. The Apostolic benediction shed lustre on the achievement, and from that time forward Compostela became fashionable, and for nine centuries maintained its place in public estimation. Lewis in his life of Caxton says: "It does not seem that much notice was taken of Compostela relics until this Calixtus II wrote a tract on the miracles done there, and counselled the English pilgrims to go to Compostela rather than to

[1] The device of the confrérie of St. James of the Red Sword at Bordeaux (established about the middle of the twelfth century, chiefly for the purpose of protecting pilgrims to Compostela) was "Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum". Cf. Walter Map, *De Nug.*, i, c. 31.

[2] Du Cange.



Santiago Cathedral: The Crypt shewing the Shrine of St. James.

To face p. 251.

Santiago Cathedral: The Gate of Glory.

From Blocks lent by the Booth Steamship Co., Ltd., 11, Adelphi Terrace, Strand.

Rome, promising them that two journeys to Compostela would count as one to Rome". So much appears also from the Dominical prayer or form of "bidding the beads" on Sunday, in which the following words occur:— "Also ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to St. Katherine's,[1] or to St. James's, or to any other holy place, that God of His grace give them time and space well for to go and to come, to the profit of their lives and souls". Whence it would appear that at the time when this prayer was drawn up the pilgrimages enumerated were the most popular. On the other hand, in a more ancient form, St. James and St. Katherine are not mentioned. The inference is that these shrines attained to popularity later. But now, after the Pope had lent his powerful support, religious enthusiasm impelled crowd after crowd of devout souls to the feet of the great Apostle of Spain.[2] St. James himself was portrayed in mediæval art wearing the sclavina,[3] or exterior garb of a pilgrim, the pera, or scrip, and carrying the baculus, burdo or staff. Associations called Sentjaqués, or, in the Gascon dialect, Sentjacairés (Brothers of St. James) were formed for the purpose of making the pilgrimage. It was at Compostela also that the Kings of Spain used to be crowned.[4]

[1] Of Sene in Italy.

[2] For the question of Archbishop Turpin see Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. i, p. 546, etc. He seems to think that part of the Chronicle is of Spanish origin, and, perhaps, all of it.

The supplementary chapters of Turpin usually have his name to them. *De Miraculis Beati et gloriosi Apostoli Jacobi*, which is attached to Turpin in many MSS., is attributed to Calixtus (1119-1124), and a letter authenticating it by Innocent II (1130-1143) is attached.

[3] Du Cange.

[4] The custom was abandoned on account of the bad roads. But each year the King of Spain makes a rich offering to the shrine through the Captain-General of the Province of Galicia.

The Saint received, among Celtic races, a homage hardly inferior to that paid to the Fisherman.[1] Brittany, owing to its proximity, and then, as now, distinguished by its fervent piety, was prompt in paying honour to the sanctity of the patron saint of Spain. Hardly less was the reverence for the shrine in Britain proper. The journey was not, indeed, so easy of accomplishment, but a connection between Britain and Spain had been established at an early period. We meet with a curious confirmation of the popularity of the shrine in popular parlance. Just as the Provençals called the Milky Way Camin de St. Jacques, and the French Le chemin de St. Jacques, so the Welsh gave it the name of Hynt St. Ialm or St. James's Way, which picturesquely describes the throng of pilgrims pressing towards Compostela as thick as the multitude of stars in that region of the sky.[2]

The Welsh were not behind-hand in their devotion to St. James, as appears from direct statements and stray references to the pilgrimage. In Dafydd ap Gwilym's time, the frequency of visits to the shrine may be gathered from one or two incidental allusions in his poems. St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, contains a rare example of a sepulchral effigy, probably dating from the earlier part of the fifteenth century, with all the appurtenances of a pilgrim, the *vestis signata cruce*, the sclavine, a wallet, worn on the

[1] Pardiac is wrong in saying that Englishmen were not enthusiastic about Compostela, pp. 154, 155. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, ed. Th. Wright, vol. i, 4173.

[2] But see the explanation furnished by the author of the first five chapters of *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*.

The British churches in Galicia seem to have kept themselves antonomous and more or less distinct (though not in any sense in schism) down to about the tenth or eleventh century. There is an out-of-way place called Bretona, in the mountains near (I think) Lugo, which was called after them. Florez, in *España Sagrada*, gives a full account of these Churches.

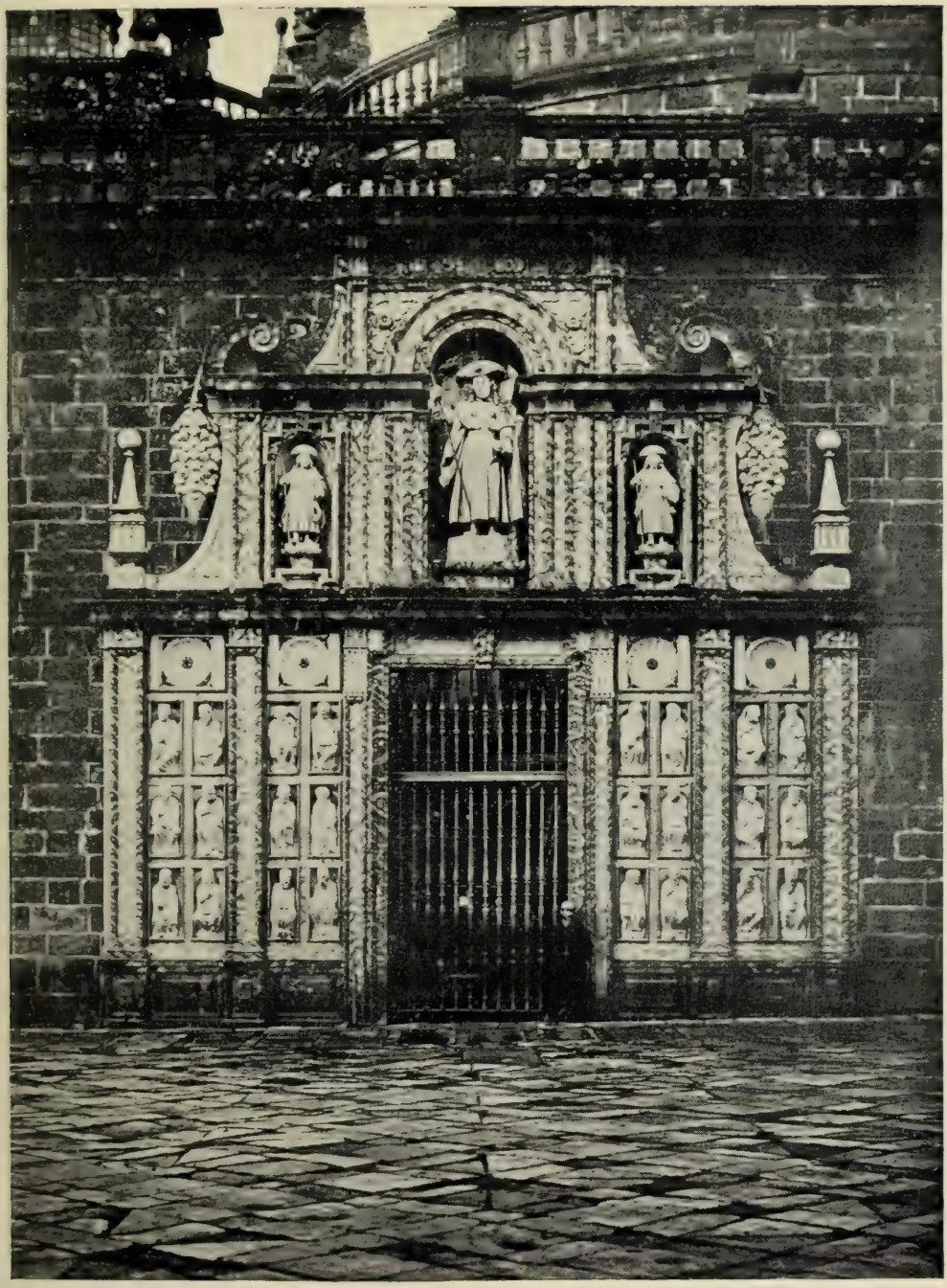


Photo by Donald Macbeth, London. *To face p.* 252.

The Pilgrims' Gate: Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

From a plate in "Santiago de Compostela" (1811) in the British Museum.

left side, scallop-shells, (emblematic at once of the journey overseas, and the trade of the Apostles), and the staff, which has almost disappeared from the statue.[1] The border county of Herefordshire furnishes interesting examples of the influence of Compostela on the public mind. The foundation of Wigmore Abbey is connected with a visit to this shrine. Its history is related in a Norman-French manuscript. Hugh Mortimer entrusted the management of his estates to his seneschal, Sir Oliver de Merlymond. The latter resolved on a pilgrimage to the sanctuary of St. James, and on his way was handsomely and courteously entertained at the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris. Mindful of this honourable reception and duly impressed with the discipline of that celebrated establishment, on his return he founded a monastery at Shobdon, and introduced Canons from St. Victor's. The time when the transaction took place suggests some reflections. It was in 1141, two years after the Empress Maud had landed at Portsmouth, a year of chaos, plunder, and bloodshed, when the Empress and King Stephen, fighting at his very doors, were storming Weobley and capturing Hereford. Such was the aspect of affairs when the steward, returning from Compostela, set about fulfilling his pious intention, and while superintending the work pondered to what saint his new fane should be dedicated. But this was characteristic of the age. While war raged around, pilgrims were still to be seen plodding on their way towards the shrines of Christendom.

To the Welsh contemplating a pilgrimage to Compostela, two routes presented themselves. The shorter was direct from the Southern Coast of West Wales across to the angle of Spain, which jutted out into the Atlantic.

[1] Described in *Arch. Camb.*, October 1883, p. 253. There is a similar monument at Ashby de la Zouch.

William Wey, who visited Compostela in 1456, tells us that he left Eton on March 27th, and, reaching Plymouth on April 30th, sailed thence on the "Mary Whyte" past Ortyngerz,[1] Cappyres,[2] and Insula Sesarke.[3] On his arrival at Corunna he found Welsh and Irish ships at anchor in the harbour.[4] Bristol carried on a brisk traffic in pilgrims, for which the port offered several advantages. If we take the licences issued for the conveyance of pilgrims from favoured ports in 1428 as typical cases, the importance of Bristol is thrown into relief. Out of a total of 926, London despatched 280, Bristol 200, Weymouth 122. Allusion has already been made to the traffic between that city and Ireland. We may also gather from the permits issued to shipowners (several of which relate to ships hailing from Wales) that the captains were not over-scrupulous in observing the restrictions imposed by public authority. One of them, dated 1451, grants the owner of the good ship "Mary of Pembroke" permission to convey passengers to St. James of Galice and back. John Gower and John Mansel obtain privileges for a similar purpose.

The Saint's aid was diligently sought before facing the voyage :—

Le glorieux ami de Dieu,
Monsieur Saint-Jacques,
Qui nous a toujours préservés
Durant ce saint voyage.
* * * * *
Pour prier Dieu,
Aussi ce glorieux martyr,
Monsieur Saint-Jacques,
Qu'au pays puissions retourner[5]
Et faire un bon voyage.

[1] Cape Ortegal. [2] Cape Prior. [3] Cisargas islands.

[4] The total number of ships from England was 32, *Itiner.*, p. 154.

[5] In stormy weather St. Nicholas's aid was frequently invoked, and a votive offering of a silver ship was promised on safe return to dry land.

Photo by Donald Macbeth, London. *To face p.* 254.

The Pilgrims' Hospice: Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

From a plate in "Santiago de Compostela" (1811) in the British Museum.

For literary allusions to this pilgrimage we turn to the bards :—

Nid dilesg hynt a welir
Ond dy daith gan wynt i dir
Dysg ir grawn diosg ir gro
Dros aigiawn drasau Iago.
Dwg i dir deg o darren
Dan ebwch wyr Dinbych[1] wenn.[2]

I Gruffydd Derwas o Nannau.

* * * * *

Palmer[3] wyv, wener a iau,[4]
I chwaer hon a charw Nannau,
Tair fynon,[5] gwynion eu gwedd,
Draw a gair i'r drugaredd ;
Y bedd, a Sain Siam drwy'r byd,
A Rhufain a gair hefyd.
Wedi rhivwyv dai Rhuvain,
Nannau rhoer yn un o'r rhai'n ;
Rhoer Grufydd beunydd yn Bawl
Ac yn Bedr gwin bydawl ;
Ei dai naddvain yw Sain Siam,
Duw doniodd ei dai dinam.

* * * * *

Lewis Glyn Cothi.

"I Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Ieuan, o Vranas yn mhlwyv Llandrillo yn Edeyrnion, pan oedd ar y mor."

Ba dir yw wyneb y dawn ?
Ba dir wyneb Edeyrniawn ?
Ba lys ar blasau hirion ?
Branas, Sieb[6] yr ynys hon.
Ba blwyv, pan ovynwyv vo,
Neu dri well, na Llan Drillo ?
Oddiyno at Iago 'n tad
Yr aeth gwr wrth ei gariad,
Grufyd, ddedwydd ei adu,
I'n oedd wyr Llewelyn Ddu ;
Mab gwinau Rhys ab Ieuan
Mae ar lwf[7] yn camu i'r lan.
Mae Annes[8] yn damuno
I dir o vor ei droi vo.
Merch Hywel geilw ar Elien,[9]
Ac ar y saint, a'r groes wen.[10]
Y dydd Grufydd y' scrafwyd,[11]
Ac i long mor Iago lwyd ![12]
Gweddiaw, ger llaw gwyr llen,
Yr oedd Annes ar Ddwynwen ;[13]
Saint Anna[14] Grufydd yw Annes,
Saint Ann wen ! moes yntau 'n nes.

---

[1] Dinbych y Pyscod, Tenby. Cf. Daiar oedd yn diwreiddiaw Dan ebwch drom Dinbech draw (Tudur Aled) and p. 261, n. 6.

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. 31, 109, f. 317.

[3] Cf. p. 81. [4] Friday and Thursday. [5] The Holy Sepulchre, St. James of Compostela and Rome. Cf. p. 184.

[6] Market, from Old English *chepe*. Cf. "Cheapside" and "Siap lawndeg fal siep Llundain ". Dafydd ap Gwilym.

[7] Cf. p. 226, b.l. 4. [8] Agnes ; so too in Old Cornish. Cf. the Spanish Inez. [9] St. Elian. [10] Holy Cross.

[11] *Yr ysgrafwyd*, went on board (*ysgraff*, a boat).

[12] Saint James was the patron of the Bay of Biscay.

[13] See ch. xvi. [14] Mother of the Blessed Virgin.

Annes a oedd yn y saint,
Wawr ymbilgar, am bylgaint,[1]
Ar Drillo, ar Wynio wyn,
Ac ar Iago a'r gregyn;[2]
A'r llong vawr a ellwng vo
Drwy eigion i dir Iago.

---

[1] One of the Canonical Hours. The Canonical Hours were *Plygain* (pulli cantus, cockcrow) 3-6 a.m.; *Anterth* (ante tertiam), *terce*, 6-9; *Echwydd* or *Hanerdydd*, *Sext*, 9-12 noon; *Nawn* (nona) *None*, 12-3; *Gosper* (vespera) *Vespers*, 3-6; *Ucher* or *Cwmplin*, *Compline*, 6-9.

For *Pylgain*, see p. 221, n. 5. In the mediæval mystical application of the Hours to the events of the Passion, the Reviling and the Denial of St. Peter are put at Prime, and the cockcrowing is associated with the latter. In the "Officium B. Mariæ" in the *Myvyrian Archæology* *Pylgain* is Lauds. "Llyma ddiwedd y Pylgain a dechreu yr awr Brim" comes between Lauds and Prime, but at its beginning *Moliannau* is the title of Lauds. In Breton Matins is called *Ar Beureou* or *ar Mintinveziou* (Mintinvez=Matinée; *vez*, for *gwez* or *gweach*, Welsh *gwaith*, time). Lauds is called either *Laud* or *Ar Veuleudi* (for *Meuleudi*, from meuli=Welsh *moli*). *Vespers* is *ar Gousperou*, and *Compline*, *ar C'houmhlidou*. Each of the three Nocturns of Matins is called *Kentel-noz* (*Kentel* means in this case *time, period*, but curiously enough it occurs in its other meaning of *lection* in the same service). *Sext* is *Kresteiz* (=Welsh *craidd dydd*) which is the usual word for *mid-day*, though *mid-night* is *hanternoz* (*hanner nos*). The mid-night Mass of Christmas is properly preceded by *Matins* and after it comes *Lauds*. Then follows the Dawn Mass (*in Aurora*) and after *Prime* and *Terce* comes the Mass of the Day. Certainly now-a-days in Breton *Pelgent* only means the mid-night Mass of Christmas.

[2] Scallop shell. This characteristic token was worn by pilgrims to Santiago, on the hat or cloak. The adoption of this badge was doubtless due to the calling originally followed by the Apostle and also typified the voyage by sea. But legend, as usual, has been busy in accounting for its origin. The popular tradition ran that, while the relics of Santiago were being conveyed in a marble ship, a Portugese knight's horse took fright and plunged into the sea, rider and all. When rescued they were covered with scallop shells. It served a useful purpose also as a drinking vessel. The shell appears as an heraldic charge in the arms of many English families, particularly in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, a tacit proof of the popularity of this pilgrimage and the pride taken its in accomplishment. See, Boutell and Heath, p. 125.

The arms of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel are:—sable, ten escallops, or, four, three, two, one; on a chief azure, three fleurs-de-lys or. The chief and its fleurs-de-lys are only the royal arms of

To face p. 257.

St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall.

I dy Iago y dygir,
Iago a'i dwg hi i dir;
A'r thop castell[1] o bell byd,
A'i their hwyl o wyth wrhyd;
A'i their hwyl yn dri thoryn,
A'i rhafau[2] oll val rhyw fyn;
A'r llyw main yn tyllu mor;
A'i dengwart a'i dau angor;
A'i hwylbren hi val bron hav,
A'i naw bwned[3] yn benaf;
Aredig mor digam oedd,
Y mae aradr y moroedd,[4]
Gwydd Iago 'n goddeu eigion,
Gwenol deg yn ael y don;
Llong vawr val cell eang vain,
Llun lleuad[5] a llenlliain;
Llong Noe, dull eangwen yw,
Llun delor rhag llanw diluw;
Llong Ffrengig debig i dy
V'ai a'i wyneb i vyny;
Cist irdderw cost Iwerddon,
Cryd hir yn caruaw ton;
Cawell eang wrth angor,
Castell a'i vantell o vor;
Carwel yn rhwygaw heli,
Corn hely[6] ar vor crwn yw hi;
Ni vynai i nev uniawn,
Grufydd, ond ysgraff dda iawn
Dwg, Raphael! gyda Grufydd,[7]
Dan dy ras, dau enaid rydd;
Dan un, pan elont yn nes,
Y daw enaid i Annes;
I'w dau gorff gras Duw a gaid,
Dwy einoes i'w dau enaid.

Lewys Glyn Cothi.

France, for it was a royal Abbey. Probably there were originally 15 escallops, *i.e.*, an upper line of five more. Mont St. Michel and the Cornish Mount (which was once a cell of Mont St. Michel) were great pilgrimage places, and though the scallop shell as a pilgrim's badge seems to belong properly to Compostela, it must have been extended more generally in later times.

[1] Probably the "crow's nest." In fifteenth century pictures of ships the masts have very large "tops", in which the spears were kept out of the way when not in use. During an engagement they placed archers there.

[2] *Rhaffau-ffyn.*

[3] Bonnet, a small sail set on the courses of the mizzen, main and foresail.

[4] Cf. *aradr y saint* p. 223, n. 6.

[5] Half moon. Cf. y llauad mewn gwisg llaian, p. 261, n. 6.

[6] Hunting horn, probably another reference to the shape of the vessel.

[7] Gruffydd is to be accompanied by St. Raphael, the Archangel, the companion of Tobias in the Book of Tobit, a very popular portion of the Scriptures in the Middle Ages. Cf. Tobit, v. 4, ff and xii, 15. St. Raphael was the patron of travellers. Cf. The Exeter Pontifical (Bishop Lacy), *Officium ad servicium peregrinorum.*

KOWYDD Y LLONG.

y ty wrth west ar tri tho[1]
o hyd deugwpl at iago
blaena rhol blaen yr heledd[2]
bordiav[3] glynn aber dav gledd[4]
trwy nos pant herwa[5] a wna
taith aml fal tithau yma
o nos i ddydd hynn sy ddig
o bant i bant bant[6] tebig
herw long [lwyd] flin wyd fal neidr[7]
haint glaf lanw hynt eglwysleidr[8]

Ni safyd treiglyd bob tro
ni ddoe unwawr[9] oddino
ni safech y nos hefyd
nid avd er hynn dy dri hyd
pant rhyfedd pantri hafwynt
pair vn gwrs[10] pyrianc[11] gynt
pans ty a[12] romanstir[13] rhydd
kerdded sain bened bevnydd
a ffevnoeth[14] ferw anoeth fry
ir galais[15] ar y gwely
siwrnai a roi seren rydd
ymlaen wendeml yn undydd

---

[1] Deck.

[2] *Heledd* was applied to some islands in Scotland, probably the Hebrides. "Trydydd arianllu ynys Prydein a aeth gan Gaswallawn fab Beli, a Gwennwynwyn a Gwanar . . . . A'r gwyr hyn o Erch (Orcades ?) a Heledd pan hanhoeddynt. Ac a aethant gyda Chaswallawn eu Hewythr ar fysc y Cessarieid o'r Ynys hon. Sef lle y mae y gwyr hynny yng Ngwasgwyn (Gascony)." [3] v.l., Brodir.

[4] Haverfordwest. [5] Cf. *herwr mor*, a pirate.

[6] There is something wanting here, v.l., pond. band.

[7] Privateer, like the Viking ship at Christiania.

[8] v.l., Hai'n glos lanw hen. Eglwysleidr, a church robber.

[9] v.l., un gwr. [10] v.l., goel.

[11] v.l., parerin (which appears in several MSS.) is preferable.

[12] v.l., kans ti a, kais tu a.

[13] *Romanstir*, probably *Roum*—Constantinople and the Eastern Empire generally. The name of Rumania (for Moldavia and Wallachia) is modern. *Vlach* or *Wallach* is a name probably given by Teutons. It is the same word as *Welsh*. The Vlachs, a mixed race of Slavs, possibly Romans, and others who speak a Romance language, largely infused with Slavonic and Greek, have taken to boasting of the Roman part of their descent, and so call themselves "Rumans", and their country "Rumania". But down to the fall of Constantinople the Empire was the *Roman Empire*, and the Greek-speaking inhabitants called themselves "Romans". It is only within recent memory that modern Greek ceased to be called Ῥωμαΐκα (if it has really ceased) in contra-distinction to Ἑλληνικά, which meant ancient, and later the literary revival of ancient Greek.

[14] v.l., Phaenoeth, phenaeth. *Beunoeth*, every night.

[15] Calais.

o[1] benn awr erbyn y nos
ugain leg yn ol agos[2]
blaen yn[3] bont blin iawn bentis[4]
brynn yn ol bur nenn yn is
blinwyd raen ymlaen teml[5] waith
blaen yn ol blin iawn eilwaith

Vn dorog wyd nid ar geirch[6]
ar y mowrfor ar morfeirch
a nerth a gaid north ag iav[7]
adar dvon dri diav[8]
twrki[9] aelddv ny troi kilddor
trwy dalcen march malen mor
llyr pil brad mil bord y mort
llanw gwilgi[10] llwyn gwialgort[11]

---

[1] v.l., ar.

[2] Leaving behind, traversing, twenty leagues. Cf. the German zurücklegen.

[3] v.l., y bont.

[4] Eaves. Part of the ship, fore and aft.

[5] Like a temple, v.l., brynn wyt ymlaen bront teml yw.

[6] The poet here compares the ship to a horse.

[7] The original reading was probably the prosaic, *Armerth a gaid mawrth ag iau*, served out on Tuesday and Thursday.

[8] The skipper made a good profit on the meals in choppy weather :—

"Thys mene whyle the pylgryms ly,
And haue theyr bowlys fast theym by,
And cry aftyr hote maluesy (Malmsey),
"Thow helpe for to restore".
And som wold have A saltyd tost,
Ffor they myght ete neyther sode (sodden, boiled) ne rost ;
A man myght sone (soon) pay for theyr cost,
As for oo day or twayne."

Trin. Coll. Camb. Library, MS. R. 3, 19, temp. Henry VI.

[9] Some MSS. insert after *diau*, the couplet

hadal wyd i bu dy liw oll
letty ffrwynffyst lwyd ffrenffoll,

(*hadal*, namely *hadl* ; her paint is weather-beaten.)

The next lines, if the reading twrk aelddu ny (yn) troi kilddor, is correct, may admit of an explanation. *Malen* was a name applied to the fury Andrasta (the "devil's dam") ; she possessed a magic horse ridden through the air by witches ; hence the expression "A gasgler ar farch malen dan ei dorr yd a", and the English equivalent, "What is got on the Devil's back, is spent under his belly". The poet may this time be comparing the ship to the magic horse, and referring to galley slaves. Cf, "We whine and toil upon the waves, We work like Turks or galley slaves," *Naval Warfare*, 1691. Rhys Nanmor's descriptions are often extravagant ; so even then this interpretation may not appear farfetched.

[10] gweilgi.

[11] A forest or jungle of rigging, ropes, gear, stays and tackling.

rhwyd sythwynt rhodav sythawch[1]
Rhaffau kloch tyau klych tawch[2]
edrych wernen drwy chwrnwynt
ai ffen yn gwff[3] henwn[4] gynt
ni bv dros wyr bedwar sul
dvon tawlbon[5] ond helbul
y lle vchaf or lloches
a bair plwmp ar bvr pa les[6]
hir nychod hwyr ynn echdoe[7]
hynn syrth neb hen saerwaith noe[8]
llonaid mor lliw[9] hen dy mawn
llvn llvgorn[10] lleinw oll eigiawn
aeth llwyth henbwll ith winben[11]
aeth yn llawr noeth yn lle r nenn[12]
elor gwr ailwyr gerwyn[13]
ab nudd vwch bena i ddyn[14]
gweini dwr noeth gan dri naid
gwlchfaidd ddv golchofiaid[15]
glann dwfr galon ar dyfrach
glann awst grwth gwyl nosdy gwrach[16]
gwaith vn lled nag eithinllwyn
gwiber greg,[17] aber y grwyn
kwynav[18] kav ar lun kwrdd[19]
kowarch[20] filfyrdd kyrch filfwrdd
klwyd[21] alarch martyn farchog[22]
kwyn deigr er knawd y grog
kyrch di[23] weithian ir lann las
krist gwirgrair or krest[24] garwgras
kwlffri r twrk[25] kloff ar warr tonn

---

[1] v.l. Rhwyd saethant rhodiad saithawch.

[2] Belfry ropes, fog bells. Perhaps the next line alludes to a sort of larboard watch.

[3] Rising over, overtopping.

[4] v.l., henwen.

[5] v.l., Tabod, Talbod.

[6] v.l., plwm, phump; berw, bir; pa les.

[7] v.l., yn.

[8] Noah's ark.

[9] v.l., lle naid y morllin.

[10] Lantern, Cf. Llugyrn clyr, lluniau lleuadau ydynt. Dafydd ap Gwilym. But perhaps *llugorn* means trumpet here (cf. p. 10, n. 3), or unicorn, French *licorne*.

[11] *Winben*, perhaps tipsy, reeling, top-heavy. Cf. Psalm cvii. 127.

[12] Topsy-turvy—the floor changed places with the roof!

[13] v.l., a elwir Gwynn.

[14] v.l., i noddyn; Annoddynn.

[15] The cynghanedd is faulty in this line.

[16] v.l., grwth gwilnosty gwrach. Perhaps a witches' Sabbath, lit. wake.

[17] Perhaps the creaking timbers of the gliding vessel reminded the poet of a rustling snake.

[18] v.l., kwrsiau.

[19] v.l., kwrt.

[20] Cywarch.

[21] v.l., clyw.

[22] St. Martin.

[23] v l., hemp.

[24] Crest.

[25] v.l., cwlffrier twc, Friar Tuck (cwl, 'cowl', rather than cwl, 'sin', 'fault'); another v.l. is twlk, 'cot', 'shed'.

To face p. 261.

The Pilgrim Effigy at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest.

krud wyd ti r kardod teion[1]
kawn tynv kann wynt ionor
kerwyn mwy waith koron mor[2]
karwlam[3] gwegilgam gweilgi
koedwig dent[4] keidw[5] iago di.

Rhys Nanmor[6] (1440-1480).

The Bay of Biscay was, however, fraught with terror; and for this venture the stoutest hearts as well as the stoutest ships were needed; the inconveniences of a crowded galley would in themselves disincline most pilgrims to adopt the short sea passage. In all probability, therefore, the route across the Bay would be undertaken only by the bolder spirits. But even so the enterprise was sufficiently formidable. A pilgrim cantique ran :—

"Quand nous fûmes au port de Blays,
Près de Bordeaux
Nous entrâmes dedans la barque
Pour passer l'eau.
Il y a bien sept lieues par eau,
Bonnes me semble,
Marinier passe promptement
De peur de la tourmente."

---

[1] Beggars.

[2] v.l., kyrn ywch gwae mawr; korn chwyal mor.

[3] Stag's Leap. [4] Tent. [5] v.l., cadw.

[6] Llanstephan MS. 53, f. 240; Brit. Mus. Add. 14,873, f. 67; 31,073, f. 217; 14,971, f. 160; Llanst. 700, § 174. The author lived at Maenor Vynwy. Cf. Kywydd yr llong o waith Rys Nanmor pan aeth ef y berina y Saint James yn Spaine, in a Llanover MS.

Y tu ay grest at y gro,
O hyd diogel at Iago
blaen y rhol blaen yr heledd
borday glyn Aberdaygledd.

Ir llong

Y llauad mewn gwisg llaian
Aeth ar lwff i aitha'r lann
Seren wyd unben Dinbych
Siwrnaia ir borthfa i bych
Sain Margred yw dy enw bedydd
Sant Iago an rhoddo'n rhydd.

Huw Dafi, 1560.

British Museum Add. 31,072, f. 454. Cf. Lewis Glyn Cothi above, *llun llauad a llenlliain*, and p. 255, n. 1.

Some verses of Henry the Sixth's period[1] furnish a graphic picture of the discomforts, not to say danger, of the voyage :—

"Men may leue alle gamys[2]
That saylen to seynt Jamys !
Ffor many a man hit gramys,[3]
When they begyn to sayle.

Ffor when they haue take the see,
At Sandwyche, or at Wynchylsee,
At Brystow, or where that hit bee.
Theyr hertes begyn to fayle."

Bordeaux attained great importance, especially when Guienne was an English possession. A brisk commerce was kept up between the Welsh Coast or Bristol and Bordeaux, but ships from England and Wales also landed near the heights of Hourtins. Sulac or Tailais, also at the mouth of the Garonne, gradually rose in favour.[4] The ships either landed their passengers in Galicia, and then discharged their cargo at Bordeaux, or reversing the order discharged their cargo at Bordeaux, the pilgrims proceeding on to their destination by land.[5] Throughout the Middle Ages, Welsh pilgrims preferred the safer and pleasanter route through Bordeaux ; there being no lack of facilities, thanks to the wine trade carried on between the Welsh coast and that port.[6] The presence of Welsh-

[1] Trinity College Library MS. R. 3, 19 (published by Early English Text Society, 1867).

[2] fun. [3] A.S. *gram*, troublesome ; *gramian* to anger.

[4] Baurein, *Variétés Bordeloises*. vol. i., 45-6.

[5] Cf. F. Michel, *Histoire du Commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux*, vol. i.

[6] In the reign of Henry II., wine was grown in Pembrokeshire. Giraldus Camb. *Itin. Camb.* ii. ch., 12. Indeed, vineyards were not uncommon in other parts of Wales. Though the trade dates from a very early period, wine was probably supplied mainly from abroad. Dafydd ap Gwilym speaks of vineyards in Wales, and the poets, who were connoisseurs, show that Guyenne wine was highly

men in Bordeaux is indirectly attested by an entry in *Papal Registers and Letters.* A Welsh priest residing there was put forward as a candidate for the vacant bishopric of Bangor. The Pope commanded the Bishop of Bordeaux to enquire into his qualifications; "there being many in that city who understood Welsh, he was to cause the candidate to be examined in Welsh to ascertain his ability to minister to his countrymen in their own language".[1]

prized. Cf. Thomas Nashe, *Unfortunate traveller*, 1587, (*Works*, ed. McKerrow ii., 300); also 'Gwin Peitio' (Poitou) and 'Bragod Gasgwin' (Gascon).

[1] There is a large body of evidence showing the care exercised by the Papal See in securing Welsh-speaking bishops and clergy for Wales. Thus, for example, a Papal indult is given to Henry Kirton, friar of the Order of St. Augustine, S.T.P., to hold any benefice *in commendam*, on the understanding that he is to preach to the Welsh of the diocese of St. Asaph in their own tongue. *Papal Registers and Letters. Descriptive Calendar*, A.D. 1437. The Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph complain that through a false representation made to the Pope that the See of Bangor was void, he reserved it and then appointed Walter de Chatton, a Friar Minor, ignorant of the Welsh tongue. The petitioners, therefore, considering that the people of Wales who inhabit wild places are themselves untamed and fierce, and hardly willing to receive discipline from those versed in their own language; seeing also that if they had a prelate ignorant of it the native population would be the more disobedient and rebellious, pray the Pope to revoke his reservation. Granted, at Avignon, 12 Kal. Maj. *Papal Petitions*, A.D. 1344. John Harald B.C.L. holds a benefice in the diocese of St. David's but, being ignorant of the Welsh language, wishes to resign, as he cannot do his parishioners justice. Granted, *ibid.* 1366. Henry Winterton, B.C.L., wishes to exchange a canonry at St. Asaph for a benefice in the gift of the abbot and convent of St. Edmund's, he being ignorant of the language of those parts. Granted, *ibid.* 1366. For the case of John de Monmouth appointed to the See of Llandaff in 1295 by Pope Boniface, see *Cardiff Records*, vol. iv, p. 166-7. Cf. Hingeston Randolph's edition of the Exeter Registers for cases of inquiries as to whether priests to be appointed to Cornish benefices can preach and hear confessions in Cornish. (See also Mr. H. Jenner's *Handbook on the Cornish language*, pp. 10, 11.)

Ireland also was largely dependent on France for its wine. Apart from the direct intercourse established between Ireland on the one hand, and France and Spain on the other, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (rendered feasible by the amicable relations between ~~England~~, France, and Spain), a close connection between Ireland and the Continent had existed earlier. Giraldus Cambrensis, who had paid two lengthy visits to Ireland in 1185 and 1186, speaks of the importation of wines from Poitou and a repayment in hides:—

Pictavia namque de plenitudine sua ei copiose vina transmittit. Cui et animalium coria et pecudum ferarumque tergora, Hibernia non ingrata remittit.[1]

Nay more, there is every reason for thinking that Bordeaux wines were carried to Ireland in the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era, as they were in 1185, when Giraldus was collecting materials for his *Topographia Hibernica*, Gallic traders (mercatores Gallorum) being the intermediaries between producer and consumer.[2] The monks (no mean judges) learnt to appreciate the value of this commodity. Clonmacnois, in the heart of Ireland, patronised the Gallic wines, and, as the famous house lay upon the Shannon, the goods were ~~probably~~ imported by the estuary of that river. It is also probable that the Gallic ships which came to Cantyre and Iona, ~~probably~~ carried wine; so that as early as the sixth century vintners from West Gaul were to be found in the East and West of Ireland. These wine ships did not return

[1] *Topographia Hibernica*, vol. 2, ch. 6, p. 28, ed. Dimock. Cf. the *Life of St. Ciaran of Cluain:* in illis diebus quibus fratres S. Kyarani segetes suas mettebant, mercatores cum vino Gallorum venerunt ad S. Kiaranum et impleverunt ingentem vas, solitanam fratrum, de vino illo quod Sanctus Kiaranus fratribus suis cum sua benedictione dedit. c. 31; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i, p. 214.

[2] Cf. pp. 64-65, 152.

empty; pilgrims were adepts at the art of combining business with devotion, and found opportunities for pushing their trade,[1] thereby affording ground for the 13th century proverb "Point de marine sans pèlerinage". Wherever the pilgrims landed on the French coast, Bordeaux lay on their route to Compostela and formed their point of departure when they braced themselves for the journey. Hence the town assumed great importance in connection with the movement, and founded institutions for speeding the crowd of votaries on their way to the shrine of Santiago.

The preparations for a pilgrimage, and the customs observed at the start may be briefly noticed at this point. The form of Bidding the beads mentions St. James's Compostela as one of the great pilgrim resorts. But besides this general petition a special solemnity was set apart for pilgrims on the eve of departure. An *Officium peregrinorum* appears in old service books. After confession, psalms were recited and prayers read over the prostrate body of the intending pilgrim. The community participated in spirit in the pilgrimage and hoped to derive benefit from the enterprise; in many cases they subscribed to assist him to cover his expenses, and guilds were formed for this purpose.

The Church did more than pray for the pilgrim. The occasion was celebrated by one of those dramas which served a two-fold purpose, as a benediction to the traveller, and a vehicle of instruction to parishioners. A miniature castle was erected in the nave of the church, to represent the house of Emmaus, where the two travellers in the Gospel entered and broke bread with the Risen Christ. Next, two priests issue from the vestry dressed in tunics, "et desuper cappis transversum", with long flow-

[1] Fréville, *Mémoire sur le commerce maritime de Rouen*, t.i., p. 141.

ing hair and beards, each carrying a staff and scrip[1] and singing the hymn *Jesu nostra redemptio.* Still singing they march slowly down the north aisle, to the western porch, where they place themselves at the head of a procession of choristers, and all begin to sing *Nos Tuo Vultu saties.* Afterwards, the priest for the day, robed in alb and surplice, barefooted and carrying a cross on his right shoulder, advances to meet them, and enquires, "What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk and are sad?" The two pilgrims reply, "Art Thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and has not known the things which are come to pass there in these days?" "What things?" "Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a profit mighty in deed and word before God and all the people". The officiants add the rest of the passage from the Gospel.[2] Then, feigning to retire, the priest "makes as though he would have gone further, but they constrain him", and pointing to the castle entreat him to enter, chanting, "Abide with us ; for it is toward evening and the day is far spent". Then, singing another hymn, they lead him to the "Castle of Emmaus", enter, and sit down to a supper. Thereupon the priest, sitting between the pilgrims, breaks bread, and being recognised for the Lord, suddenly vanishes out of their sight. The pilgrims, as if stupefied, arise and sing sorrowfully, "Did not our heart burn within us, while He talked with us by the way, and while He opened to us the Scriptures?" Then, repeating this strain they make their way to the pulpit, where they sing the verse *Dic nobis, Maria.* After this another priest, with head muffled up like a woman, approaches them

[1] A similar touch to this in the liturgical drama appears in Fra Angelico's fresco over the entrance to the Guest house from the cloister of St. Mark's at Florence, representing Christ as a pilgrim received by the Dominicans.

[2] St. Luke, xxiv, 20 to 26.

and sings, *Sepulcrum Christi Angelicos testes.* He then takes two cloths and throws them before the great door of the choir. And (the directions conclude) "then let him sing *Christ is risen*", and let the choirs chaunt the two other verses which follow, and let the women and the pilgrims retire within; and the memory of this act being thus recalled, let the procession return to the choir, and the Vespers be finished". In this dramatic way did the Church point the moral and bring home to the hearts of the faithful at once a striking scene in the Bible and the significance of the undertaking.[1]

The reader is next invited to transport himself in imagination to the shores of the Severn Channel, and to witness the departure of the good ship Le Saint Jacques of Pembroke with a freight of pilgrims for Compostela and the Holy Land. The pilgrim has contracted for the voyage, his *patronus* (skipper) having bargained, at the charge of 40 ducats a head, to provide two full meals a day with a cup of malvoisie and to ensure the passengers against ill-usage by the galley slaves.[2] The hour has struck for departure, when the master-mariner calls to his seamen at the prow, "Are you ready?" "Aye, sir, let the clerks and priests come forward." Then, turning to the clergy he says, "Sing, for God's sake"; and all with one

[1] *Sarum Manuale*, Rothomagi, 1509, liii-lviii. Cf. the *Victimae Paschali.* It is interesting to compare the various formularies for speeding the pilgrim (*Sarum Missal*, ed. 1868, 595-6, *Exeter Pontifical of Bishop Lacy*), with those used by Mahommedans. The latter will be found in Sivry and Champagnac's *Dictionnaire.*

[2] A law, *temp.* Richard I, for the protection of those sailing for the Holy Land provided: "He who kills a man on shipboard shall be bound to the dead body and thrown into the sea; if the man is killed on shore, the slayer shall be bound to the dead body and buried with it". The enactment proceeds "He who shall draw his knife to strike another, or who shall have drawn blood from him, is to lose his hand; if he shall have only struck with the palm of his hand

voice chant, *Veni, Creator Spiritus.* "Unfurl the sails, for God's sake." The anchor is weighed, the vessel stands out to sea, and according to a preconcerted arrangement is presently joined by a fleet of vessels led by Le Lenard from Bristol bound for the same destination. Off the coast of Cornwall their numbers are swelled by the La Charité, The Galliotte, and The Little Nicholas, hailing from Paynton, Le Petre and The Katherine from Dartmouth, La Marie, The Pylgryme, The Dorcette from Southampton, and Le Thomas from Saltash. The pilgrim by this time has had opportunities of observing his fellow-passengers. Conspicuous among them are two noble lords, with their retinue of two couriers, a barber, a musician, an old soldier or manservant, a manciple, a cook; an ex-trader, who has served in the galleys, will act as interpreter. A preaching friar is another prominent figure. The rest form a motley assemblage of Welsh, English and Irish.

The obligation to keep roads in good repair for the benefit of pilgrims was one direct result of their peaceful invasion. A network of roadways traversed the south-west corner of France, where it borders upon the Spanish frontier. Just as "all roads lead to Rome", so in this quarter all roads led to St. James of Compostela. The Spanish name for this route (the sole highway from Puente de la Reina) *Camino real Francés*, survives to this day as an indication of the frequency of pilgrimages. The coincidence between these mediæval routes and the old Roman *viae* raises a very interesting question; but in many cases identification remains doubtful. From Toulouse to

without drawing blood, he shall be thrice ducked in the sea". Hoveden, 1189. For the tariff see Du Cange, *Habuisia* and *Cargator*. E.g. A place from the mast (i.e. midship) to the forecastle, with the passenger's provisions and armour, cost one mark. Inferior pilgrims carried no provisions.

Auch the pilgrims followed the exact course marked in the Bordeaux Itinerary to Jerusalem :—[1]

> "Civitas Auscius (Auch)
> Mutatio ad Scyptum (Marsan)
> Mutatio Hungunnerro (Ambon)
> Mutatio Bucconis (l'Isle Jourdain)
> Mutatio ad Jovem (Leguevin)
> Civitas Tolosa (Toulouse)."

What has been said regarding the coincidence of mediæval pilgrim routes with the Roman roads applies also to the northern road from Saintes to Bordeaux, from Bordeaux to Dax, and from Bordeaux to Toulouse, by way of Eauze. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French commissaries first took in hand the establishment of the internal communications of France, Roman roads were still utilized as highways. As they once resounded to the tramp of the Roman legionary, as they offered an avenue for the inrushing hordes of barbarian invaders, and as later they aided the march of Charlemagne's hosts and of the Crusaders, so they served the benign and pacific purpose of helping armies of pilgrims on their meritorious mission. Neither was the Church oblivious of the duty of providing accommodation for the wayfarers. At stated intervals along the routes were established houses of entertainment under the supervision of ecclesiastics.[2] The Abbey of La Sauve in the vicinity of Bordeaux was one of these, forming a meeting-point for several highways, and a rendezvous for pilgrims from many quarters

[1] See pp. 16, 79.

[2] Among the Public Records, *Reports*, 4 App. 2, p. 150, appears a petition from the Mayor and Commonalty of Bordeaux, soliciting confirmation of a gift made by his Chamberlain to the hospital of Bardernac, recently founded by a citizen of Bordeaux, to accommodate Christians returning "de Beato Jacobo". The Records contain many petitions or guarantees for safe-conduct to and from this shrine.

of Europe. Thence two roads branched off—the Eastern and the Western. From the fifteenth century onwards the latter was generally followed, as being more convenient and safer than those which crossed the high, inhospitable mountain passes. To La Sauve the pilgrim betook himself to make his confession and his will (a necessary precaution before facing the perils of the road), and to receive at the hands of the Abbot, the usual equipment of a pilgrim, a staff and wallet, duly blessed by ecclesiastical authority. Often an ass or horse was given him for the journey. Other hospices, founded by Saint Gerard the first abbot of the same hospitable house, lay on the pilgrims' route, and their doors were ever open to welcome the wayfarer.[1]

The journey was often crowded with incident. A pilgrimage to Santiago was often combined with visits to other shrines, and the authorities of the towns and churches that they passed, obligingly gratified the travellers' appetite for wonders. Thus, in a popular cantique, a list is given of places and objects of interest on the way, *e.g.* :—

"Quand nous fûmes à Burgue, en Espagne
Hélas ! mon Dieu,
Nous entrâmes dedans l'eglise
Pour prier Dieu.
Les Augustins nous ont montré
Un grand miracle,
De voir le Crucifix suer,
Rien de plus véritable."

The chansons frequently allude to such wayside *amœna deverticula*. Diversions of a lighter character were not wanting.[2] Jongleurs and professional story-tellers beguiled the tedious hour. But, alas ! there was another side to the picture. The land could be as unkind as the Bay of

[1] For La Sauve see a monograph by M. l'abbé Cirot de la Ville.

[2] Cf. Erasmus, *Colloquia*, 204, and a passage in Don Quixote, IV, 139-143. Ed. Glas. 180 (Loire 424).

Biscay. Apart from the physical discomforts, to which all were exposed, if the pilgrims travelled alone or even in small bands, the exactions of rapacious inn-keepers or dishonest tradesmen, who considered the pilgrim lawful prey, reduced them at times to a desperate plight:—

"Quand nous fûmes à Saint-Jacques,
Nous n'avions denier ni maille,
Ni moi, ni mes compagnons ;
Je vendis ma calebasse,
Mon compagnon son bourdon,
Pour avoir du fallotage
De Saint-Jaques le Baron."

Besides, there were dangers to life and limb; wild beasts beset their path, and wilder men who followed the vulgar trade of pillage and bloodshed. Brigands, cut-purses, broken desperadoes and outlaws or fugitives from justice over-ran the country. To quote another chanson :—

"Quand nous fûmes en la Saintonge,
Le meilleur pays du monde ;
Mais il y a de méchantes gens,
Ils s'en vont sur les passages,
Pour nous voler notre argent."

The rigours of climate were another trial to be reckoned with :—

"Quand nous fûmes au Mont Etuve,
Qui est si froid et si rude,
Et fait plusieurs coeurs dolents,
Ont fait plusieurs femmes veuves,
Orphelins, petits enfants."

When the pilgrim had fulfilled the round of duties he retraced his steps to the French seaport where he had first arrived, or returned by sea and regained Aquitaine and proceeded to his home, or, as was not unusual, set off again, this time for Rome or the Holy Land. The "Bordeaux pilgrim" in the fourth century had given a lead and shown succeeding generations the way. Starting

from Bordeaux, then one of the chief cities of Gaul, he had passed by Arles and other towns, crossed the Alps, traversed the plains of Lombardy, through Turin, Pavia, Brescia, and Verona, to the city of Aquileia, proceeding thence over-land to Constantinople, and across the sea to Asia Minor.

Yet graver perils menaced the traveller, owing to the disturbed state of the political horizon. When political complications (as was not infrequently the case) arose between England and France, or England and Spain, the pilgrims were hemmed in between two fires, and military operations involved the entire suspension of pilgrimages for the time being, or seriously aggravated the danger attending them. The very number of licenses and passports, and the strict regulations regarding the organisation of pilgrimages furnish eloquent testimony on this point. Sometimes pilgrims themselves were the occasion of war. Thus, in 1190, the treatment of them led to hostilities. On the marriage of Edward I with Eleanor, sister of Alphonso the Wise, in 1254, the British pilgrims were the subject of a special stipulation; for so many flocked from Britain that the communes protested against such a wholesale influx of strangers.[1] Again, when Henry of Trastamara succeeded by the aid of the French in dethroning Peter the Cruel, he was compelled by his allies to forbid any Englishman's entering his states without the consent of the King of France. These precautionary measures served to stay the tide of pilgrims for awhile, but the stream resumed its course in such volume that the routes through Guienne, after the reunion of that province with France, were permanently closed to them. In the year 1428 alone, nine hundred

[1] Petitions in Parliament, anno V.R. Ricardi II, A.D. 1381, 2 *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, p. 22, col. 2.

and sixteen licenses were issued, in 1434, two thousand four hundred and sixty, and in these all classes of society were represented. The political convulsions that ushered in the Reformation created further obstacles. In the middle of the sixteenth century no one could cross the frontier without a passport, unless he were a Scotchman; an enactment which, taken in conjunction with other evidence, proves that Scotchmen were no strangers to Compostela.[1]

In the circumstances, considering the dangers and inconveniences to which pilgrims were exposed, it is excusable to find that some shrank from the journey and commuted their vows or otherwise salved their consciences.[2] Still, in the most turbulent times, many were found willing to run the gauntlet and, in accordance with the sentiments of their age, preferred endangering the body to risking the salvation of the soul. It is not, however, difficult to perceive that the pilgrimage to

[1] Marie Stuart's *Regiam Majestatem*, Book I, ch. viii, fol. 10, recto. Mar. Parl. 6 c. 32.

[2] *Clark's Chartularies*, 21st March 1518, gives the following:— William Yeman, of the diocese of Llandaff (probably Yeoman, of Cardiff), petitioned the Pope for sundry indulgences, for himself, his wife and their children:—

1. That a confessor chosen by themselves may have power (they being contrite in heart and having made confession with their lips) to absolve them even from sins reserved for the Papal tribunal.

2. That any vows they may have made of pilgrimage to the threshold of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, or to the shrine of Saint James at Compostela, may be commuted into other works of piety.

3. That they and any of them, on visiting one or two churches or two or three altars, on Lenten or other Station-days of the city of Rome, may gain the like indulgences as if they had made the Stations at Rome itself.

The Petition was granted on the application of the Bishop of Leighlin, Papal Penitentiary.

Compostela contained within itself the seeds of decay and was for various reasons frowned upon by ecclesiastical as well as by civil authorities. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the chanson of the pilgrim of St. James might still be heard, but the pilgrim spirit was dying away. So lamented the poet:—

"ny bu ddwy awr, dre ruvain vawr
ar ol i ddydd, heb roi vynydd
mae ty jago, ymronn kywmpo
bedd krist hefyd."

In 1660 the hospital of St. James at Bordeaux received nine hundred and eighty-eight sick pilgrims, in 1661 only ninety-six.[1]

CHAPTER XIV.

Pilgrim Resorts in England.

Pilgrimages were classified into *majores* and *minores*. Under the latter category fall pilgrimages to centres in the British Islands.

At periods when ancient animosities were forgotten these enterprises involved no risk. Occasionally also, during times of war, hostilities were suspended, and a truce of God proclaimed to facilitate the journeys of pilgrims. But even in the midst of the unrest which prevailed during the Dark and Middle Ages, such journeys were undertaken, without any guarantees of safety.

At this point of our enquiry it will be convenient to cite examples of English pilgrimages, which were undertaken either as an end in themselves or on the way to shrines abroad. Of all English Abbeys, Glastonbury was the most famous, the most hallowed. The cradle of Christianity in Britain, Caerwydryn, or Bangorwydryn, the "Ealde Chirche", the "mother of Saints", and proto-

[1] Pardiac, *Hist. de St. Jacques*, p. 177.

shrine of British piety,[1] it could not fail to enlist the sympathies of the Welsh race, and indeed to command the veneration of the Celtic population of the British Islands generally. Here Joseph of Arimathea was said to have settled with his band of fugitives from the Holy Land.[2] Here King Arthur of blessed memory, the paragon of Celtic chivalry, had been laid to rest. Here lay Avalon, the Celtic paradise. The reputed origin of this seat of learning and sanctity is lost in the mist of antiquity, or at least ascends to the earliest epoch in the history of the Christian Church; but it is difficult to unravel the tangled skein and to separate the authentic events in its history from the mythical. When King Ina, Caedwalla's successor, the greatest benefactor of the Abbey, in 725 conferred upon Glastonbury lands and privileges, he conceded to it the title "Ecclesia Britanniæ prima et fons et origo totius religionis". This stamped it for all time. Probability points to its erection on the site of a Celtic temple, in accordance with a practice commonly adopted by the early Church, for the object of consecrating to the purposes of Christianity, a spot associated in the pagan mind with the old oversea paradise of Celtic mythology.[3] It is possible, too, that the particular form of heathen worship celebrated there may have been the cult of the dead. If tradition may be believed, the foundation of Glastonbury was of the most august order. Philip, the Apostle of Gaul (so ran the legend) chose eleven of his most zealous followers, with Joseph of Arimathea at

[1] Mater Sanctorum. William of Malmesbury, p. 311; vetusta ecclesia, p. 317.

[2] The story of Joseph of Arimathea's expedition to Britain is not earlier than the twelfth century. Neither Gildas nor Bede knows anything of it, and William of Malmesbury speaks of it merely as a popular report (ut ferunt).

[3] See pp. 85, 86.

their head, to preach in Britain. Arviragus, the King of the region where the party came to shore, granted them lands. Happily, we are relieved of the necessity of verifying the statements and justifying these extravagant pretensions. But even this would not satisfy the supporters of the claims of Glastonbury to pre-eminence. Not only were saints united in the pious enterprise, but the initiation of the monastery was ascribed to Christ himself. Gerald has no hesitation in accepting the tradition which ascribes the foundation of the monastery to St. David. Suffice it to say that these assertions were as implicitly believed as they were confidently made.

Hardly less imposing was the connection of Glastonbury with the history of Britain. King Arthur was the chief secular patron of the house. The glamour of the Arthurian Romance and of the Holy Grail, which, though originally separate from the Arthurian cycle, is now inextricably woven with it, had invested the religious house with a halo of sanctity. Many nebulous personages who flit about Arthur's Court, are in some way or other associated with Glastonbury. Many of the actions in which they engaged are placed there. Upon such a large question as this tissue of Celtic myths we need not venture. It is enough for us to know that the connection of Glastonbury with Arthurian lore was unhesitatingly accepted. But one feature in the history of the Abbey and the politic use made of it, may be mentioned, illustrating, as it does, the fascination that the house exercised over the Celtic mind.[1] King Arthur's mysterious immortality was almost an article of faith. The tradition is to be found on the Continent in Hartman von Aue:—[2]

[1] *Ad majorem gloriam Britanniæ.*

[2] V. 8—17

Si zehent, er lebe noch hiute,
Er hat den lop erworben;
Ist im der lip erstorben,
So lept doch jemer sin name.[1]

Henry II's Welsh feudatories had been his most troublesome subjects, yet were necessary and useful allies. While at an entertainment held at Cilgerran Castle, Pembrokeshire, in 1191, the King heard at the festive board the tradition repeated by the Welsh bards that Arthur would come again. Quick to seize upon this widespread conviction, as a means of quenching the hope of Arthur's victorious championship of a Cymric restoration, he ordered a search to be made for that hero's remains. The search was successful. On a leaden cross was found an inscription which told that Arthur lay there—

Hic jacet sepultus
Inclytus rex Arthurus
In insula Avalonia.

This belief that Arthur would return and wreak vengeance on the Saxons embodied the cherished hopes of the Celtic race and had buoyed them up with an expectation of future glories. The event is narrated by Giraldus Cambrensis.[2] He seems to have been present on the occasion,[3] and asserts elsewhere that he was shown the

[1] They say he lives still to this day.
He has earned praise;
Though his body is dead,
Yet his name lives for ever.

Alanus ab Insulis, *Explanatio in prophetias Merlini*, i, iii, c. 26, (towards the end of the twelfth century) relates that the Bretons would have stoned anyone who dared to deny the fact that Arthur still lived. "Some of the race of the Britons believe that he shall again live, and restore them from a state of servitude to liberty." *Johannes de Fordun.*

[2] *De. Instr. Princ. Angl.* and *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, iv, 47, viii, 126, 127.

[3] Referred to by the monk Alberic des Trois Fontaines (middle of thirteenth century) under the year 1193.

Cross by the Abbot, who also furnished the Archdeacon with the particulars of the discovery. Leland asserts that he saw the Cross with the inscription, adding "I contemplated it with a curious eye". This manœuvre was, however, more than a political stratagem. Arthur now passed for ever out of the realm of politics into an entirely new region of purely intellectual and philosophical romance. The Church was not slow to turn the Arthurian Cycle to its own purposes, transmuting and breathing into it a religious mysticism. The traditions which gathered around Glastonbury, the scenes enacted there, its repute as the supposed abiding-place of the holiest of Christian relics, the Grail, all point to the endeavour to exalt Glastonbury. Anyhow, these considerations cast a spell over the mind of the Celts and rivetted their allegiance to the venerable shrine.

Ystoria yr Olew Bendigedic, or The Story of the Blessed Oil, a mixture of truth and fable, affords a sample of the legendary lore that clustered around the sacred spot:—

"Nasciens, was a cousin[1] of Bredyr ap Efrog, the chief of the Knights of the Round Table, from the time that Merddin established it,[2] in Uthur Pendragon's time, until a part of Arthur's age. And then Nasciens went as a hermit to the Chapel Perilous in Ynys Wydrin. And he so pleased God, that an angel was wont to come and serve his masses, as Arthur himself saw, when Mary sent the Golden Cross to Arthur, which is in the monastery of Glastonbury, where Arthur himself placed it.[3] And for that reason, he carried a green

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[1] v l. kefnderw peredyr mab Efrawc y marchawc fyrnaf. Pen. MS. 50, f. 90. Nascien son of Ebron and Enhyngnes cousin germain to Percevall de Galoys was a knight of the Round table named after the duke of Breting, and the best knight of Uther Pendragon's and Arthur's time. He had the care of Galaad, Launcelot's son, and became a devout hermit; he saw a heavenly vision and made a book of them. which he annexed to that of Blase. He counselled Arthur and routed the Saracens.

[2] Ynghaerllion ar wysc y Morganwk. Peniarth MS., 50, f. 90.

[3] a mi ay gwelais yno, *ibid.*

shield with a white cross[1] and Mary's image sitting on the upper part of the shield. And that Nasciens, by the command of the Holy Spirit, wrote all the account of the Holy Grail, with whom Blaes[2] the hermit agrees, and a book[3] that Merddin brought to the Glass Chapel, rehearsing the prowess of Arthur and his knights. And the book bears witness that Christ himself consecrated Josephus, the son of Joseph of Arimathea, Bishop in Dinas Farar[4] and he was ordained with Blessed Oil, which seven angels of heaven brought to Joseph and his son, and his twelve nephews, his sister's sons, and four

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[1] v.l., a chroes ebenn. Peniarth MS., 50, f. 90.

[2] Blase, Merlin's companion and counsellor.

[3] The Holy Grail.

[4] Another MS. gives Sasar. Probably Dinas Sarras, the City of Sarras, in the Spiritual place of the Grail Legend. It was on the confines of Egypt, and there, as Robert de Borron tells in the "Saint Graal", our Lord consecrated Josephe (or Josephus), son of Joseph, to be the first Bishop of Christendom.

The story of the miraculous chrism given by the Virgin Mary to St. Thomas of Canterbury is an English pendant to the French legend of the "Saint Ampoule". The latter was said to have been brought from Heaven by an Angel for the baptism of Clovis (the newly-baptized are anointed with new chrism in both Eastern and Western rites), and was kept in Rheims Cathedral, and a little of it mixed with new chrism used at the sacring of the French kings. One of the superstitious iconoclasts of the Revolution solemnly and publicly shattered it, thinking thereby to destroy the French monarchy. The fragments were preserved, and a little of the remaining chrism was used at the coronation of Charles X. The broken vase is preserved in the Treasury of Rheims Cathedral. The story of the Vision of St. Thomas does not appear before the time of Edward II, who seems to have been the first English king for whom chrism was used, though some say it was used for Richard I. Cf. Ralph de Diceto (Ymagines Historiarum, year 1189, Rolls Series). Before that the kings were probably anointed only with the *Oleum Catechumenorum*, but Edward II is said to have obtained from the Pope the right of chrism, which previously was the privilege of the French kings only; even the Western Emperors only had the Oil of Catechumens. The Eastern Emperors (and now the Emperors of Russia) used the equivalent of the chrism (*μύρον*). Henry IV concocted a story that Richard II had not been anointed with the special chrism, and therefore was not properly "the Lord's Anointed". But veracity was not Henry's strong point. From Henry IV to Edward VI the miraculous chrism mixed with new was used at every coronation.

hundred other people, of the nearest to him in faith and creed and religion ; and a command came from heaven to bid Joseph and all that number come to the island of Britain, and bring the Oil with them ; and so they did".

At that time Koel was king in Britain, and that Oil Dyfrig the Archbishop received, to consecrate[1] Arthur as king, when he drew the sword[2] from the stone in Caer Fuddei.[3] And for that reason he overcame all oppression ; and his crown and arms are the high relics of the kingdom, because he was consecrated with the Blessed Oil from heaven, and it was given to Arthur to destroy every unspiritual oppression from among the Saints and Christians. And then that Oil was lost without anyone knowing where it went until the time that Thomas of Caer Gaint,[4] retired to escape from Henry, King of England."[5]

Moreover, Glastonbury was associated with some of the best known Celtic Saints, thus acquiring a fresh title to the loyalty of the race. Whether their connection with the place was well-founded or fictitious mattered not to

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Mary I had fresh chrism brought from Arras—the nearest Catholic See—alleging that the old chrism might have lost its virtue during the schism. For a discussion of the chrism and of a possible idea (never made an article of faith, but inferred from ritual, use, and remarks of Fathers) that the chrism is to the Third Person of the Trinity what the Eucharist is to the Second, see an article by Mr. H. Jenner in "The Royalist" for June, 1900.

[1] See Geoffrey, *Hist. Reg.*, ix, c. 13.

[2] Excalibur. According to Malory the sword was drawn out of the stone in the churchyard of the "greatest church in London—whether it were Paul's or not the French book maketh no mention".

[3] The word *buddai* in the sense of 'bittern' (Lat. *butio*) occurs in Bod y fuddai (Merionethshire) and Rhyd y fuddai (Cardiganshire), but Caer Fudei here no doubt means the City on the Churn (buddai). For a similar punning etymology compare Gwlad yr haf, Somerset. This suits Cirencester (the Roman Corinium) which is situated on the river Churn. Caer Wudei appears in *Brut Gruffydd ap Arthur*, *Myv. Arch.* ed. 1870; p. 576, and also p. 537 "ac ena e gwnaethpwyt Morgant en escob eg kaer Vudei". Geoffrey, however, states that the Bishopric of Silchester was assigned to Maugan. *Hist. Reg.*, ix, c. 15.

[4] Canterbury.

[5] Description of Britain. Peniarth MS. 137, p. 253. There are several Welsh copies of this document.

the light-hearted, unquestioning Churchman of the Middle Ages. The foundation of the community of Bangor Wydryn was ascribed to Elvan, a contemporary of Lucius who, according to the familiar tradition, had petitioned the Pope to send missionaries to preach the gospel in his kingdom. A Welsh Triad describes the Isle of Avalon as one of the three great choirs, which comprised 2,400 members wedded to a life of devout contemplation, but the lines do not appear to be very ancient, nor do they rest upon high authority. Nearly the whole galaxy of saints of early Celtic Christendom had at some time or other lent Glastonbury lustre. Ireland had paid due homage here in the person of St. Patrick, who, it was insisted, had become its first Abbot.[1] St. David had made the journey to Avalon, accompanied by several bishops; he had purposed repairing the ruins of the Monastery and reconsecrating its church, but Christ (so ran the story) appearing to him in a vision forbade the step on the ground that He had himself already performed the ceremony, and warned the Saint against building on another's foundation. St. Bridget also was said to have lived and died there. This may mean that there was a house at Glastonbury affiliated to Kildare.[2] St. Beon's[3] body was translated thither from the island of Feringmere. In the legend of Glastonbury, the anchorite becomes Archbishop of Armagh and succeeds St. Patrick

[1] St. Patrick and Glastonbury. "Bekary" or "Beggary", close to Glastonbury, was called "Parva Hibernia". Marson ("Glastonbury", Bath, 1909). This may be right, for "Parva Hibernia", in old Irish, would be Beag Eire (Little Ireland). If so, the name must be early, for the adjective before the noun, except in a few cases where it still precedes, belongs to a very archaic Irish. Now it would be Eire Bheag. There was an Irish monastery there alleged to be connected with St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Beon.

[2] Cf. Cormac's Glossary, "Glasimpere of the Gadhaels", ed. W. Stokes, London, 1862, pp. xlviii.

[3] Benignus.

whom he had met at Glastonbury on a pilgrimage.[1] Gildas and Columkill[2] had also been identified with the foundation.[3] St. Collen had been its abbot; a Briton by birth, and of noble ancestry (according to a legendary life of the Saint), he had served in the army against Julian the Apostate and slain a pagan champion. Returning to his own country, he had devoted himself to religion. But amid the illustrious beadroll none had achieved greater triumphs than St. Dunstan, the reformer of the Benedictine Congregation and the great champion of Papal rights. He had brought monks from Italy, had restored the strict rule of St. Benedict, and had instituted a perpetual round of services; nay, more, he had wrought miracles. Alfred the Great in the ninth century had placed Asser, his Welsh counsellor and preceptor, to rule over the house.

That was not all. If the legends that clustered around Glastonbury blurred the line between truth and falsehood or obliterated the fundamental distinctions between history and romance, to the untutored and unsophisticated there was no lack of tangible tokens of its supernatural sanctity. For Glastonbury was no less famous for relics than for the magnificence of its fabric, and some of these relics recalled the earliest associations of the Abbey. The number of these precious remains permitted Glastonbury to challenge comparison with Rome itself; it was, indeed, a "second Rome".[4] Some of the relics were calculated to inspire even

[1] Cf. William of Malmesbury, *De Antiq. Glast. Eccl.*

[2] That is, St. Columba of Iona.

[3] So says Osbern, his biographer. The same writer remarks, *apropos* of the Irish pilgrims at Glastonbury, "quod aliis bona voluntas in consuetudinem (sc. Hibernis) consuetudo vertit in naturam".

[4] Roma Secunda vocatur. William of Malmesbury, iii, p. 295. The same expression was applied to Bardsey. Owing to the presence of so many saints, the churchyard was called *Sanctum Coemeterium.*

the worldly with devout thoughts. It was no small privilege to worship in the Chapel of Joseph of Arimathea, to see with one's own eyes the Holy Thorn which had sprung from his walking staff and blossomed in the winter, or the walnut tree which grew in the churchyard on the hill and never budded before the Festival of St. Barnabas. It was no small privilege to gaze on the very relics of King Arthur and his Queen. But even these features paled into insignificance beside the other objects which were provided to gratify the curiosity, or to minister to the devotion of the eager multitude that thronged the monastery gates—a piece of Rachael's sepulchre, another of Moses' rod; some of the gold offered by the Three Wise men from the East; fragments of the five loaves used at the miracle of Feeding the Five Thousand; a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, some splinters of the True Cross, and portions of the Holy Sepulchre. Bones of the Baptist, of St. Peter and St. Paul, set in silver or crystal, completed the list of corporeal relics. Yet again, the rich reliquaries contained images of the Saviour and the Virgin Mother in gold, and of the twelve Apostles in silver.[1] The successors of the Apostles too were well represented. The place of honour was accorded to St. Dunstan, for he had been educated at Glastonbury and had become its Abbot. The conscientious historian informs the reader that after the Danes gave Canterbury to the flames, King Edmund came to Glastonbury. His recital of the horrors attending the sack of the town, of the ensuing conflagration of the monastery and of the peril to which its treasures were exposed, so profoundly stirred the brotherhood that they determined to rescue them from the clutches of the sacrilegious marauders. They begged permission to translate the

[1] Most of these relics were procured and presented by three kings, Ethelstan, Edmund and St. Edgar and other magnates.

Saint's bones to the house of his youth.[1] Here St. David's relics had been brought from Vallis Rosina, and were visited by crowds of Welsh pilgrims. Indeed, many of the relics had been left there by Welshmen on their way to Rome.[2] Here, it was claimed, lay the body of St. Illtud[3] and of Gildas. Here slept in glory many Saxons and Celts who had knelt at the sacred shrine, and vied with each other in embellishing the church or enriching its exchequer and many an abbot who had enhanced its beauty by his pious munificence. Further still, Glastonbury enjoyed exceptional privileges as became a shrine, so hallowed, so august, so venerable. Not only the Abbot but every professed monk of the establishment was constituted an itinerant sanctuary. Such was the venerable abbey of Glastonbury that a man must be devoid of sensibility who could contemplate unmoved even the ruins of a house which was a noble monument to the piety of successive generations of the noblest families in the land. To crown all, the Holy Father had set his seal on this long-established cult and deep-rooted veneration. The fame of Glastonbury had passed far beyond the bounds of England, and Continental nations had but one dream, that of paying homage at its shrine.[4]

[1] William of Malmesbury, *ibid.* 300, 301. The whole story is told in MS. E. 27 and Register R. ff. 183-1886 in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. The translation of St. Dunstan's body to Glastonbury is disputed. Somner says that on April 20th, 1508, the tomb of St. Dunstan at Canterbury was opened and his body was found there with a testifying inscription. I think a tomb on one side of the choir, without any figure or inscription, is shown as St. Dunstan's; but the real one can hardly have escaped the fire of 1174, which destroyed "Conrad's Choir", as it was called.

[2] Roman ituri, *ibid.* 299.

[3] *Ibid.* 306, The head and one arm of Gildas (in special shrines) are at St. Gildas de Rhuys, in Brittany, and I think most of him is there also.

[4] In May 1751, ten thousand people flocked to Glastonbury on

To face p. 284.

Pilgrims' Inn at Glastonbury.

The next pilgrim centre to be described is a Saxon foundation, the cradle of Saxon Christianity, one of the most common resorts in the mediæval world, as it was one of the most typical. At first sight, the history of Canterbury, the seat of ecclesiastical government in Saxon England, might seem calculated to keep alive angry memories and to estrange, rather than to attract, men of Celtic blood. The first Archbishop had sustained a protracted contest against the representatives of the British Church; his "haughtiness" had wounded the susceptibilities of the Britons; and he was popularly, but unjustly, accused of instigating Ethelfrith's massacre of the patriotic monks of Bangor-is-y-coed.[1] He was the representative of an alien type of Churchmanship. His successors had maintained the same policy, of arrogating to themselves a supremacy, which the Welsh conceded only after obstinate resistance. Archbishop Baldwin, while urging the claims of the Holy Sepulchre on the loyalty of the faithful in Wales, was suspected of harbouring designs against the independence of the British Church. Giraldus, his diligent henchman on that occasion, had waged war against the pretensions of Canterbury. But all these long-standing feuds were sunk in the passion for pilgrimage. While Englishmen, Saxon, and Norman, and even English Kings repaired to Menevia or Holywell and had felt themselves honoured in endowing the shrines

hearing an account of a miraculous cure by a spring.

"Confirmation by Pope Boniface IX. to the Abbot and Convent of Glastonbury of their right (inter alia) to the churches of Bassaleg, Machen, Bedwas, Mynyddislwyn and 'Capynoil', with the chapels of 'Contarnon' (Llantarnam) and 'Puldrude', which the Bishop of Llandaff holds of them under a yearly cess of 35 marks". *Papal Registers and Letters. Descriptive Calendar.* 1401.

The museum at Glastonbury contains many mementoes of the pilgrims, in the shape of staves and leather bottles.

[1] He had been in his grave nine years.

of the Celtic saints, it would ill become the Welsh to feel or affect indifference towards the chief shrine of Saxon Christendom. Accordingly, they threw racial prejudices and ecclesiastical scruples to the winds. Afterwards, when the British Church was merged in the Norman,[1] natives of the Principality were not loath to claim connection with the seat of Saxon Christendom, and readily joined in making a pilgrimage to the scene of Saint Augustine's landing at Ebbsfleet.[2] Welsh monks were glad to enrol themselves among the students of Saint Augustine's Abbey, the parent of the universities of England, endowed with manuscript and other lore by no less a person than Pope Gregory himself. One event, however, transcended and eclipsed all these appeals to devout reverence—the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket. The stupendous sacrilege of December 29th, 1170, stunned Europe. The sainted Archbishop had long been the cynosure of all eyes, and when he fell his death thrilled Christendom to an extent unsurpassed by anything since the Inventio Crucis, except the preaching of the Crusades. It has been already observed that victims of high-handed and unpopular monarchs were often idolized, and their tombs venerated by sympathizers. St. Thomas possessed this additional recommendation—that he was a prince of the Church! But while his death provoked an outburst of horror throughout Europe, it had its alleviations; the tragical close of his life was a moral triumph for Holy Church. The aggressor met with a righteous retribution. Misfortune dogged Henry's steps from that fatal hour in which he had raised an unholy hand against Heaven's

[1] Wales was as much inside the spiritual federation of Rome before the absorption as afterwards. The point was whether the Welsh Church should be immediately under the Holy See, or should be "mediatised" and put under Canterbury.

[2] Cf. Harl. MSS. 63, f. 143, b. Col. 1, line 6.

anointed. The oppressor was seen treading the streets of Canterbury in the guise of a penitent.

The cult of St. Thomas leapt instantaneously into prominence. His relics were confidently asserted to effect miraculous cures. A "custos martyrii" was appointed. His influence was equally efficacious in the remedy of moral maladies[1] and spiritual disorders; he was the peculiar helper of sinners; and his aid, therefore, admitted of universal application.[2] The halo of sanctity that encircled St. Thomas in popular estimation is reflected in the legend of the Blessed Oil, which has already been quoted from a Welsh manuscript in connection with Glastonbury:—

> "And Thomas went to Pope Alexander, to the city of Sange,[3] for there the Bishop of Rome was at that time. And Thomas showed the unjust robbery of his possessions, that King Henry was fain to commit. And as Thomas was one night in the Church of Columba praying, the Queen of the Virgins[4] entreated that grace should be given to the King of England, to love God, and to be merciful towards the just; thereupon he saw our Lady Mary, the Virgin, with an eagle[5] in her hand and a vial of precious stone in the other, and putting the vial in the eagle, and placing the eagle in Thomas's hand, and saying to him: Take the Holy

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[1] "Optimus egrorum medicus fit Thoma bonorum" was the motto inscribed on the ampullæ which pilgrims brought back with them from Glastonbury.

[2] Syria claimed to possess some of St. Thomas's relics. If this was true, they were taken there during the Crusades.

[3] Sens. St. Thomas's vestments are still preserved in the Cathedral (St. Stephen's), and scenes from his life are depicted in very early glass. But a MS. (late sixteenth century) at Cardiff gives "Saynt Lewys".

[4] The Virgin Mary.

[5] The eagle (or probably a more modern copy of it) is still the vase used for the "chreme". It is rather an ugly fowl and an ungainly. The connection of the legend with King Arthur (p. 278 of this chapter) and the chrism used at the consecration of Josephus, son of Joseph, is probably a Welsh addition.

Oil to consecrate some of the kings of the Isle of Britain withal, but not those that now are, nor those that shall come next, since they are evil, and for their sins they shall lose much of their domains. The first king that shall be ordained with this Oil, he shall gain and win back what the others lost, and shall build many temples to God, and drive the pagans in flight from Babylon, and shall win victory over all, so long as the eagle is with him. And do thou, Thomas, go home, and thou shalt be a martyr and a saint.

"Then Thomas asked Mary where he should keep the eagle. And then Mary said: There is a man in this town named William the Little, and he is sprung from Picardy, from a town called Siprina; and he was unjustly driven from his monastery, but he shall yet be abbot there; and do thou place the eagle in his hand, and bid him hide it in the corner nearest to the west, in the Church of St. Gregory, under a stone of marble. And he shall be chief over the pagans, because he gets the eagle. And Thomas placed the eagle in the hand of the monk and the tale in writing altogether; and the monk placed it in a chest of lead in the earth. And thereafter Sawden of Babylon warred fiercely against the Christians, and won the Holy Land, and then asked his gods how much of the country of the Christians he could win.

"And the gods said he should march onward until the King of the Leopards[1] should come, and the golden eagle, and men at arms hired with the price of wool.[2] And he shall conquer and destroy many of the Saracens, by miracles of the eagle, and the might of the men that got their bread in the drink.[2] And Sawden wondered who that king was; and one of the pagans said that he was the King of England, for there are three golden leopards in his arms, and he is rich in sheep, and his drink is made of corn. And then Sawden asked the gods where the eagle was, and they told him plainly. And then there was made a cry whether there was anyone who could go to the country to fetch the eagle. Then a Christian knight, who was in prison with the Saracens, said that he was sprung from Picardy. Then Sawden said that he should be set free, and all his fellows, if he would bring him the eagle. And therewithal he

[1] In William Salesbury's treatise *Llyfr disgrifio arfau*, leopards ("Cath fynyddic") are given as the heraldic symbols of Normandy.

[2] A reference to the wool industry and beer made of barley.

promised what would better him; so the knight promised, and received much gold and silver, and came to Picardy and found the eagle and vial in the leaden chest, and obtained with it the tale of prophecy, which Mary had uttered. And when the knight had read that account, he bethought him that it was less sin for him to break his oath to the pagans, than cause a loss to the Christians for ever. And he brought the eagle to the Isle of Britain, and gave it to King Henry, and bade him keep it among the High Relics, and not give it to anyone until a warning came from God, as Mary directed in the writing. And so it was done. And the third took it by a Divine warning in the tenth year of his life in the kingdom. And after this it is not known as yet where it went, until *God* sees good to show it. So ends the account of the Blessed Oil."

And now began the long succession of pilgrimages which for three centuries gave Canterbury a place among the great resorts of Christendom. Yet the documentary records of the files of pilgrims to this shrine of the popular champion are singularly disproportionate to its importance. The reason is not obscure. This silence is due partly to the loss of documents relating to the shrine, partly to the circumstance that pilgrimages were so much a matter of course that only notable visits were considered worthy of record.[1] Still, several salient facts emerge, and sidelights occur which are not the less luminous because they are incidental. St. Thomas is frequently mentioned in Welsh literature. The contest which Gerald had maintained against Canterbury in defence of the rights of the See of Menevia, did not prevent him from going there on pilgrimage. For he notes down an incident which flattered his vanity: "The Bishop saw me and my companions with the signs of St. Thomas hung about our necks".[2] Gerald, like many of his countrymen, either

[1] Cf. p. 72, n. 2.

[2] With characteristic complacency Gerald relates the interest taken in him by the monks of Canterbury, i, 153; iii, 208. He moralizes on the luxury of the monks, i, 51; iv, 39. The distinguishing

visited Canterbury on his way to some Continental shrine or whilst returning home. He did more, for he wrote a biography of à Becket. The saint had laid him under personal obligation. Gerald was once at Paris in sore straits when St. Thomas came to his rescue. After a long spell of study, he had decided to return to his native country. Accordingly he sent messengers across the frontier to fetch money, but waited and waited for them to no purpose. Meanwhile, the importunity of his creditors increased day by day. Distracted and driven to extremities, he sought supernatural help. There was a chapel at St. Germain l'Auxerrois dedicated to St. Thomas. Thither Gerald repaired and implored the aid of the saint. He had not to wait long for an answer to his petitions; no sooner was Mass over, than, to his great joy, the messengers arrived—a clear proof of the intervention of St. Thomas.[1] Welsh pilgrims would feel at home in the precincts of Canterbury. A passing allusion to one of St. Thomas's entourage in the tragic story recalls the fact that à Becket's cross-bearer Alexander was Welsh. It was to him that the Archbishop addressed the prophetic words: "One martyr, St. Alfege, you have already; another, if God will, you will have soon". Alexander enjoyed the confidence of the Archbishop; he was one of those entrusted with a mission to the King of France and to the Archbishop of Sens. He was consequently

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badge carried away by pilgrims from Canterbury was the *ampulla*, a small flask or vase, holding a few drops of the "Canterbury water". It bore the figure of the martyr saint. Small bells inscribed with the words *Campana Thome* were used as ornaments. Both these kinds of tokens were hawked about in the Metropolis, and several specimens fished up from the Thames, near London Bridge, are exhibited in the Guildhall Museum.

[1] Giraldus, i, pp. 49-50.

absent on the fatal day. The Archbishop's cross was on that occasion carried by Henry of Auxerre.

The sixth Jubilee of the Translation of St. Thomas witnessed a rush of 100,000 pilgrims—a figure which amounted to a twentieth of the entire population of England, and included a large proportion of Welshmen. Similar outbursts of devotion occurred in 1420, 1470, and 1520, numbers of Welsh swelling the concourse on each of these memorable occasions.[1] The part borne by the Welsh in the French wars is well known. Three thousand five hundred Welsh archers followed the Black Prince to Cressy in 1346 and contributed in no small measure to turn the fortunes of the day; an equal number flocked to his standard from the Welsh lordships. The Prince of Wales was rescued from imminent peril by one of the Knights carrying the Great Banner of Wales, who, throwing the Ensign over his royal master, drove back the assailants. Ten years later the Welsh followed the same Prince to Poitiers. It was here that Syr Hywel, a native of Eifionydd, earned the surname *Y Fwyall*,[2] by striking off at one blow the head of the French King's caparisoned charger and taking his rider prisoner. After the battle the Prince repaired to Canterbury, with Welshmen in his train, and made offerings at the shrine. He had expressed a wish to be buried in the centre of the crypt, where he founded a chapel to commemorate his visit, but a still more magnificent resting-place and more honourable position was destined for him, on the south side of the shrine of St. Thomas, considered at the time to be the most sacred spot in England. William de Springlinton, bishop of St. Asaph, was one of the Black Prince's executors. To pilgrims from the

[1] For many years the number of pilgrims exceeded 100,000.

[2] The battle-axe.

Principality who crawled up the stone steps, on their way to the shrine of the saint, not the least of the attractions of Canterbury was the tomb of the Black Prince.

At the beginning of the next century, the aisles of Canterbury Cathedral resounded to the tramp of victors, Henry V. and his men. It was the Jubilee of 1420, which fell immediately after the battle of Agincourt, where Welsh archers distinguished themselves, and Welsh knights again displayed vigour in the council and resolution in the field. No less than 100,000 pilgrims were again assembled from all parts of the British dominions, and the presence of Welsh, Irish and Scotch with their different forms of Celtic dress is expressly mentioned[1] Afterwards the tide of pilgrimages continued to roll on without interruption and without record.

The glory of the "Holy blissful Martyr" St. Thomas's shrine, however, was no protection against the spoiler's hand. It had become the centre of popular superstitions which ended by alienating the affections of thinking men from à Becket's memory. Erasmus' description of Canterbury showed that reform was an overwhelming necessity.[2] A Welsh witness bears similar testimony, namely, William Thomas, Clerk of the Privy Council in the reign of Edward VI.[3] But other influences were at work. So great had been the power wielded by this dead champion of the

[1] Somner, part i, app. No. 44.

[2] No doubt Erasmus and other leaders of the new era were impatient that the average man could not keep pace with their progress, and were very contemptuous of ways that had only a continuity of ancient custom to recommend them. Ellis Gruffydd makes some interesting observations on *golochwytta* and the *pererindotta* to Canterbury. His information is no doubt based on documents to which he had access at Wyngfield Palace.

[3] Cotton MSS., Vespasian, D, xviii, p. 61. He lost his head in the reign of Queen Mary, charged with being implicated in Wyatt's conspiracy. Cf. pp. 232-3.

Photo by London Stereoscopic Co.

Canterbury Cathedral : Trinity Chapel.

To face p. 292.

spiritualities during four centuries, that when Henry VIII determined to assume supreme spiritual authority he struck a blow at the chief centre of the cult. The very retention of the name of St. Thomas in the Church Calendar was a constant reminder, encouragement and menace. Accordingly it was erased from all the Church books on pain of heavy penalties, and, singular revolution! throughout England hardly a murmur of remonstrance was heard at the work of destruction. His shrine, the visible monument of his courage, was demolished, and his relics were burnt and scattered.[1]

We proceed to consider a pilgrim centre on the Welsh border. The connection between Chester and Wales was of the closest kind. The city itself contained several sacred objects which deserved a pilgrim's attention. The association of the Saxon Saint Werburga, with Chester, lent the city prestige. Buried at Dereham, her body had been, after the lapse of many years, found entire and was removed to the church, where it was visited by crowds of devotees. Towards the end of the ninth century the

[1] The floor of the chapel still remains. The proceeds of the spoliation probably found their way to Henry VIII's coffers. John Williams, Master of the King's Jewels, handed him £13,553 after the Dissolution. The saint's staff came into the King's possession on April 27th, 1540.

Nearly all the pre-Reformation dedications in England under the patronage of "St. Thomas" are to the Archbishop Martyr, not to the Apostle, *e.g.*, St. Thomas's Hospital in London. St. Mary's, the mother church of Cardiff, had a secondary dedication under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury. See *Cardiff Records*, vol. v, p. 271. St. Thomas the Martyr is also the true title of the mother church of Monmouth (Over Monnow, the original Celtic Monmouth), though since the Reformation its dedication has been taken to be that of St. Thomas the Apostle. The church of St. Merryn, near Padstow, formerly dedicated in honour of the Celtic founder, changed its dedication to St. Thomas and the parish feast to his Translation (7th July) in the fourteenth century. St. Thomas by Launceston is probably a rare case of a dedication in honour of the Apostle.

Danes were carrying fire and sword into Norfolk, and to escape the rapacity of the wanton despoilers (who had respect for neither shrine nor saint) all her relics were translated to Chester.[1] It was not long before a stately Church arose over the reliquary. Henceforward, Chester's fortune was assured. Werburga's wonder-working powers were boundless, and her fame spread like wildfire.

But the chief interest of Chester centred in its Rood, so much venerated that the Church of St. John's, where it stood, was called the Church of the Holy Cross and St. John.[2] Among the historic notices of it may be mentioned the following fact. In the reign of Edward I (1278) certain Welshmen took an oath upon the Rood not to bear arms against the king. A Tudor chronicler describes how a panic was caused by a fierce gust of wind which burst open the door of the Church of Holy Rood, and blew down the barrier towards Delw y Grog. The healing efficacy of the famous Crucifix is gratefully described in thanksgivings for recovery.

Awdl i'r Grog o Gaerlleon.

Y Grog odidog o doded dy lun
Rhwng dau lanw ith weled
I dre Gaer i droi gwared
Ar y lloft[3] a'th freichiau ar led
Llydan fu'r aur glan ar goleuni'th gylch
Doeth o gylchoedd gweilgi.[4]
Llwyth o goed teg lle i'th gad ti
Llun haul[5] mewn llanw a heli.

Pum gweli[6] o heli hoelion ai golchyn
O gylchoedd y werddon[7]
Ni olchai'r mor dy goron
Na'th draed na'th friwaed na'th fronn.
Pen dy fronn yn donn[8] nid oes lawenydd
Heb oleuni'r teir[9] croes,

[1] A part of the shrine is still to be seen at the Cathedral.

[2] The name "Roodee" survives at Chester to this day.

[3] *Llofft y grog*, roodloft.

[4] Several of these poems on the Rood of Chester refer to a legend to the effect that the Rood was washed ashore from Ireland.

[5] v.l., yn llyn haul yn llawn heli.

[6] The Five Wounds. [7] See note 4. [8] Broken, lacerated.

[9] The three crosses at the Crucifixion. v.l., kyn goleyni.

A'th enw mewn llyfr[1] a'th einioes
Oedd Grist ar[2] y drydydd groes.
Croes wenn lychanwen gwiliwch ennyn Cwyr[3]
Uwch y Cor lle'r ydyn,
Croes a gair dan y crys gwynn
Croes Duw ddelw Crist o ddylyn[4]
Dy lun yn Pen Cûn[5] a'n cynnydd golau
Mi ai gwelaf beunydd,
Dwys ym mhob Eglwys i bydd
Dioddefaint Duw Ddofydd.[6]
Duw Tad a mab rhad y mae Pryf[7] Satan
Nis gossottych wrthyf,
Dy wirgrog Mab Duw eurgryf
A'th Yspryd hefyd am tyf.
Iesu mae'n tyfu mewn y tafod
Dy eiriau moliant drwy rym aelod,[8]
Tyfiant gwydd a fydd am dy fod yn rydd
Tir llywenydd y tair lleianod.[9]
Y mae'r awenydd fal mor ynod
Ni thry awenydd eithr ohonod,
Mae'r Awen Duw Rên[10] mor hynod
Mal cof heb anghof medd Pawl[11] yngod.
Seiliaist dewisaist da fu dy osod
A'th air i peraist fal llythr parod
Sul ar dasg a phasg a physgod i wŷr[12]
A da ammhybyr yw dim hebod.
Saethau heb ochel yw'r saith bechod,[13]
yn saethu arnom y saith ddiwrnod,
Saith blaned a red o rôd, ffurfafen
Saith seren wisgwen yw dy wasgod.[14]
Gwelir dy randir, gwelir y Drindod,
A gwely i Fair yn glaf erod,
Gwledd i frenhinoedd yn hynod a ddaw
I ymwrandaw am i morwyndod.
Llun ych ag assen llyna ych gosod
Llun preseb Sioseb y sy isod,
Llywenydd Dofydd yn dyfod i'r byd,
Lle hyfryd i gyd i'r holl Giwdod[15]

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[1] St. Matthew i, or possibly Pilate's inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, represented as an open book.

[2] v.l., lle by Grist. [3] Wax taper. [4] Dublin. See p. 294 n. 4.

[5] Leader, Lord; the adjective *cun*=hawddgar, hardd.

[6] A common epithet applied to God in the poets.

[7] The Serpent. [8] Cf. *Ep. of St. James*, III, vi, 8.

[9] v.l., ti yw llywenydd.

[10] Lord, y Goruchaf. v.l., mae awen dyw hen.

[11] v.l., ac angof gan bawb. [12] On fast days.

[13] The Seven Deadly Sins assailing us every day in the week. v.l., syn syrthio arnom bob sayth niwarnod.

[14] Cf. *Psalm*, civ, 2; *Rev.*, i, 16. The lines that follow refer apparently to some pictures of the Nativity and the visit of the Magi.

[15] Nation (civitatem). See p. 169, n. 2.

* * * *
Dyfod yn barod heb oriog[1] weddi
At wiwdduw trugarog
Dydd brawd rhag diwedd bradog
Dy alw yw grym Delw y grôg."[2]

Llawdden ai cant.

CYWYDD I DALU DIOLCH I'R GROG YN NGHAERLLEON AM IACHAU'R AWDWR O'I GLOFFNI.

"Gorllaes[3] fum o'r gwayw oerllwm[4]
O'r Glun y[5] Troed a'r Glin trwm;
Ni allwn ffo oll un ffair,[6]
Yn llusgo y naill Esgair;
Mae'n hawdd i minne heddyw
Wylltio[7] ar hyd allt y rhiw
Pan nad iach o'm penyd wyf
Pedestr[8] mawr i hap ydwyf
Gwir a braw fy mod ger bron
(Gwyr llawer o Gaerlleon)
Y Grog drugarog wiwrym
A fu dduw gwir feddig ym,
Urddasol arwydd Iesu
Urddedig Feddig a fu;
Miragl Duw a gymerais
Mae'r Glau heb nemor o glais,
Llun Duw yn Nghaerlleon deg
Lle rhoed i'm allu rhedeg.
Yn yr un modd ei rhodded
Ar bren croes i brynnu Cred,
Pam ond er prynny pumoes[9]
Yr ae Crist awr ar y Groes?
Duw oedd pan fu'n diodde
A'i fron yn waed frenin ne
O nef y daeth yn ufudd
I nef yr aeth yn fyw rudd[10]
Ai Lun yn reiol[11] enwog
Sy grair yn Eglwys y Grog,[12]
Llyna ddelw llawn addolir!
Llanw ai dug duwllun i dir,
Llawenydd i'r dydd a'r donn
Ai llywiodd i Gaerlleon[13]
lle y daeth benaeth a glwys,[14]
Olew a glaw i'w Eglwys;

---

[1] Changing with the hours, inconstant.

[2] Llanstephan MSS., 52 and 135.

[3] Limping. [4] Severe. [5] v.l., ar.

[6] v.l., mewn llan na ffair.

[7] Rage, rush, skip. Cf. *allu rhedeg*, below.

[8] From Brit. Mus., Add. 31, 71, f. 239. Lat. pedester.

[9] The ages of the world; a chronological term for the periods preceding Christ's Advent; from the Creation to the Flood (the old world of II *Peter*, ii, 5); from the Flood to Abraham; from Abraham to David; from David to the Captivity; from the Captivity to Christ. See *St. Matthew*, ch. i. Cf. also *Myv. Archaeology*, p. 77, which gives another division from *Divregwawd Taliesin*; and also 'achaws pumoes byd y bu iddaw, uchelwr mirain (glorious exalted One), ber drain drwyddaw'. [Davydd Benvras.]

[10] *Rhydd.*

[11] Darting, gleaming, two ideas closely connected in various languages. [12] Holy Cross, Chester. [13] See p. 294, n. 4.

[14] The cynghanedd is at fault; v.l., nerth a gallu dwys.

Mawr Furagl mab Mair forwyn,
A'i wyrthiau sy oreu swyn ; [1]
Meddig a wyr modd a gwedd
Yw'r Grog i wyr a gwragedd ;
A fu Feddig ufuddach ?
A fynnai a wnai yn iach !
Cruppul i gerdded gwledydd,
A Dall i weled y dydd,
Byddarglust graff yn braff ddadl,[2]
A'r Mud i ddoedyd ddiddadl,
Ynfyd a wyr synhwyrai,
Ar afiach yn iach a wnai,
Ar miragl pur a'r mawredd
A'i marw yn fyw o'r murn Fedd!
Ef a godes yr Iesu
Lasar o fol ddaear ddu ![3]

Dynion meirwon dianach[4]
Fe'i gwnaeth yn fyw ag yn iach !
Ag iach wyf a gwych hefyd,
O wyrthiau'r gwr biau'r Byd ;
Ffyrf wyf Ior ffurfafen
Iachau fy mhwynt[5] uwch fy mhen,
Y gwayw oedd i'm giau i
Yn gweithio yn y gwithi,
Trwy dduw y troiodd o waith
Trwy ddiamau trodd ymaith ;
I'r Glun y rhoed gelyniaeth
O'r Glun ddig i'r glin yddaeth,
Or glin i'r troed gwar lonydd,
Or troed i'r coed, rhoed fi'n rhydd."

Mredydd ap Rhys, 1440.[6]

CYWYDD I GWYNO CLEFYD A HENFIDDDRA, A MAWL I'R GROG YNGHAERLLEON GAWR.

"Bloeddais ers hanner blwyddyn,
Ni chwimiais[7] i chwemis hyn ;
Ni bu'n glaf neb un glefyd,
Na bo arnaf Haf un hyd :
Ym mhoen ddug ym henaint

Addas ym weddio saint,
Mae'n Llan Gathen ymhennaint[8]
Mal swn ugeinmil o saint,
Cynfab[9] gore mab i mi
Y Sul a'nfones eli,

---

[1] Charm, *signum* (segnŭm) *crucis* (see p. 168, f. 168, n. 4). Cf. *swynogl* (signaculum) ; *dwr swyn*, holy water ; Cornish *sona* (soena), to bless. The sign of the Cross accompanied every blessing upon persons or things, hence the transferred meaning. *Ymswyno*, to make (bless oneself with) the sign of the Cross. The expression "to bless oneself commonly used, especially by Irish Catholics, for making the sign.

[2] This line seems to have been mishandled.

[3] Cf. Lasar a godes Iesu Yn fyw or bedd yn farw bu. [Rhys Nanmor.]

[4] Without impediment, unexceptionable.

[5] Condition. Cf. *anmhwynt*. A wyddant hwy pwy, o'm pwynt, o drais yn, a dores anmhwynt. Bedo Brwynllys. Mae rhyw amhwynt im rhwymaw ag e bair hwn gaib a rhaw. [Ieuan Deulwyn.]

[6] Brit. Mus., Add. 14,876, f. 79 ; 31, 071, f. 239.

[7] Moved.

[8] In Carmarthenshire.

[8] This saint flourished in the seventh century, and is commemorated on November 15th.

Am y ddelw y meddyliaf
A weryd glefyd pob claf,
Mae' mryd roi fy hyd i hon
O gwyr[1] lliw hyd Caerlleon;
Teirhoel oll wedi taraw
Dwy o ddur drwy ei ddwy law,
Ai Draed ar yr hoel drydedd[2]
Mal y bu'n ymyl y Bedd;
A'i ddelw o ei dduwiolaeth
Ar Groes fal y troes o'r traeth:[3]
Ni wyr dyn pan ddel or dwr,
Mae o'r prenn y mae'r Prynnwr,[4]
Y dydd y bu'n dioddef
Yn ymladd dros nowradd nef;[5]

"O'i fron gawod gwirion gwar,
I'n cyrchwyd oll o'n carchar;[6]
Pa les i fab mynwes Mair
Er rhybuddio rhai byddair?
Twyll yw'r Byd ynfyd anfaith,
Dall ni wyl dwyll yn ei waith;
Ped ystyriai pan fai'n fud
Y Gwilwyr sy'ar [y] golud
Y Da'n ei ddwrn a Duw'n ddig
Ni chadwe ond ychydig:
Y Da gadwer ofer yw,
Y Da a roir ystor—yw;[7]
A fo'n ol i farwolaeth
Heb ei roi heibio yr aeth,

[1] He intends offering to the image a wax taper as tall as himself.

[2] The number of nails with which our Lord was crucified raises a contested point. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of τρισήλῳ ξύλῳ. Three nails are given in Mediæval Art, *e.g.*, in the twelfth century. Labarte, *Handbook of the Art of the Middle Ages*, and *Ancren Riwle*, p. 391. But many of the Fathers give four. "In the East to the present day, and in the West until the end of the thirteenth century, the feet of Christ are always represented as nailed apart, with a separate nail through each. Since about 1300, it has been more common in the West to represent the two feet pierced by a single nail. The older form, however, is still used, especially in German art, and is apparently only a question of custom." *Christian Symbolism*, p. 57. See also *Early Drawings and Illuminations*, by W. de G. Birch and H. Jenner, London, 1879, p. 161.

[3] Another allusion to the legend relating to the Rood being washed ashore, see p. 294, n. 4.

[4] So lifelike was the image.

[5] The nine Orders of Heaven. Cf. Lewys Morganwg's ode to "Our Lady of Penrhys", arweddodd wr i ddioddef i roddi i ni nawradd nef. For the earliest list of them see Dionysius the Areopagite, περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἱεραρχίας. On p.p. 64, 65, of Mrs. Jenner's *Christian Symbolism*, there is a discussion of the origin of the classification. They are divided by Dionysius (or rather, the fourth century writer who assumed his name) into three Hierarchies: (1) Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; (2) Dominions, Virtues, Powers; (3) Principalities, Archangels, Angels. Sometimes they are called the "Nine Choirs of Angels".

[6] Namely, redeemed us all.

[7] Alms become treasures in Heaven.

Y Gallu da a gyll Dyn
A dialedd a'i dilyn,
A Bradwr am ei bridwerth;
Mair dy nawdd, mawr yw dy nerth;
Dadle di drase drosom
Er hyd yn y Byd y bom,
I'th Fab, na ad ein gado,
Forwyn Fair, dy farn a fo."

Ifan Brydydd hir, 1450.[1]

CHAPTER XV.

Domestic Pilgrimages.—Roods and Images.

The rise of domestic shrines which followed the decline of pilgrimages to foreign centres marks a milder form of asceticism. A journey to Jerusalem, Rome, or Compostela, was the event of a lifetime, and involved no little hardship; but a visit to a local resort, at any rate in time of peace, was no very arduous undertaking. This pilgrim was in no strange land; his mother tongue served him everywhere; the doors of the monasteries that studded Britain were always open to him; Hospitaller and Templar shielded him from outrage; and kings took him under their patronage. Consequently, the pilgrimage often formed a welcome relaxation, a relief to the monotony of country life, or a pretext for shirking duty. The wayfarer was thrown into the company of kindred spirits or congenial companions, who would beguile the tedium of the journey by lively song or merry jest, and not seldom by scurrilous tale. Arrived at his destination, he would hear the latest news, and be regaled with marvels to the top of his bent. The indulgences held out to the 'lesser' pilgrimages in the long run militated

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. 14,876, fo. 77.

The following poems refer to Y Grog o Gaer. "Creawdwr Gor lliwiawdwr Caerlleon", Brit. Mus. Add. 31,088, fo. 536; cywyddau, by Ifan Brydydd Hir, and by William Egwad, Brit. Mus. Add. 14,876, fo. 77; an awdl, by Davydd ap Howel, Brit. Mus. Add. 14,971; and another by Bedo Brwynllys, Brit. Mus. Add. 31,094, f. 38.

against the 'greater' undertakings, and finally against the system altogether; because the same privileges could now be obtained by acts much easier of performance. These journeys were undertaken at various intervals, according to the temperament of the individual. Usually, they were connected with the exposition of relics, or with some festival, of rare occurrence, but of momentous import, and such opportunities were highly prized and eagerly seized.

The reverence paid to the Cross connects itself with events which changed the history of the world. Constantine gained his victory over Maxentius and became undisputed master of the Empire, it was believed, by aid of the holy symbol of man's redemption which appeared in the sky, bearing the legend "Herein conquer". Out of gratitude, the Emperor commanded crosses to be erected in public places and on public buildings. A fresh impetus was communicated to the veneration of the emblem by the *Inventio Crucis*. The desire for relics of the true Cross was intense. No effort was spared to gratify the public taste; but though portions of it were liberally given away, the lapse of time (marvellous to relate) saw no diminution of the original material. Some of these portions, as in the case of Croes Naid, were said to have reached Britain. It was in the reign of Constantine, too, that the Crucifix began to supplant the plain Cross; but in the Latin Church it became general only during the Carolingian period.

The apparent absence of the symbol of the availing Passion in the primitive Church raises an interesting question. The earliest crucifix even in Rome is the work of the fifth century, and now stands on the great door of Santa Sabina on the Aventine. In the earliest Catacombs which chronicle and enshrine, as it were, in fossilized form, the

ideas of the primitive Christians, we look for it in vain,[1] nor have any attempts at realistic representations of the Crucifixion been discovered. The explanation is doubtless two-fold. In the first place, the *patibulum* was still used for the punishment of malefactors and slaves. A crude reproduction of the Crucifixion, therefore, would only afford the pagans an opportunity to blaspheme and to wound the most cherished convictions of the Christians; as witness the notorious caricature in the "School of Gladiators" now preserved in the Kircher Museum.[2] From such a profanation of their Master's memory the early Christians shrank with abhorrence. The real cause is, however, probably more deep-seated. Realistic descriptions of the Crucifixion are conspicuous by their absence from early Christian art generally, and the portrayals of Christ present Him to view joyful, sunny, and light-hearted. To the Church of the earliest epoch of the Christian era the supreme act of Atonement was ever present. In thought they still stood under the shadow of Calvary and trod the Dolorous Way; someone was constantly stepping out of the Christian ranks to pay the last penalty, and none knew when they would be summoned forth to face the bitterness of death. They needed no reminder of the All-sufficient Sacrifice, and dwelt rather upon the "glories that were to be revealed hereafter", the "abiding City" more stable and enduring even than Rome. Soothing, joyful subjects, such as the Good Shepherd, beardless and youthful, or Christ at Cana of Galilee, were more consonant with their high hopes.

[1] Wilpert maintains that the earliest cross is the one on the grave of Bictoria in the Catacombs of Domitilla.

[2] A rough mural sketch found at the Paedagogium on the Palatine; a man with an ass's head on a Cross; at his side the figure of a suppliant; and underneath Ἀλεξάμενος σέβετε (sic) θεόν.

The fervour which images stirred in the souls of the faithful is a marked feature of the Church in Wales before the Reformation. The tenacity with which the Welsh clung to the symbol of their faith, in spite of penal enactments and the vigilance of the authorities, was remarkable. A famous Crucifix stood at Llangynwyd, and is celebrated in the following poems :—

CYWYDD Y GROG O LAN GYNWYD.

"Y ddelw euraid ddolurus
Delw Dduw dy alw ydd us[1]
Y Grog wyn gwyarog[2] wyd
Lan geinwaith o Langynwyd
Llun y mab rhad ir aboen[3]
'Ny llun i bu'n llawn o boen
Edrych o hyd[4] y drych hwn
Y bu Iesu 'n ei basiwn
Meddyliwn am ei ddolur
Mae'n cred yw[5] gweled ei gur
ofni heb raid yn fab bron
Yr oedd Dduw yr Ieuddewon
F'ae wyry fam ef ar far
I gilio rhag gwayw galar
Herwa'n[6] wr tal hirwyn teg
Ydd oedd Iesu ai Ddeuddeg
Siwdas anwylwas ydoedd
Chwarau'm danaw[7] Disiau[8]
'ddoedd
Er gwerthu bron gwirionfab
Ef ai ir mes ef ar mab[9]
Gwedi dyfod trafod drwg
D' alon[10] oedd o fewn d' olwg
Dy fradwr gwenheithiwr gwan
A geisai gael dy gusan
E'th rwymawdd i dy nawdd
Duw Nêr
Yr wyth bilain wrth biler[11]
* * *
Credwn ei air cariad nef
Oedd iddaw felly ddioddef."

Tomas ap Ieu. ap Rhys.[12]

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[1] ydys. [2] gory.

[3] v.l., iradboen, irad, "sorrowful", poen, "pain".

[4] v.l., ar hyd. [5] v.l., maen gred yn.

[6] Christ and His Apostles, as homeless wanderers—lit. as outlaws. Cf. *Mabinogion* (ed., Rhŷs and Evans), p. 144, 1, 14.

[7] amdano. [8] v.l., ddifau.

[9] He and the Son fell into the net ("mesh"). One reading gives i'r un mes.

[10] enemies.

[11] The pillar of the Flagellation. Cf. "rwym bilain rai m hob aülawd", and "pam i hoelynt pum milain". Lewys Morganwg; see also p. 187, n. 8.

[12] Brit. Mus., Add., 31,109, f. 347. Llanover MS., 40, p. 125.

I'r Grog o Langynwyd.

"Y grog o lann gyrygl[1] waed
Gynwyd erom gnawd jrwaed
Llyna gorff a llun y gwr
Llyma r prenn lle mae r prynwr
ysby[2] yma dros bumoes[3]
aülodau krist ar led kroes
jrwaed traed ar jad trydoll[4]
ag yn waed dyn gnawd duw oll.

* * *

"Lewis Morganwg."[5]

The Rood of Brecon was an object of frequent visits and was supposed to possess a peculiar potency :—

"Y grog Aur droediog[6] drwydoll[7]
Arfau Crwys deau Crist oll
Y sy draw yn ystrowiaid
Ystor uwch ben Cor i caid
Ar oror wiw or arwydd
Hyd yno ir af Hodni rwydd
Rhoed ar Groes o wydd Moesen[8]
Rhwng Dismas a Desmas[9] hen
Ai ddeufraich ai ddiovryd
Dros i gorph ar draws i gyd
I dderbyn o ddyn a ddel
I'r Nef atto 'n y fetel
Ai fronn gronn frenin y gred
(Enwog-wr) yn y gored
Yn rhoi i galon yn rhydd
I'r byd ffordd i mae 'r bedydd
Talodd deugein—cant Weli
Drwy swm o Naw[10] drosom ni
A thri phymp cadarn arnaw
A thriugain weli drain draw
Ni thalai'r byd gwryd gur
Byth i ddelw bwyth i ddolur

---

[1] chalice. [2] ysbu, ys bu.

[3] See p. 296, n. 9. Cf. also "Rhaid oedd brynny pumoes", and "dros bumoes ar y groesbost duw lwyd a dynwyd yn dost". Sion ap Howel ap Llewelyn Fychan (1460-1490) Syr Sion Jwng wrote a poem on the subject, in which occurs the line "a duw (dydd) gwener ar y groes yn pryny pymoes yno". Llyfr Hir Llanharan, *Hen Gwndidau* by Hopcyn and Cadrawd, p. 110. [4] Pierced.

[5] Llanover MS., B. i. Mr. Lemuel James thinks this may have been composed for an Eisteddfod at Llangynwyd. Llanstephan MS., 47, f. 252; 134, f. 62; Brit. Mus., Add., 31,090; Cwrtmawr, 12, f. 166. There is another poem on the same rood by Gwilym Tew, "Mi a garwn y gwrhyd". Brit. Mus., Add., 31,077.

[6] With gold feet or pedestal. [7] v.l., drydoll, "pierced," cf. n. 4.

[8] Moses found the three trees in the vale of Hebron. See *Legends of the Cross.* E.E., Text Soc., xx.

[9] The names given to the two thieves vary. The Gospel of Nicodemus, c. v, verse 10, *et seq.*, gives Gestas and Dimas. The Apocryphal *Infancy*, c. viii, verses 1-7 (a Nestorian and Gnostic book), has Titus and Dimachus, two of a band of robbers who allowed Joseph, the Virgin Mother, and Jesus to pass unmolested.

[10] v.l., oi nawdd.

Bedwar devnydd[1]—gwydd goddef
Y grawys oedd i groes ef
Sef Alma o Palma pur
Siprys, Seipressus prysur
Ar y groes pum—oes[2] er pel[3]
Y dringodd pedwar Angel
Marc yw'r llew mawr y cur llid
Lucas mal ych a locid[4]
Matheus Angel melyn
I ddeall Duw ar ddull dyn
Delw Evan achlan uwchlaw
Yw'r Eryr[5] wedi 'r Euraw[6]
Dau arwydd dawn a oryw[7]
Duw mawr mae ucha dim yw
Dodaf am danaf rhag diawl
Dy arwydd[8] mab Duw Wrawl
Yn enw'r tad ar mab rhad rhwydd
Ag yn Hennwau gain hynaif
Y saith Archangel a saif
Gerbron Crist gwyr breiniau craff
Gabriel gwarcheidwad gwiwbraff
Mihangel dawel dywydd
Moliawdr ymddiffyniawdr ffydd
Raffael da Angel dengyn
I Dduw i dwg weddi dyn
Uriel tan arail y tan
Sariel ar ddur glas eirian
A Rhiniel a rhyw ennyd
Ar bob Anifail or byd
Penagiel gwyryf Angel gwar
Ar ffrwythau Diau daiar
Gwisgaf im cylch rhag asgen[9]
Crwys Duw a Mair Crist Amen[10]
Arfer o grwys arfau 'r grog
A orfydd ar bob arfog[11]
Sioseb cyntaf a gafas
O blwy Armathea blas[12]
Enwau geirau a garwn
Ar ucha lled erchyll[13] hwn
Dwyn Sisws[14] da iawn Sioseb
A dywai[15] nis edwyn neb[16]
Agios ysgeirios[17] oes gur

[1] The four materials of the Cross. Cf. the line "In cruce fit palma cedrus et cypressus oliva". Bede states that the upright was of cypress, the cross-piece of cedar, the head-piece of fir, and the foot-piece (suppedaneum) of box tree. The Eastern tradition substitutes olive and palm for the fir and box.

[2] See p. 296, n. 9. [3] "prize," "achievement"; v.l, heb gel, y bel, hel.

[4] lloccio, to fold. [5] Symbols of the four Evangelists.

[6] oreuraw, gilded. [7] v.l., or orauryw.

[8] The sign of the Cross dispersed devils and evil spirits.

[9] Cf. *Y Gododin*, ed. Stephens, 1881, p. 296, line 1, and diasgen, "unscathed," "unblemished".

[10] Injury, harm. [11] Every man at arms must use the Cross.

[12] For Joseph of Arimathea, see pp. 275, 283.

[13] Probably for archollion, not the adjective. [14] v.l., Siesus.

[15] v.l., dwyn a wna, but the original reading was probably Adonai. This supposition may serve to clear up the apparently hazy notions of the poet or the obscurity of the text. Adonai, liter, 'My Lord', the plural of Adon ("Lord" or "Lordship")—originally an attribute or appellation of God, became a title. When the Tetragram YHWH (Jahweh, "Jehovah"; the latter form was introduced by a Christian writer about 1520, through a misunderstanding) was considered too

Alpha Agla du eglur[1]
Y Neimas[2] mewn dinas yn Dien
Eleuson[3] nid oedd 'lusen
Ty di-afrwydd to difreg
Tragramaton[4] tri grym teg
Seithryw enwau ni sathrwn
Jesu wr hael sy ar hwn
Cyfrwys[5] a wyr i cyfri[6]
Caf yn rhol[7] i cyfenw ai rhi
Irwn dirydwn[8] i draed
Wirion-werth ai Wirion-waed
Cymynnaf[9] nid cam annedd
Or byd cyn elwyf i'r bedd
I'r tad Enaid Duw dinam
Ar cnawd i fedrawd i Fam."

Hywel ap Dd. ap Ieu. ap Rhys (1450-1480).[10]

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holy for utterance, Adonai was substituted, and, as a rule, the name written YHWH receives the "points" of Adonai. For the mysteriousness of the name, cf. Rabbi Tryphon, *Yer. Yoma*, iii, 40d; "I was standing in the row of young priests and I heard the high priest mumbling the name, while the rest of the priests were chanting". The secret of rightly pronouncing the name was entrusted to an esoteric circle (*kasherim*, "the worthy"), and only taught these privileged beings after due purification.

[1] Dieglur. v.l., wr eglur. There is probably some corruption here and above. The various readings take many forms, but on p. 304b, l. 22, Ἅγιος Κύριος is evidently meant, and in this line there may be a reference to *Revelations*, i, 8.

[2] v.l., Eniccas mewn dinas denw. Eniccas may be a reminiscence of the imperfect tense of the Greek νικᾶν.

[3] v.l., Eleyson nid o lysenw. Eleison, in the "Kyrie Eleison" or "Lord, have mercy upon us".

[4] The Greek word Tetragrammaton (word of four letters); see p. 304, n. 15. [5] v.l., ny.

[6] v.l., eu cyfrif. The names and titles of Christ were expressed in symbol by a fish; the Greek word ἰχθύς for fish, containing His initials: I, Iesus; X, Christos; Theos, God; Uios, Son; Σ, Sōtēr, Saviour. To these may be added Immanuel, Lord, and The Logos or Word.

[7] v.l., Caf yn y rhol cyfenw rhif; v.l., Cof yn y rol. Perhaps the frequent phrases containing the word *rhol* in Ezekiel and Revelations were floating in the poet's mind, or a scroll in the Priory Church.

[8] v.l., a rinwedd. [9] The poet will commend his soul to them.

[10] Brit. Mus. Add. 10,314, f. 93; 31,084; 31, 070, f. 204. Other poems to the Rood of Brecon: cywyddau, "O Gwiliwn duw a glan y dwr", ascribed to Sion Keri (1500-1530). Llansteph. 117, f. 40: B. Mus. Add. 31, 661, f. 42. "Y gwr a roes i gwrryd", ascribed to Sir ffylib Emlyn; it is also attributed to Huw kae llwyd and Ieuan Brydydd Hir.

"The Rood of Llanmaes.

"Pryns o nef prenn Iesu nawdd
pwy ar wener an prynawdd
barnwyd yddaw bren diodde
ay bryny a wnaeth brenine[1]
Iesu hawdd a Roes yddyn
iawnwaed duw dros eneid dyn
torred i gorph trwy waed gynt
trwy asay i torysynt
mae'n llann vaes mae ny llvn vu[2]
mae basiwn y mab Iesu
llvn i boen llyna benyd
llvn i bu velly ny byd
llvn i draed pob llaw n drydoll[3]
llvn duw yn llawn o waed oll
llvn y goron llwyn giriad[4]
llvn y drain yn llawn drwy Iad
llvn bronn hwnn llin brenhinoedd[5]
lle gwaew r dall[6] agored oedd
llvn i erchyll ni archwnn
lle i roes oll ras i hwnn[7]
y dyn ai vrad yn y vronn
a roe dduw ir[8] Iddewon
Sidas ar ddisav[9] ydoedd
yn ames[10] am Iesu oedd
ir oedd duw ar weddiav
vo yrrwyd dyn yw vrattav[11]
ofn vu ar vy nuw i vaint
nyd oedd ofn dioddevaint[12]
duw welas i dielynt[13]
deoddef gwaed Addaf gynt
Rwymav chwyrn Rai mawr i[14] chwant
Rai am Iesu rwymysant
dav vilaen yn lle dav[15] vilioedd
a dwy sgwrs[16] ar dwysog oedd
nydoedd ddarn na doedd ddyrnawd
nag yn iach vn mann oi gnawd
ba le na bai welioedd
ba ryw dwits[17] heb irwaed oedd
ba droed oedd heb daro dur
ba law oedd heb hoel loewddur
barn dost bu arno i dwyn
barnv marw mab bronn morwyn
ny bu ymoel[18] i bymoes[19]
heb Roi oen crist ar brenn croes
duw ef a roi waed oi vronn
drwy ais dyner dros dynion
dyn a vy n dwyn i vywyd
dall ny bu dywyll ny byd[20]
ar i loes wrawl Iesu
newid byd eneidav bu
Wedy varw duw o vawredd
o varw i bu vyw or bedd
llawen oedd oll awneddyw[21]

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[1] Brenin nef. Llanfaes, at the lower end of the town of Brecon. Giraldus relates the miraculous punishment of a boy who robbed a nest in the Church. *Itin.*, i, c. 2.

[2] v.l., mewn llu a fu. [3] Cf. p. 303, n. 4 and 7. v.l., drwydoll.

[4] girad, "fearful," "pitiful".

[5] Cf. *St. Matth.*, i, 1 ff., and ii, 2; *St. Luke*, ii, 1 ff., iii, 23-38.

[6] See p. 179. [7] v.l., lle roes oll i ras. [8] v.l., ir. [9] v.l., ddifau, but ddisieu is no doubt the right reading. Cf p. 302, n. 8.

[10] v.l., amros. [11] brad. v.l., e fwriwyd twn ym frad tau.

[12] v.l., y dioddevaint. [13] y delynt; y dylynt. [14] eu.

[15] v.l., lle doe. [16] scourge. [17] dwch, touch. v.l., Ba ryw dwytis.

[18] v.l., ymwell. [19] See p. 296, n. 9. [20] v.l., dall bu awr dowyll y byd.

[21] v.l., oedd yn heddyw; holl hyn heddyw, but see p. 311, n. 4.

vair i vam i varw o vyw
dduwsul yr holl weddysawd[1]
a ddyg i nef dduw i gnawd
am gyvarch i bum archoll[2]
wrth i ras yn nerthir oll
erchi r Iesu arch rasawl
archaf arch ir ucha i vawl
erchi er i weliav
o aviach haint vy iachav
erchi nerth ir vcha a wnaf
er i erchyll ir archaf
erchais rodd erchi sy raid
archaf vn arch yw venaid."

Lewys Morgannwg ai cant (1520).[3]

North Wales was not behind the South in the matter of roods. The parish of Dinmeirchion (now Tremeirchion) possessed literary associations, for Davydd Ddu Hiraddug, whose poetry and prophecies were celebrated throughout Wales,[4] held the living in the fourteenth century. The Cross was at one time famous for its miraculous powers. To this Gruffydd ab Ifan ab Llewelyn Vychan (about A.D. 1500) addressed a poem beginning:—

"Y grog waredog o riw 'r Dymeirchion[5]
gwedi'r mawrchwys gwaedfriw

---

[1] Universe.

[2] A passage by a Tudor writer, referring to the pilgrimage of grace, and describing the insurrection in North Yorkshire and the diocese of Durham, is interesting in this connection: "O vewn yr amser yma ir ydoedd wyr y gogledd y rhann yssydd yw hennwi gwyr Sir Gaer Evrog ac Esgobaeth Dduram a chwbl or rhann honno or dyrnas yn ymbarattoi i gyfodi yn yr unryw gweryl yn erbyn y brenin y rhain a gymerth mwy o hamdden I gyvodi . . . . . a beris baenttio sertan o vannerau a llun y pum harcholl ynddynt gidag arfau Lloegyr. Yr arwydd o'r pum harcholl a gymerth y nifer mawr o bobl ar i shiackedau or tu blaen ac or tu ol iddynt twy".

[3] Llanover MS. 60 (of the beginning of the seventeenth century), f. 164, and Brit. Mus. Add. 31,090, f. 120, and two other MSS., c. 1610 and 1630; Llanstephan MS. 134, f. 46, and 47, f. 184. Gwilym Pugh, O.S.B., himself a talented bard (see chapter xxv), who died in 1680, has a note in his copy to the effect that the author of the ode, "Prins o nef", was unknown. He mentions possible authors, but Lewis Morganwg is not one of them. It is also ascribed to Ieuan Deulwyn. There is a fine awdl to the Roods of Brecon and Llanfaes, by William Egwad, 1480. Brit. Mus. Add. 31,088, f. 568; Llanstephan MS. 47.

[4] He translated the Psalms into Welsh and rendered great service in regulating Welsh prosody.

[5] Near St. Asaph.

Credwr[1] gwaith Creawdwr gwiw
Gair duw hawdd ei gredu heddiw."[2]

"Heddiw dros Ebriw drws Ebron[3] a groeg
Y Grog o'r Dymeirchion
Henw'r Sant honno yw'r son[4]
Henw Iessu a henwasson."

* * * * *

"Krist a aned er kroessi dynion
Karwr o adail kor yr eidion
Koel seren[5] keidwad oes Aron
Koeliaw rhoi iddaw rhoddion tri blaenor
Kwlen[6] a rhagor kael anrhegion."

Another manuscript adds :—

"adolwg heno lle del kwynion
yn kadw vannwyl an kyd ovynion
an llestair[7] i gydd mewn llestri gweddwon[8]
i un lle astrys[9] yn llaw estron
an tynny yn ddeulu an dodion
an bwrw o vannau yn berinion[10]
pererin maithrin ym oes byth ydwyf
beth wedy r gwr an roes
byw o glyd[11] rag pob gwagloes[12]
hawb ar y gred bybyr y groes."[13]

---

[1] v.l., kredir. [2] v.l., kar dduw hawdd kredu heddiw.

[3] The region to which Adam and Eve were sent on their expulsion from Eden. Cf. *Myv. Arch.*, p. 74, and a poem on Yr wyth dial mawr : "adda aeth i ebron Am yr afal fynd nghyd Y drafaylyr byd yn dlodion".

[4] v.l., Henwi saint o'r ynys hon ; henwau'r saint heno ywr son. 133, § 192. Brit. Mus. 31,087, f. 369 ; No. 2, Hafod 19 and others ; Cardiff Ph. 23,453, f. 663. [5] The Epiphany, *St. Matthew*, c. ii.

[6] Cologne. The bones of the three Kings (die drei Könige, as the magi are generally styled in German story), are said to have been brought by the Empress Helen (see p. 89) to Constantinople. Conveyed thence to Milan, they were removed by Frederick Barbarossa, in 1164, and bestowed on the Cathedral at Cologne.

[7] v.l., llestr ; an llesdyr. [8] v.l., gweigion. [9] Astrus, Lat. abstrusus, "difficult", "hard". v.l., yn lle asdrys nag yn llaw esdron.

[10] An tynu deulu un don ar ddeau An bwrw o ranau yn bererinion.

[11] goglud.

[12] v.l., bid goglyd er bod gwagloes Pawb ar y grog pybyr groes.

[13] The poet resided at Llanerch, in Denbighshire. He flourished from 1640, and took part in organising the Eisteddfod at Caerwys in 1513.

Rhuddlan, a place of great importance in the ecclesiastical as well as the secular annals of Wales, possessed among various features of interest, an image of peculiar sanctity. The Black Monks built a house there before 1268, for in that year we find that the prior was translated to the bishopric of St. Asaph. After the destruction of the Cathedral at the latter place, in the war between Edward and the Welsh, the new bishop petitioned the King to allow him to move the seat of the bishopric to Rhuddlan. This permission was granted, the king presenting a portion of land suitable for the erection of a new cathedral, together with a thousand marks towards the building of the edifice. The Pope, however, withheld his assent, and consequently the church was re-erected at St. Asaph. The monastery above referred to was built, in 1197, by Ranulph de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, and traces of it still remain. It suffered in the course of the wars between the Welsh and English but continued to flourish until 1535, when it shared the fate of monastic foundations generally. As at Strata Florida, Neath, and Valle Crucis, so at Rhuddlan, the priors were patrons of literature. Thus Rhuddlan combined more than one object of interest to the pilgrim, but none so treasured as the Blessed Christ of Rhuddlan. There are several references in Welsh poetry to this crucifix, as for example in the following poem :—

"Cywydd ir Iesu gwyn o Ruddlan, sef ir Grog a ddoeth yno an. 1518.

"Rhodded er nodded i ni lawn obaith
fal yn Aber Hodni[1]
rhwydd fu gael rhodd fawr geli[2]

---

[1] See p. 303 ff.

[2] A name for the Deity ; originally the genitive of coelum (Deus coeli, God of Heaven) it became confused with celu. Cf. *St. John*, i,

rhwydd iawn tad rhoddion i[1] ti
Rhoddion digoddion[2] dvw gweddawl biau
rhoi bowyd ysbrydawl
rhoi ddwyt fyth lle'i 'r heiddyt fawl[3]
rhoi nef wedi rhann fydawl
Yn oedran pruddlan medd praw maith acw
pymthecant a devnaw
y doyt iustus[4] da distaw
i Ruddlan[5] dref roddlawn draw
Draw mae delw drwm ei dolur
drwy waith Peilat wrth piler[6]
duw[7] gwiwlan diogelwr
dy ddelw a doddai alar.
O alar boen wele'r byd
oth rwymav[8] dvw a throm did
dygn oedd draw dygnedd drvd
Duw erom i dy rwym nod[9]
Ar nod y gwas arnad ai gussan[10]
ath ysbysodd (ith) ysbiasan
o dra chas Ceiphas caffan waith[11] Suddas
errod i oerwas y rhoed arian[12]
A Pheilad ddiflwng[13] a fflaid ddiflan
ith furnio Iesu ath farnasan
o gydfrad suttiad[14] sattan gwae'r iustus
ar gof wylofus or gyflafan
Dy frad isod a fwriadasan
D'asav grasuswaed a scyrsiasan[15]
d'adv draw'n y plethdrain plan i gethru[16]
drwy dy ben Iesu drud boenasan
Dy roddi'n uthr[17] draw a wnaethan
draw ar groes dreigl drwy'r groes dyrogan

18, *Prov.*, xxx, 4, v.l. Rhwydd vawr goel rodd vawr geli; rywydd fu gael rwdd fawr geli. [1] v.l., wyd ti. [2] v.l., digonion.
[3] v.l., lle i raiddud fawl. [4] v.l., y daed ystus.
[5] A Dominican friary stood there. [6] See p. 302, n. 11.
[7] v.l., Deo. [8] v.l., rwymo; ath rwymau draw.
[9] erom ni dy rwym nod. [10] Judas.
[11] v.l., coffau ei camwaith; caffan ei drygwaith.
[12] v.l., ith ddal y noswaith ddylinassan.
[13] stern, v.l., a ffeilad dduflwng.
[14] v.l., o gyfrad sunad. [15] Scourged. [16] To nail.
[17] Horrifying. Cf. aruthr; v.l., dy roi yn uthr heb drai a wnaethan.

dy ddwylaw yn waed draw ond truan i rhodd[1]
dy ddevdroed loywsoed[2] a hoeliasan
Y dall[3] a neddyw[4] o dwyll aniddan
Dy galon ddvoer[5] duw geli'n ddwyran
Dygn frad dwys doriad tosturian drwy[6] gred
Duw erchyll led dy archoll lydan
Ynod Jesu[7] [wiw] ni adasan
vn dafn cyfwaed na dim cyfan[8]
ynillaist tynaist or tan y pumoes
o ffyrnig arwloes uffern gorlan
Byrnhawn dig [y] brenin diogan[9]
budd ai[10] oth ras mewn bedd ith roesan
borregwaith digaeth degan i rodaist[11]
byw ddvw a ellaist or bedd allan
Ath ddelw Jesu fal ith ddaliasan
vwch law graddlawr[12] Manachlog Ruddlan
i ddangos daethost weithian ar gyhoedd[13]
ith roi am oesoedd fal ith rwymasan[14]
Pob efrydd crupl pe bai fraidd croppian
pawb lle'r ydwyd pob llv a redan
pob gobaith eilwaith a welan genyd
pwyll a gae ynfyd pell i gwynfan
Y dall ath wyl Duw oll ith alwan
ac yn dafodiog i gwuaid fudan
y byddar seinwar sonian a glyw
yma 'r ai'n fyw y marw yn fuan[15]
Jesu dod erof is dy darian
yma hap imi[16] 'mhob bwhwman[17]
er Mair barchawl air bwriwch lan gymod
am oer bechod rhwng mawr a bychan

---

[1] v.l., traw ond truan ith roed; trawan—truan ith roed; ond truan irroedd. [2] v.l,, lwysoed, lwysed.

[3] See p. 179. v.l, Dall awen iddew.

[4] Namely, a wneddyw (gwnaethyw, the past tense of gwneyd); v.l., y dall aneddyw. Cf. p. 306, n. 21.

[5] v.l., ddioer. [6] v.l., dros. [7] v.l., i oesi.

[8] v.l., kofwaed na difyn kyfan. [9] v.l., dig wener bwn diogan.

[10] v.l., yw. [11] v.l., i kodaist. [12] v.l., gruddlawr.

[13] v.l., i gymru. [14] v.l., erom i Iesu fel ith rwymassan.

[15] v.l., y marw yn fyw yma roi n fuan.

[16] v.l., ym hap yma.

[17] Tossing, unrest, originally used of the sea. Cf. bwhwman hwyr a wnaeth yr enaid neithwyr (Iolo Goch)—a common metaphor.

Dirym yw[1] edrych ar drem[2] f'oedran
dod olew claiar[3] rhag dadl y clorian[4]
drwy gyffes hayddles[5] a rhwyddlan rybydd
dibrudd diguhydd[6] ar deg wahan
Crist wir greawdur croesa di'r graen[7]
cyn nod gweddwi[8] y cnawd a guddian
cymwys ith eglwys a than gyssegrlawr
cul gorff oesfawr i gael gorffwysfan
A chwedi angav ni chaid yngan
a chav'r gorweddfedd och or griddfan
vchod duw hynod dy hunan maddav
ym ddiweddav fy holl ymddiddan
Ymddiddan diddan diwedder wrthyd[9]
fy nerthwr bob amser
ior dod nawdd er dy waed ner
Jesu gwyn ysig[10] wener.
Pan ddycer gwener ar gof ath ddolur
ith ddwylaw i rhwymof[11]
beirniad wyd[12] gar bron i dof
bwrw dy ras ebohir[13] drosof
Drosof y Grog drws egored drwy faddav[14]
draw feddwl a gweithred
dod wers[15] a gras da dros gred
duw dy nawdd a dod nodded."[16]

Gruff. ap Ifan ap Llywelyn fychan Esgwier ai cant.

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[1] v.l., dirym wyf. [2] v.l., derm.
[3] Extreme Unction.
[4] When the poet is weighed in the balance; v.l., a hawddlan.
[5] Namely, haeddles. v.l., harddlan.
[6] v.l., Duw ddigyhydd kyn y dydd gwahan.
[7] v.l., grayan.
[8] Deprive, bereave. v.l., cyn oed gwiw addef.
[9] v.l., wrthyf.
[10] Cf. *Is.* xlii, 3. [11] v.l., ir ymrof.
[12] v.l., wyf; Brenin doeth.
[13] Heb ohir. v.l., heb air; ath air.
[14] v.l., drosof ag erof gwared drwy faddau.
[15] v.l., wres.
[16] Llanstephan MS., 124, f. 126; 156, f. 113. Brit. Mus. Add., 14,971, f. 82; 31,087. Cwrtmawr, 3, f. 95. Cardiff, 63, f. 260; Bonsall MS., p. 260.

The presence of the Knight Templars, by profession the champions of pilgrims, is another indication that pilgrimages to this place were frequent.

An historic interest attaches to the Delw Fyw or Living Image of Mold. The relations between the English and Welsh elements on the Borders were generally strained, as is clear from the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi. The long-standing feud sometimes vented itself in open hostilities, and on one occasion issued in an appalling tragedy, in which there is reason to suppose Lewis took part. The poet had commanded a detachment of foot in the Lancastrian army. After the battle of Mortimer's Cross, the warrior bard settled in Chester, where he came into conflict with the Mayor for unwittingly violating the City regulations. The bard avenged himself by inditing an ode in which he called upon Reinallt ap Gruffydd ap Bleddyn to set the town on fire and to slaughter the inhabitants.[1]

Shortly afterwards, the Mayor of Chester and many of his fellow townsmen attended the fair at Mold. The opportunity of avenging the wrong done to the bard had arrived! Reinallt sallied forth at the head of his forces and fell upon the visitors. The Mayor he took prisoner, and drove the survivors into the Tower. Still unappeased, he set the building on fire with its inmates, completing the horrors of the day by hanging the Mayor.[2]

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[1] See Lewis Glyn Cothi's awdl, "I Reinallt mae kledd".

[2] Robert Burn, linen draper, of Chester. These events occurred in 1461. At the residence which bears the name of the Tower (the original tower remains) is still to be seen the hook on which the unfortunate Mayor was hung. It is riveted through the stone ceiling. There is a legend to the effect that after their defeat the men of Chester came out in large numbers and finding the Tower empty regaled themselves and made merry, and that Reinallt returned, took them unawares and burnt them in the hall. There are marks of fire in the ceiling which may bear out the tradition of the holocaust.

"Cowydd i Reinallt or twr.

"Nos da ir llew onest llawen
i garw gwych or wyrgrig[1] wen
y marchoc oedd dduw mercher[2]
o brv a gwayw yn bwrw gwyr
bwriad oedd a brad i ddaw
brwydr drom ar bradwyr draw
an caeth a glaif[3] noethai gledd
rreinallt eryr o wynedd
mab gruffudd nid ymgvddiai
mewn ydrin,[4] mae nod ar rai
wyr i fleddyn[5] arf lifiad[6]
oedd yno yn kwysyo[7] kad
gwr hygar wrth i garwyr
gwr ygôd[8] wrth gaer ai gwyr
yr hydd ni bydd wrth i barn
o fron koyd farwn kadarn
dragwn yw a drig inod
distaw yn lladd dwy ystod[9]
ystod i gael ystad gwr
advr gwnias drwy ganwr
ystod yn dyfod oi daith
drwy filwyr adref eilwaith
troi ymlaen chware trwm i law
ag wynt ai filwyr gantaw
j brad oedd yn brid[10] vddvn
braw mewn gwyr bwrw mwy
noc vn[11]
ymlid gwnevthur maes amliw
or hain ar estlys yr hiw
yn llew yddoedd berchen[12] llaw
dda
yn lladd ac yn llvedda[13]
llawer vn ol llaw rrinallt
alliwr gwin[14] oll ar j gwallt
jrroi sawd jorvs ydyw[15]
vrddal i fair ar ddelw fyw
ef a roes hwnt heb fawr son
gelenig[16] ir gelynion
duw kalan wedi kilwg
j kowsan darogan drwg
doeth ir llv nid aeth ir llan
ddisiav fal yr haeddasan
ffynodd[17] ag yrodd y gwyr
ffelsib[18] nis haeddai ffalswyr

---

[1] Mold. [2] Wednesday.

[3] Sword, old French *glaive*. Cf. galw faner a glaif Einion. Tudur Aled. Williams, *Geirfa Prifeirdd*, compares "gwellaif" and "gleifwaith". v.l., a naeth a glaif. [4] Quarrel, battle.

[5] Bleddyn, half-brother of Gruffydd at Llewelyn, was sole prince of Gwynedd and Powys, and fell in a battle against Rhys ab Owain ab Edwyn; he revised and reformed the laws. [6] Sharpened.

[7] The warrior hewed his way through the opposing ranks; cwyso, "to cut up in furrows". Cf. Cwyso yr eigion, to "plough the ocean".

[8] Gwr y god, a coat. Cf. Pryd y del i ryfelu Ir gad ddwys, wr ar god ddu Ceir gwybod cyn darfod dydd Heb hir-faes, pwy a orfydd. Ieuan Brydydd Hir, *Gwaith*, 65.

[9] Course. [10] Price, payment. Their treachery cost them dear.

[11] Nag. [12] Cf. perchen pob anadl in *Psalm* 150, 6.

[13] Wage war. [14] A lliw r gwin, blood.

[15] A very St. George to lay siege. Sawd, "watch," "guard". Cf. heb gadw sawd na rheol. Gronw William.

[16] Calenig, a New Year's gift (ironical here); from calan, kalendæ.

[17] Prospered. [18] Ffel, "subtle", "cunning"; perhaps, however, an adaptation of "fellowship". Cf. *e.g.*, *II Corinthians*, vi, 14.

yddoedd dyngedfen im penaeth[1]
eglvr i wnevthvr a wnaeth
ymay mwy am ymowyd
ym an rraith or gwaith i gyd
ni ddowaid fenaid yw fo
brvdiwr ne fardd a brydio
na bo berchen lawen lys
Reinallt ar dalm or ynys[2]
fanwyl pei safai enyd
nid o bell newidio byd
o daw tro hyd y triawst
a dykio nud daw kyn awst
maith yw r enw[3] am waith Reinallt
may rrhai yn amgylch mor hallt
or enysoedd a'r nasiwn
addaw a help dda i hwn
ef a ddial bob malais
ef a wna isel ofni sais
ef faeth tros ben nenbren yw
ar y sydd or oes heddyw
ef a rroir yn fawr irran
ef a[4] fyth fwy fwy weithian"

howel kilan ai kant, 1480.[5]

A Calendar.

"llawen ywn byd o chawn Jechyd
* * * * *
gwyl *y ddelw fyw*[6] a ffawb ai kliw
yn anwedig pawb a ir wyrgrig."[7]
* * * * *

Owdl Gwyr Kaer.

"Wyr einion[8] ai ffon ffinied, y sayson
* * * * *
i ddewi offrwm addaf[9] a non[10]
er ordrio r sayson ir drws isaf
ag ymlid gofid a gaf, bob tayog
gwiw ddelwr wirgrog a addelaf
y ddelw fyw or wyddgrig a fu ddialwr
ag ynte i hunan a wnaeth gyfran gwr
a ffawb ar i ran oni las[11] kanwr
ar llaill n krio[12] dan wylo r dwr
a dwylo gwaedlyd yn ddialwr llon
gw[a]yw ffon draig einion ywn droganwr."[13]

Tudur Penllyn, c. 1460.

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[1] His chief (Reinallt) was evidently predestined to this achievement. [2] A good part of the island. [3] Widespread renown.
[4] From myned; Reinallt will go from strength to strength.
[5] Cardiff MS. 11, Ph. 2161, f. 100. [6] September 9th.
[7] Cardiff Free Library, MS. 1609. [8] Cf. *draig einion* in the last line.
[9] v.l., addawaf. [10] Mother of St. David. [11] Were slain. [12] v.l., kilio.
[13] Cardiff Free Library, MS. 20, Ph. 15,696, f. 382, 16th cent., and Cwrtmawr MS. 12, f. 33. Llanst., MS. 39, p. 136; 116, p. 327.

The Delw Fyw was accorded a share in the glory of this achievement.

Dafydd ap Gwilym swears by a Delw Fyw. The origin of the expression is somewhat uncertain. Although in some cases the reference may be to speaking likeness or life-like representation, it rather points to the miraculous powers connected with such images in the Middle Ages; for some, it was alleged, had been heard to speak, had been seen to move, or to make a sign, or had bowed the head to the suppliant, or had bent the eyes upon assembled crowds.[1] Such was in all probability, the origin of the famous living image of Mold, to which the church was formerly dedicated. The Delw Fyw of Rhiw in Lleyn likewise enjoyed a wide reputation.

Monmouthshire was rich in shrines and ecclesiastical establishments:—

THE HOLY TRINITY OF LLANTARNAM.[2]

"mor gwbwl maer achosion
Cymrwn Rybydd ganto ymrhyd[3]
Cyn delor trymryd[4] arnom
a Down at y drindod fwyn
y ben y Twyn[5] an Cwynon[6]
lantarn[7] lamp eglwysi Cread
ay nef agored Cysson
att y drindod pab y ddaw[8]
yr Twyn ywch law Caerllion
pob dyn dall a byddar myd
a ddoto y fryd yn ffyddlon
ar y drindod yn y lys
Iach fydd ar frys diglwyfon
yn yr eglwys eglyr syth
lle pery fyth obrwyon
hardd pradwysaidd fel yr hayl syw
Tyr drindod yw ay engylion
Nag yn agos nag ymhell
Ni welir well Blwyfogion
a fflwyr[9] drindod yn ddi sen
Dan wybyr[10] len gwmpasgron
Gwyr a gwragedd merched syw
Cedwyd duw yn ddiglwyfon
ameibon plwy y drindod

---

[1] Gerald, viii, 184, tells of a Crucifix which spoke.
[2] A fragment.
[3] Mewn pryd. [4] Pensiveness, depression, sorrow.
[5] In Llantarnam parish. [6] Cwynion.
[7] A play on the name Llantarnam. [8] Pawb a ddaw.
[9] plwyf, parish. [10] Beneath the sky.

ar mawl ar Clod nhwy aython[1]
Gradde bonedd disyrhad
arhial[2] waed yr haelion
plwyf y drindod sydd ay playd
anghyes[3] Cryplayd gweynion
Rhad y drindod fo yn y chmysg
ay ddawn ay ddysg pereyddlon
may neisifiad Trafoi byw[4]
ar vn mab duw hael dirion.
Chwe mil wyth Cant oed y byd
o addaf hyd y deython
blwyddyn a Chwarter dymar dydd
y Drindod sydd yn dystion.[5]

Soon after his entering this region, the pilgrim was in the neighbourhood of the shrine of St. Margaret at Caerwent. A cywydd was composed to her by Thomas Derllysg (1460-1490) :—

"Son am aurgrair sain Margred
ywch kaer went i jachav kred[6]
vn verch wenn o vorach[7] oedd
i dewdus[8] a da ydoedd
llyma verch lle mae i vedd
llann Vaches llaian vuchedd.

* * * * *

"kytuno rhag krino kred[9]
i maer[10] wirgrog a Margred
sant Margred bwred ny byrth
i golaini oi glanwyrth
Margred sydd yn arwydd nef[11]
am yddi yma ddioddef
mae nef yn gartref i gyd
yw phlwywogion oi phlegyd."[12]

A little further on, Tintern presents itself to his astonished gaze, sublime at once in the beauty of its surroundings, the symmetry of its structure, its reputation for learning, and its ~~importance in~~ influence on the history of Wales. The position that it occupied in this part of Welsh territory resembled that of Strata Florida in Ceredigion.[13]

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[1] Lit., carried away the praise. [2] Brave, noble.

[3] Perhaps anghynnes. [4] As long as I live.

[5] Llanover MS. 17th century.

[6] The account of her martyrdom is related by the poet in detail in the lines omitted here. Cf. *Buchedd Sain Margred*, in Rees's *Welsh Saints*.

[7] Joy. [8] Theodosius.

[9] Krino kred, to become irreligious. Cf. Mynn vo na bo krino kred. Tho. Llew. Dio Powell, in *Cywydd ym y gwestwr yr hwn yw henant*.

[10] Y mae'r. [11] v.l., ar wydd nef.

[12] Llanstephan MS. 47, f. 225.

[13] Indulgences were granted by Pope Innocent VII to persons visiting the chapel of Saint Tiriotus, near Chepstow, in the diocese

Brynbuga (or Caerwysg) could boast of several religious foundations, the Church and Priory of St. Mary, a priory of Benedictine nuns, and a hospice for pilgrims. The importance of the town as a centre in the ecclesiastical world was largely due to the famous image of St. Mary Magdalene, the subject of the following awdl:—

"Saint Mary Magdalen of Usk.

"Mair fadlen mawr yw dwrthie
Moes dy gyngor i mine
beth a na[1] tylawd am yscidie
ag am ddillad ai kuddie[2]
Y kreiriwr mae vt gydnabod[3]
drvd yleni bwyd a diod
ag agodd[4] kael y geiniog
maen dda kyfarch ir drindod

"Mair fadlen priod ifan
myddynes duw i hvnan
ti a wddost fymddiddan
oes dim kyngor am arian
Y kreiriwr barabl digri
a wnel drwn ar hoed[5] oi gosbi
o bydd kyfion dy weddi
nid tylodach duw er rroddi

"Mair fadlen drigarog
mae arna ofn fym hechod
ti omddiddenaist[6] ar drindod
beth yw rrinwedd y gerdod
Y kreiriwr taer ymddiddan
oes vt gyngor onti dy hvnan
pen ddel y ddevdroed ir vn hosan[7]
gwell ywr gerdod ner arian.

"Mair fadlen deg i ffen
ti a gerddaist dy bresen
ag a wddost beth iay lusen

---

of Hereford; "to which, situate on the river Severn, between England and Wales, resorts a multitude both of English and Welsh".

The like for the chapel of Saint Radegund, virgin, in the Benedictine nunnery, in the town or borough of Usk, diocese of Llandaff, in which only girls of noble birth are received as nuns. The chapel is resorted to by a copious multitude of people. *Papal Registers and Letters,* Rolls Series, Descriptive Calendar 1405.

Indulgences granted by Pope John XXIII to persons visiting the chapel without the west door of Tintern Abbey Church; in which chapel an image of Saint Mary the Virgin has been fairly and devoutly placed, and (although the attempt has more than once been made) has been unable to be placed elsewhere; on account of which miracle, and because Mass is said daily by the monks at the altar of the said chapel, a very great multitude resorts to the chapel. *Papal Registers and Letters,* Descriptive Calendar 1414.

[1] Wna. [2] Cuddiai. [3] Thou must know.
[4] Probably anodd. [5] Arhoed (aros).
[6] Ymddiddenaist, "communed," "conversed with" the Trinity; she must therefore know all. [7] A proverbial expression.

onta[1] keiniog y fferen[2]
Y kreiriwr taer i eirie
dvw a gei dy weddie
oni bai gerdod ag yfferene[3]
nid aer enaid byth o boene[4]

"Mair fadlen or betni
wy ith wsaneth yleni
dowaid vm para weddi
sy dda marfer ohoni
Y kreiriwr da yw darfer
dowaid bevnvdd xv pader[5]
yn ynwedig ar dduw gwener
or pvm harcholl[6] ar pvm prvdder[7]
"Mair fadlen o fryn bvga[8]
iti ferch i kyfarcha
duw ath garodd din fwy[9]
oes dim dialedd am draha
Y kreiriwr na fydd grevlon
gwyn i fud a fo gwiriou
ni char duw ddim or dynion
afo turhavs[10] ag anghyfion.

"Mair fadlen da yw dyffydd
duw ath gar di yn dragowydd
beth a dderfydd ir kybydd
ni roes gerdod ag nis rrydd
Y kreiriwr kowod dyneb
gwyn fyd y gore i weithred
a fo hael a diniwed
y nef a gaiff yny gored.

"Mair fadlen forwyn dirion
gwae ni nel[11] dy orchmynion
gweddi pawb yni galon
beth a dderfydd ir swyddogion[12]
Y kreiriwr gat tymofyn
mawr fydd trach chwant af rad[13] ddyn
gwae ni ochela i dri gelyn[14]
ni ffery swydd ond blwyddyn."[15]

---

[1] Ai elusen ynte ceiniog. [2] Masspenny. [3] Masses. [4] Purgatory.
[5] The fifteen decades of the rosary.
[6] The five wounds of the Saviour. See p. 307, n. 2.
[7] The five sorrows of the Virgin Mother.
[8] Usk. [9] Di yn fwy. [10] Trahaus.
[11] Ni wnel. [12] Public officials. [13] Trachwant afrad.
[14] The world, the flesh, and the devil.

[15] Cardiff Free Library MS. 6, *circa* 1550. The above is a dialogue, in the ancient Welsh form, between the pilgrim and Saint Mary Magdalen at her shrine in Usk church. The first half of each stanza presents the pilgrim's enquiry on some spiritual subject, and the second, the saint's supposed reply. As the remedy against poverty, spiritual and temporal, she recommends, in the fourth stanza, to those who possess this world's goods, masses and almsgiving The "mass penny" is referred to, and, in the next verse, the fifteen decades of the rosary, to be recited in honour of the five wounds of Our Lord (cf. p. 307, n. 2), and of the five sorrows of the Virgin Mother, especially on Fridays. This was known to the old Welsh as "Paderav Mair Madlen". The Magdalen's shrine, altar, and image in the Priory Church of the Benedictine noble ladies at Usk, are often mentioned in the records. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* values at 1*s.* 3*d.* "the offrings in Marye Magdalen is Chappell". Cf. p. 317, n. 13.

There were a group of shrines of enthralling interest in the neighbourhood of the Menai Straits, which no orthodox visitor could pass without offering his prayers or oblations. One was the Rood at Llanbeblig :—

* * * *

"Duw fab duw ysbryd pob pwyll
I lan beblig y leni
Uno ith royd[1] yn un a Thri
Yn drindawd undawd iownder
Yochel[2] i swydd ywch law r ser
Yn dad yn fab yn aberth
Yn ysbryd kedernid kerth
Peblig ddiddig dy addas
Pardwn ar bob grwn a gras."

Iolo Goch.

* * * *

St. Peter of Rhosyr has been celebrated by Lewis Daron :—

"Am yr unsant mawr yw'n son
A mwg aur[3] am ei goron ;
A ganwyf fi o[4] gwna fawl,
Hyn a i Bedr hen wybodawl
Pab[5] a edwyn pawb ydwyd,
Parth ar Nef porthor[6] i'n wyd
Gorau un gair oi eni,
Gwr o stad dan Grist wyt ti ;
Y rhod wyr oedd y rhai drwg[7]
Son[8] yn dal Jesu'n dolwg :[9]
Cyfa lan yn cyflawni
Ewyllys Duw ellaist di ;
Er gwadu 'r Jesu rasol,
Mynd a wnaid myn Duw yn ol ;
Ofnad[10] at fwriad a fu,[11]
I'th hoedl a wnaeth ei wadu ;[12]
I garchar difar[13] y doeth,
Iradur[14] hen yr aid trannoeth ;
Pedwar i garchar[15] a gaid[16]
Yn dy wely'n dy wyliaid ;[17]
Er cau drysau'r di-raswyr,
Ni bu ry gall neb o'r gwyr
Duw a yrrodd am dorri,[18]
galon y twr glyn[19] yt ti

---

[1] Yno yth roed. [2] Uchel.

[3] Aureole, halo. [4] Os.

[5] St. Peter having been the first Pope—Pab, Lat., papa, father. In the Greek Church pope is the usual name for priest.

[6] The Apostle's special rôle in mediæval art and story.

[7] v.l., y rrodwyr draw ar rrai drwg.

[8] The MS. gives I son, but the I has been struck out. v.l., isso yn dal.

[9] The arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane.

[10] Ofnhad, fright. [11] v.l., yt fu. [12] *St. Matt.*, xxvi, 75.

[13] Without wrath, gently.

[14] The MS. is very indistinct here. Perhaps Traddu'r. v.l., Herottyr hen i rawt tranoeth.

[15] I for yn, as often. [16] v.l., Pedwar oi gyngor a gaid.

[17] *Acts*, xii, 4. Keeping guard. [18] v.l., i dorri.

[19] v.l., glan.

Ith gyrchu da fu dyfod
Y doi angel Duw yngod
O bur eglur beryglau,
Aeth arwydd hwn ith ryddhau;
E fu 'r Jesu farw isod
Codai i fyw gwedi 'i fod;
A rhoi n ol ei farwolaeth,
Drws nef yn dy ras a wnaeth;
Ag i'r un man gwr an medd,
Troi agoriad trugaredd;[1]
pennaeth a[2] llywodraeth llu,
porthor trysor trwy Jesu;
A geisio[3] pob neges pur,
Aed ar frys i dref Rosur;
Mewn dy gor myn dy gweiriaw,
Sy Rufain dros sir Fon draw;
pob iach yn pawb a chenai,
pob afiach yn iach a wnai;
Dyn gwyl[4] a fydd dan glefyd,
Fai'n y boen fwya 'n y byd;
Gwr iach fydd gyrrwch foddion,
gweryd fry aur gar dy fron;
O doe i'th gor dylwyth gwan
Maend well-well yn mynd allan;
pab a rydd pawb ar weddi
paradwys yw d' eglwys di,
A'th gor ag aur ath gwyr[5] gwych,
A'th coreglau[6] ath croyw-glych;
pob enaid y pab union,
Ir tu de' erot ti don:[7]
gwr mwya nerth grymion wych
Or deuddeg er Duw oeddych,
Grasol oedd y gwir Jesu,
Gwarant[8] dy feddiant di fu:
porthor im Ior yma wyd
pab a thad pob iaith ydwyd;
Ffynnaist estynnaist ystad,
Ffyniant ir tenant tanad;
Tref Rosur tyrfa wresawg,
Teiroes Duw rhoed trosti rhawg
Ni chait wr na Chaterwen,[9]
Na bai'r iach hwnt Newbwrch-
wen;
Lle caid Bwrdeisiaid[10] dwy-sir,[11]
Llyna waed da'n llenwi tir;
Morynion gwychion a gwyr,
Mawredd, gwragedd goreugwyr;
pennaethiad adeiliaid[12] oedd,
Pedr yn eu helpu ydoedd;
Agoriadau a gredwn,
Moes ein Tad am unsant hwn,
Dyro i'r lle dor ar lled
I Nef wen ini fyned."[13]

---

[1] The Power of the Keys. Cf. *St. Matt.*, xvi, 19; see also 1, 6.

[2] v.l., yn. [3] He who petitions in singleness of heart.

[4] Modest, humble. v.l., ufudd dan glefyd.

[5] Wax. [6] Chalice. See p. 303, n. 1.

[7] Dônt. [8] See 1, 32.

[9] Caterwen (1) a strong oak; (2) a man possessing the sturdiness of an oak.

[10] The ancient name Rhosyr was exchanged for Newborough when the parish was constituted a free borough by Edward I. But, as the seat of the princes of North Wales, it was already a place of great importance in Welsh annals.

[11] Presumably Anglesey and Carnarvonshire.

[12] A deiliaid. For this encomium Cf. Kornel ddiddos yw Rhosyr Koytgay i waray i wyr. Dafydd ap Gwilym.

[13] Cardiff MS. 7, p. 760, *Book of Vicar of Woking*, Ph., 23453.

At the entrance to the Menai Straits, on a low headland of Anglesey which juts into the Atlantic, once stood a sanctuary which enjoyed more than local reputation. This was the church of Llanddwyn or Llanddwynwen. Dwynwen was the daughter of Brychan the Irish King of Brycheiniog, and the Welsh St. Valentine. Her votaries erected a church in her honour. A pretty legend attaches to this Venus of Wales. Maelor Davodril and Dwynwen became enamoured of each other, but when he sought her hand she flouted him in a fit of caprice or levity. The lover withdrew in high dudgeon, and held aloof from her. Unsatisfied with exacting this penalty, he circulated attacks on her fair fame. Reduced to an extremity of misery, no less from the love that she bore him, than because of these unmerited calumnies she pined away in silence. Unable to endure the mental torture she prayed to be relieved of her passion; whereupon an angel appeared and administered a philtre. The effect was immediate. The kindly intervention of the unearthly visitant did not terminate there. He gave a similar potion to the offending lover, and he forthwith froze into ice. Heaven promised Dwynwen to fulfil three wishes, and the forgiving damsel entreated that Maelor might be thawed; next, that all lovers who called upon her might either obtain their heart's desires or become indifferent; thirdly, that she herself might never wish for the married estate. Her shrine was much frequented, and Llanddwyn gained a pre-eminence and wealth which it doubtless owed to the contributions of pilgrims who came to kiss the shrine and to pour money into the coffers.[1]

[1] Dean Kyffin, one of the chief of Richmond's party, was incumbent there. The number of poems addressed to him by various bards reveal him in the character of a mediæval Maecenas dispensing hospitality with an open house and lavish hand to all members of the tuneful tribe.

Dafydd ap Gwilym refers more than once to Llanddwyn and its pilgrimage. He swears by her tomb :—

"Dwynwen deigr danian degwch,
Da gwŷr, o gôr fflamgwyr fflwch
Dy ddelw aur diddoluriaw
Digion druein ddynion draw!
dyn a wylio, gloywdro glan,
Yn dy gôr, un deg eirian!
Nid oes glefyd, na bryd brwyn
A el ynddo o Landdwyn."

Again,

"Addaw myned, ged gydfach,
I Landdwyn, er 'nwyn yn iach."

Syr Davydd Trefor swelled the chorus of praise :—

"Y Ferch wen o frecheiniog
ar chwarel aur ar i chlog
Awn atti ar yn glinief
Awn dan nawdd dwynwen i nef."

Impressed by the potentialities of the shrine, a band of Benedictine monks erected a house there. Their prescience was justified ; it proved a Golconda. In the reign of Henry IV the income exceeded that of any other monastery in North Wales, and in the time of Henry VIII it was the wealthiest house in the Principality. The voice of the priest and chanter is hushed in the hallowed precincts; solemn chant and soothing dirge and passing bell are no more to be heard on this lonely headland ; but for many a year tradition hung about the ruins.

To turn to another part of North Wales, at Llandderfel, near Bala, stood a huge wooden image of the patron saint, Derfel Gadarn, son of Howel Ab Emyr of Llydaw. This image was credited with the power of bringing souls out of purgatory ; and the inhabitants of the district thronged to pay prospective ransom in the form of cows, horses and money. Dr. Ellis Price, one of the looting agents sent in 1538 by Commissary Cromwell to remove the image, states

that on the very day that he visited the parish, five or six hundred pilgrims had already been there. On Church Festivals, votaries from far and near used to congregate to the Church, to ride on Ceffyl Derfel, the rudely carved wooden horse or stag attached to the image. It was fixed to a pole in a horizontal position and attached to a perpendicular pivot. The rider seized the ffon or wooden crozier which was fastened to the animal and was wheeled round and round.[1] The Commissioner was ordered to send the image to London. This he did in spite of the entreaties of the whole country-side who resented the profanation. The inhabitants offered £40 to redeem Derfel from destruction,[2] but they implored in vain and the image was transported to the Metropolis. Derfel's career came to a tragic end. Forest, the Franciscan friar, and formerly Chaplain to Katherine of Aragon, was lying in prison at the time of Derfel's transportation. The unhappy man had declared that he "owed a double obedience, first to the King by the law of God, and secondly to the Bishop of Rome by his rule and profession". The avowal sealed his doom; he paid the penalty of his candour by being burnt at the stake at Smithfield in 1538. With a grim stroke of irony Derfel Gadarn was flung into the bonfire kindled for the execution.[3]

The fate of this famous image aroused attention because of its association with the martyrdom of an ecclesiastic and the discreditable rôle sustained by a Bishop, but scores of such Dagons of superstition were hurled headlong by the hand of violence from their stations. The Reformation, while it conferred many advantages, did not tend

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1861, p. 76. Fragments of Ceffyl Derfel and the Ffon still remain.

[2] *State Papers*, Henry VIII, 1538, vol. xiii, pt. 1, Nos. 649, 863-4.

[3] Latimer figured in an ignoble light on this occasion; he preached at the stake and pointed the moral.

to increase the poetry or enhance the picturesqueness of Welsh life. Whether for good or ill, the Church before the sixteenth century with its half-superstitious, half-imaginative customs, possessed a warmth of colour, not offered by the cultured calm of the Anglican ritual, and still less by the maimed rites of a cold Calvinism. Barren forms of worship superseded the richly varied ~~ritual~~ ceremonial; and mean buildings with bare walls supplanted the rich Gothic edifices of the past. The Reformers were not all of one mind, but, generally speaking, they rejected the use of images as an unscriptural novelty, irreconcilable both with the prohibition of the old Law and with that spirit and truth which was distinctive of the New Dispensation. Henry VIII.'s injunction of 1538 was the signal for the work of destruction to begin. It read: "Such feigned images as were known to be abused of pilgrimages, or offerings of any kind made thereunto, were, for the avoiding of idolatry, to be forthwith taken down without delay". Accordingly, many objects of devotional contemplation were destroyed and many sold. Church authorities at first offered opposition but in 1547 preaching was directed against the continuance of the use of images. The process of demolition was carried still further in the reign of Edward the Sixth, after a brief respite in the early part of that period, for reluctance had been shown in carrying the mandate in its entirety. Some images were buried in hopes of a resuscitation. The people looked on in sullen anger at the wholesale and sacrilegious suppression of chantries and chapels. Not even those spoilers of the Church's lands, and scoffers at Saints and Sacraments, the Saxons, had displayed more ruthless savagery. The spirit of Iconoclasm once aroused could not easily be exorcised, and stalked from desolation to desolation. By this time,

popular opinion in Wales also had wavered and was veering to the side of the Reformation. The crucifixes, statues, and quaint frescoes which had told the story of the Gospel to the eyes of generation after generation were voluntarily removed by the parishioners themselves. The Puritan position resolved itself into sheer antagonism to all external emblems of the Christian Faith; even the visible symbol of the Atonement did not escape proscription. The bitter controversy that was raised over the question was reflected in Welsh literature:—

"Englinnion yr Pvritans[1] am Dorri y Kroesse.

"Y puritan syfyrdan[2] i sen wag ateb yn ffwl
ag etto ffwl mursen
a doro vwch y daren[3]
groes, byth na bo gras iw ben.

"y groes gareg[4] deg gwaith digon diried[5]
a dorodd anghriston
o daw yr hwrt[6] i dori hon
gwan i goel gwaiw[7] yn i galon.

"delw Jessu in prins bur union benaeth
yw baner kristynogion
dvwiol sain da les yw hon
dilesiant medd diawl ai weision.

"y coegwas dyrras[8] am dorri y groes
gressynn am dy losgi
fo rydd farn a fu arni
fo rydd dal efrydd[9] i ti.

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[1] The Cromwellians. Cf. William Phillip's and Vaughan's Royalist Songs in which they tilt at the Roundheads. They say the birds are silent and scared out of Wales by them.

[2] Giddy, muddle-headed. Cf. pendroni. [3] v.l. daiaren.

[4] Stone cross.

[5] Wicked, wanton. Cf. diriaid nef, diriaid daear (wastrels).

[6] hurt, "stupid," "blockish". [7] v.l. gwain iw.

[8] Diras, a ffy o'r golwg.

[9] A maimed, feeble recompense. v.l., ryw dyd tal.

"yr annuwiol ffol a phy poen alaeth
er gweled llun Jessu
llunied os gwell hyny
lun diawl ym mhop lle yn ei dy[1].

"kredaf im duw ym hob lliw[2] fellin
ir drindod ar vnduw
duw nefol daw i ofyn
duw pob duw iw duw dyn.

"gwell mewn bedd yw gorwedd mewn gweryd garw
na gorffod dwyn adfyd
ag yn ol krelio[3] yr golyd
gwell oes fer na gwallus fyd.

"nid iawn fwyd hilwyd[4] i haelwas diried
dori i briodas
abel oedd heb i liwais[5]
i bawb i wraig o bai ras.

"y dwy vn goeka ond dihareb na gvn
os kanio kowirdeb
ai ddyn awyr dav wyneb
ai r dyn niwyr air da i neb.

"wrth edrich ynfynych ar fanav or gwir
a gwarant gwybodav
y wy yn gweled oran golav
mae yn goegion ddigon y ddav."

Moris ap Edward o dudlist ai Kant.

Bishop Owen in 1633, during the reign of Charles I, stated in his Return that he was much troubled in some parts of his diocese by the growth of superstition on the one hand, and on the other by the spread of that profane-

[1] From Llanstephan, MS. 167, 389. Cf. 146. B. Mus. Add. 31, 110, also gives these lines with many variations. v.l. lun diawl yn nhop.

[2] In fresco or figure. In the mediæval miracle-plays the actor representing God wore a white coat and used to have his face gilded, until the injurious effects of the process came to be realized.

[3] Run through.

[4] Cf. hulio bwrdd, Judith XII, i. Ar ddaear gwedi i hulio ag eira purwyn. Ellis Gruffydd.

[5] Probably heb i luddias. This would give both the rhyme and the cynghanedd.

ness and irreverence with which the more violent of the Puritans dealt with the Word of God, and caricatured religion in the language of their everyday life. Laud, Bishop of St. David's, attempted reform, but his innovations were given short shrift. An Order of Parliament in 1641 directed that all images, altars and tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments and relics of idolatry should be swept away. When the furies of sectarian malice were once let loose, the work went on merrily. The most sacred objects went the way of Derfel Gadarn; the altar of St. David's Cathedral was stripped to benefit the pocket of a renegade bishop. The Royal Arms stared above the empty socket of the Holy Rood. Empty niches, robbed of the figures of saints which the village peasants' eyes had regarded wonderingly, bore grim evidence of the fury of the assailants. In short, Sacrilege held high revel in the Holy Place.

The psychological aspect of iconoclastic movements suggests some reflections. Nations and races newly converted from idolatry, in the heat of their spirit and the virulence of the reaction, treat with contumely objects before which they formerly grovelled for the simple reason that they have not entirely emerged from the superstition which they now repudiate. They dread the power of idolatry because they still retain some belief in its existence. The deep darkness has as yet given place only to a dim shadowy dawn. No compromise therefore can be tolerated if the former votaries of idolatrous powers are to secure themselves against their malignity. Such probably was the attitude of the early Christian Church in Wales, Ireland and Scotland, as personified in a David, a Patrick, a Columba, towards the Druidism of the past. Such has been the case in many pagan countries on the adoption of Christianity. Such also was the case with Christians of

the Middle Ages who broke down images and persecuted idolaters, their own Christianity being still largely adulterated by heathen notions. It may be questioned whether the same spirit did not animate the mobs in the wild, pell-mell havoc of the sixteenth century, labouring under the impression that corruptions were inherent in the structures themselves that had ministered to superstition. It may be questioned whether they did not even fear the baleful effects of leaving those obnoxious objects standing. A like purpose unwittingly underlay the action of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland in ordering that the Crosses of Iona should be cast into the sea and in fulminating against the cultus of wells, trees and stones. After all, iconoclasm and fanaticism are not so far removed from the abominations which they denounce. Whatever the inspiring motive may have been which prompted the destructive agents in Britain, so rancorous was their antipathy, so drastic their measures, so thorough the extermination, that later a poet could say :—

"Yn Nyffryn Clwyd nid oes
Dim ond darn bach o'r groes
Oedd gynt yn golofn ar las fedd."

Avarice and Rapine had done their work. This was the first step towards the religious revolution which eventually made Wales as Puritanical as it had previously been Catholic.

CHAPTER XVI.

Domestic Pilgrimages.—Cult of The Blessed Virgin Mary and Other Saints.

The superlative honours paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary first arose in the East, where the exaltation of her was free and fearless. Probably the earliest known invocation of her occurs in a sermon of St. Gregory Nazienzen

in the fourth century. Her cultus received an impulse during the reign of Heraclius. In 637 the Avars were besieging Constantinople. The people assembled in the Blachernae Church of the Blessed Virgin, then all the people through the live long night sang the hymn to the "Mother of the Word". And because they sang standing throughout the night the fine eucharistic hymn which was composed, some say by Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, others (perhaps more correctly) say by George of Pisidia, Keeper of the Records of the Great Church, it was called the Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος.[1] It is still sung standing, on the fifth Saturday of the "Great Forty Days" (Lent), in thanksgiving for the deliverance of the city by the prayers of the παναγία Θεοτόκος. A Latin translation of a considerable part of it is attributed to St. Anselm of Canterbury. The refrain Χαῖρε, Νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε he renders "Ave, Sponsa insponsata". St. Anselm felt a deep devotion to the Blessed Virgin. There is good reason to consider him, if not the originator of the idea, at any rate the first important advocate of the doctrine, that the Virgin Mary was free from original sin from the moment of her conception. He certainly was largely instrumental in introducing the Feast of the Conception (8th December) though it was not till 750 years later that the Immaculate Conception was declared by Pius IX to be an article of faith. Her cult bore a prominent part in some of the crises and in the fierce style of polemics of the early Church. This was especially the case in the whirl of controversy and war of anathemas excited by the Nestorian heresy. It was the denial of the term Θεοτόκος and the substitution of Χριστοτόκος which kindled the conflict ; and the title "Mother of God" became the watchword in the protracted struggle. It is highly probable that Egypt and

[1] From α, negative, κάθημαι, "be seated".

Syria largely influenced the rise of the cult. When the Theotokos controversy was at its height, the Church in Egypt espoused the anti-Nestorian side with much violence, so violently indeed that, in the Christological aspect, it fell into the opposite extreme of Monophysitism. So did the more western Syrians. The controversy, it is true, was more on the Natures and Person of Christ that on the question of the reverence due to the Virgin Mary, which no one, not even Nestorius and his followers, disputed. Whether the title of supreme honour, *παναγία Θεοτόκος*, should be yielded to her was only incidental in a controversy the object of which was to determine the right faith about her Son. The definition of the Council of Ephesus, in 431, probably acted still more upon the cultus of the Virgin, but that cultus was inevitable, especially after the spread of the story of her Assumption, which is traceable to the fifth century. The sequel of the conflict is well known. The obnoxious doctrine recoiled on Nestorius' own head. It was formally condemned and its champions deposed, imprisoned, and finally driven into exile. But it had done its work. The condemnation of Nestorianism was the signal for an outburst of popular rejoicing. The decree was read in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, and was greeted with cries from the multitude; "Nestorius has fallen; the Holy Council and she who is Mother of God according to the flesh has overthrown Nestorius! Mary, the Holy Virgin, has excommunicated Nestorius; she has rent Nestorius in pieces." The echoes of the controversy had sounded all over Christendom, and now Nestorius's discomfiture deepened the passion of devotion to the person of the Virgin Mary. "The Mother of God!" how august a title to the reverence of generations untold, of centuries beyond the range of prophecy!

The earliest document in which the story of the

Transitus Mariae is told is a late fifth century Syriac palimpsest in the Monastery of Mount Sinai.[1] The manuscript contains the *Protevangelium Jacobi* with the account of the conception, birth, childhood, dedication and betrothal of the Blessed Virgin, and of the birth of Christ, and the Transitus Mariae. Both contain the legends in their fullest form.[2] St. Augustine in one of his anti-Pelagian treatises speaks of the sinlessness of Mary alone. It would seem that the present August festival of the Assumption was a Byzantine importation into the West. But there is no means of knowing how old the story of the event may be. It is not an article of faith, though it is commonly believed by all the unreformed Churches, Roman, Greek, Syrian (whether Monophysite or Nestorian), Coptic and Armenian. It is remarkable that there has never been put forward anywhere or in any age anything alleged to be a relic of the dead body of Mary.[3] Other theological movements communicated a stimulus to the rapturous adoration of the Virgin. One cause was, no doubt, a desire for some kindred and familiar object of devotion less remote than the incomprehensibility of the spiritual Godhead. Such reasons concurred to emphasize

[1] Discovered there by Mrs. A. S. Lewis, and published by her in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. XI, in 1902.

[2] The day of the *Transitus* is given in the MS. as the 6th of the second Kanun, *i.e.*, 6th Jan., which was then the Nativity of Our Lord. The Apostles, it says, ordered her feast to be kept two days later. That is evidently the present Nestorian Feast of Mary Mariam in January, and is fairly near the Gallican and Celtic day.

[3] There is an allusion to her freedom from original sin in that curiously confused account of her in the third chapter ("concerning the Family of Imram") of the Mohammedan Koran. Mohammed rather confuses her with Miriam, the sister of Moses (Imram—the "Amram" of *Exodus*, vi, 20). He had evidently forgotten a good deal of his Christianity before he wrote the Koran, but there is little doubt that he had once been some sort of Christian.

and, in the event, to swell the strain of homage paid to the "Queen of Heaven".

In Old Rome the cultus had steadily gained ground from the fourth century. The lateness of the Madonna's appearance in Christian art is noteworthy. But whatever uncertainty overhangs the earliest portrayals of the Virgin in the Latin Church, the cultus spread before the Middle Ages with great rapidity, and pilgrimages to the Thresholds of the Apostles contributed in no small measure to its development. The crowd of laymen, ecclesiastics drawn from the cloister or the world, bishops paying periodical visits to the capital of mediæval Christendom, and students in search of knowledge in this cosmopolitan university, brought back to the shores of Britain legends or relics of the Blessed Virgin with documents of attestation.

The cult gave an impulse to the improvement in the status of the female sex, which was a natural corollary of the Christian religion—a change chronicled on the first page of the first history of the Church.[1] Unlike the old Eastern Creeds of Asia, and the Hebraism from which it sprang, Christianity assigned to women an honourable place in the new economy. One of the earliest documents relating to the Nestorian heresy dwelt upon the honour conferred on the sex by the birth of Christ from Mary, and henceforth women's position was inseparably bound up with that of the Virgin Mother. To the influence of this revolution of thought must be added the power wielded by the Eudoxias and the Pulcherias of the Byzantine Empire. Fortified by such arguments, the devotion to the Virgin Mary steadily gathered impetus, and soon took place beside that of Christ.

That was not all. In process of time these tendencies

[1] *Acts of the Apostles*, i, 14.

were reinforced by other movements, notably by the rise of chivalry. The origin of this institution must be sought far back in the forests of Germany, and in the respectable rank assigned to women in the Gothic and German tribes. It was left for the institution of chivalry to blend with military valour the feelings of love and devotion, and these three elements assumed an extravagance which sometimes degenerated into superstition and license. The effect of this singular combination of tenets on the cultus of the Virgin was not slow in manifesting itself. The formula by which the youth was admitted to the dignity and office of knighthood included the name of the Virgin Mother. The very title by which she was addressed, Notre Dame, just as Notre Seigneur was the appellation of Christ, was redolent of feudal times and customs. The young novice, in virtue of his order, constituted himself the champion of womanhood; and who better presented to view the peerless ideal of woman than the "Mother of God"? Accustomed to place himself under the patronage of a mistress, it was a short step for the Knight to consecrate himself and couch his lance in the service of the Queen of Heaven. To her he vowed allegiance: under her banner he fought. He performed feats of arms in her honour. Nor did this satisfy his ardour; he even transferred to his Celestial Patroness the qualities which he admired in his terrestrial mistress and laid his prizes at her feet. He even solicited her aid in softer enterprises than those of battling against the invading infidel or of avenging oppression of the orphan or pilgrim.[1] Revoltingly profane as some of the addresses of knight-errantry sound to our ears, these sentiments were doubtless dictated by a genuine, if intemperate, zeal and

[1] Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux*, v, 27, and *Hist. Littér. de la France*, xix, p. 843; Barbazan, *Fabliaux*, iii, 345, 420 (ed. Méon, 1808).

sincere piety. Thus chivalry constituted itself the Church Militant of the Blessed Virgin.

The advent of the Normans lent a fresh impetus to devotional manifestations in her honour. It was a custom of the powerful and widespread Cistercian Order (who came in under the ægis of the Normans) to dedicate their great religious houses to St. Mary. Antecedently it might be conjectured that the cult would captivate the imagination of the Celtic races and appeal to their sensibility. This proves also to have been the case. Welsh writers from an early period show that they had fallen under the spell, and the Reformation, in spite of all its prescription of Mariolatry, its endeavours to instil a more spiritual Protestantism, and to substitute an inward religion for the material emblem, has not to this day succeeded in obliterating the traces of the cult. The poets, uniting in their persons the genealogist and the bard, delighted in weaving around the Virgin's name a tissue of legends and a wealth of imagery, which in many cases reached a devotional strain of thought unsurpassed by German minnesinger or Provençal troubadour. The legendary gospels, such as the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium, and the Protevangelium Jacobi,[1] were laid under contribution, and some of the prettiest poetic fancies are traceable to these sources.

The manuscript collections contain several copies of these effusions. Anna herself participates in the honour. Her genealogy is dwelt on in minute detail. The "Transitus Mariae" was a favourite subject with Welsh theologians and poets:—

"Wedy vddynt y deuddeg
dy roi mewn twm[2] dremyn teg[3]

---

[1] St. James the Less.

[2] Tomb.

[3] A fair sight.

Angylion gwynion a gaid
yth ddwyn dy gorff ath enaid."

Risiart ap Rys (1480-1520).[1]

Among the attributes ascribed to her she is the protectress of sailors, Stella Maris[2] :—

"Koelvawr vyd kae lef ar vair
Morwyr pell a gymhellir
Mair au dwg or mor i dir.

"Lewis Morganwg."

Dio ap Ieuan Ddu (or De) (1460-1500) closes one of his cywyddau thus :—

"Ni a roem bennau yr wyth
ar wystyl Iôr Aberystwyth
Mair Arglwyddes y moroedd
tir dwf[w]r ir diofer oedd
aeth a hwn iw gyfoeth hi
y sulgwyn dros y weilgi
ar fyrr a phoed gwir a fo
am ei ddwyn ym oddiyno
mynych iawn y dymynir
Mair ai dŷg or môr i dir."

The ardent and often wild language of these encomiums lavished on the Virgin reveal an intensity of feeling, which often borders on amatory or romantic affection, and calls to mind the passionate adoration of her on the Continent. Nature is ransacked for poetic figures to express her honour; and page follows page of high panegyric and glowing simile. But in Welsh poetry a limit was observed. Unlike the troubadour or minnesinger, the Celtic bard seldom allowed his sentiments to run to excess, or permitted himself to be betrayed into the irreverence, that elsewhere characterises mediæval knight-errantry :—

[1] Prose accounts appear in several Welsh MSS.

[2] The hymn "Ave Maris Stella" is traceable to the eighth century. It must be early, because there is an elision in one line "Monstra te esse matrem", and the latter hymnographers had an objection to two vowels coming together as separate metrical syllables. The idea is probably a mistaken etymology, reading maor-yam, or Lumen Maris, for Miryam, the real meaning of which is still to seek.

"Kalennic[1] yw kael einioes
karu merch in kair im oes
Nid kariad anwastad wedd
ar ryw un or rhianedd
Ni charaf newidiaf nod
Ni soniais am fursenod[2]
ynghor duw mae nghariad i
mwya budd a mab iddi."[3]

Llawdden ai Kant (1440-1480).

"Our Lady of the Trwn" was an object of widespread veneration, and her statue was surrounded on church festivals by worshippers, lost in rapturous admiration.

Kywydd Mair or Trwn.

"Mae ny trwn ym enaid rhydd
mae nef wenn mewn yvionydd
llys dduw yn llawes y ddol
llys bradwys lle ysbrydol
doe ir lann duwiol ir wledd[4]
Mair o honn i mae rhinwedd
llan vaen wenn lliw nef waneg
ystyndwy[5] wych ystyn deg
morwynverch nid mawr anfad[6]
mamaeth yw i mam ai thad[7]
duw n vab[8] diogan a vu
dan vwgwyth duw ny vagu
daeoni merch duw naw mis
dwyn y grog dan i gwregis
dwyn ym wedy dim ydoedd
i baich a di bechod oedd
Gabriel wrth i phenelin[9]
ar avi[10] oedd ar i vin[11]
a duw gwynn diwg[12] annerch
adewis mewn dwyais merch
tramwy bv waith trwm heb wedd
troi ag airiol trigaredd
ar vn vair Irwenn vorwyn
a vynnodd ef yno yw ddwyn[13]

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[1] A new year's gift (Calan, the first day of the month). Cf. a line in an unsigned poem, A Rydeddwn (anrhydeddwn) vayr vorwyn am iddi ddwyn y glenig.

[2] Llanstephan MS., 124, and Brit. Mus., 31,090; the latter, however, gives *soniav.*

[3] Peniarth MS., 112, f. 676; Llanstephan, 124, f. 191; Brit. Mus., Add. 31,090; Cardiff MS., 20, Ph. 15,696, f. 81.

[4] v.l., down ir lann dirion ar wledd. [5] Llanystumdwy.

[6] v.l., morwynfwyn wyd mawr anfad.

[7] In being the mother of Our Lord. Cf. for a similar thought:—

"Mawl mawr vrainiawl Vorwyn
merch vron henferch vrenhinfab
merch honn yw merch i hun mab.
"Lewis Morganwg."

[8] *θεοτόκος.* Deipara; the Gottesgebärerin or Gottesmutter of German Catholics; the Bogoroditza or Boje Materi of the Russians.

[9] The Annunciation.

[10] The *Ave Maria,* Hail Mary, *St. Luke,* i, 28.

[11] Lip. [12] *Di, gwg,* kindly. [13] v.l., ym ddwyn.

pa son yn pwyso enaid[1]
ony chair honn yn ych rhaid[2]
pan weler i phaderav[3]
yn troi am hynn yn trymhav[4]
Hwpo[5] enaid heb poeni
i nef hwnn a vynno hi
Mair yddi mae arwyddion
maen jesu hael mynwes honn
aderyn aur[6] duw or nef
arweddodd[7] wr i oddef
mae hwnn ai vriw m henn[8] i vronn
er troelio tair o hoelion
a chaled vch[9] i olwg
yw r goron ddrain gerwin ddrwg
o Mair ailwaith mwy r wylwn
wrth yr holl verthyri hwnn
ag a wylawdd oi galyn[10]
dagrav gwaed er[11] y grog wynn
mawr yw henwi mrenhines
Mair oll o honn i maer lles."[12]

"Ny wnn y pwy ai kant."

The intensity of devotion breathed in some of these poems in honour of the Blessed Virgin is striking. "Our Lady of Penrhys" became the centre of a whole cycle.

Ir Wyry Vair o Ben Rhys.[13]

"Y verch wyry vair a choron
ymhenn Rys i mae'r wyry honn
* * * * *
llyma i ddelw[14] lle mae ddolef
llyna yn wir i[15] llun o nef[16]
ny wnae angel yn nengair[17]
oi[18] ddwylaw vyth y ddelw vair
anrydedd pan gad[19] meddynt

---

[1] At the Judgment. Cf. p. 338, n. 15, 16. [2] In your need.

[3] Beads, rosary, lit. prayers, *Pader*, *Paternoster*. Cf. *padreua* to tell beads, and "Anghynnifer baderau I'm a wnaeth ban oeddem iau". The history of the Rosary is obscure. Perhaps it began with the idea (analogous to the "Om mani padmi hom" of the Buddhists) that there was an accumulation of merit in the mere recitation of certain prayers. There seem to be indications that the present usage is not earlier than about 1400; but about the true inwardness of popular devotions little was ever written down.

[4] To sink his scale. [5] To push, send up.

[6] Prob. the Dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, *St. Luke*, i, 35.

[7] Cf. p. 341, n. 5 (fin.). [8] v.l., 'n henn. [9] To you.

[10] *Galyn* is used for (1) pillar, (2) for *canlyn*.

[11] v.l., ar. [12] Llanstephan MS. 124, f. 56.

[13] This poem may have been composed for the Eisteddfod at Penrhys. [14] v.l., yddelw. [15] The Blessed Virgin's.

[16] A legend that the image came down from heaven.

[17] Perhaps *dengair*, decalogue, in reference to the second commandment according to the Anglican and Greek reckoning, the first according to the Roman and Lutheran.

[18] v.l., ai. [19] When this honour was obtained.

i kad gwyrth yn y koed gynt
vry oi chyddygl[1] verch addwyn
o von dar[2] ny vynnai dwyn
amla mann[3] ymyl y mynydd
gwrthau vair vawr gwerthfawr[4] vydd
ewch i levain a chlaivon
i vwrw ych haint ar y verch honn
kawn vawr rodd gan vair heddyw
kair morwyn vair mairw n vyw
kawson ynfydion vedydd
koeled dall kae weled dydd
kryplaid don[5] ir kor plaid teg[6]
kaen i traed lle kaent redeg
klywant o byddant byddair
koelvawr vyd kae lef ar vair
morwyr pell â gymhellir[7]
Mair au dwg or mor i dir[8]
ymhob jng ymhob angau
Mair oedd au help ym ryddhau
af i airiol wyf arab[9]
vry a mawl i vair au mab
ym llaw iawn[10] kae mae llun kwyr[11]
ym llaw asav mae llaswyr[12]
ymhell[13] oedd am holl weddi
ymhell[14] i vair am llef i
ofn ni ddel wedi r elwyf
ofn dros venaid ir wyf
ofni gweled vyn gelyn
ymhenn tafl[15] am enaid dyn
ofni dybryd vyned obry
ofn y vrawd[16] gan vy nuw vry
mi archaf yw bum archoll[17]
Mair arched air airchiad oll
Mair am vnair[18] ym enaid
Mair wrthfawr air wrth vy raid."

Lewis Morganwg ai Kant.[19]

---

[1] Shrine. At Norwich there was a shrine to "Our Ladye atte Oke" or "of the Oak", and elsewhere "Our Lady that standeth in the Oak"; the image was placed in an oak tree. The custom is still common in Catholic countries. The miraculous figure is found in an oak and is always black, it is said. *E.g.*, Our Lady of Puy, in France, supposed to be the most ancient of these figures, and the Black Virgin of Marseilles.

[2] Same as *derwen.* [3] v.l., amla enw. [4] v.l., gwrthfawr.

[5] Let cripples come. [6] A goodly band.

[7] Forced, driven afar.

[8] The Virgin as *Stella maris.* Cf. p. 336, n. 2, and Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd's poem: Mair yw ein hyder rhag perigl.

[9] Joyful. [10] Right hand. v.l., ym llawn kae jawn.

[11] Taper. Cf. p. 295, n. 3, and 298, n. 1.

[12] Cf. p. 221, n. 10.

[13] v.l., ymhwyll oedd a'm. [14] From afar.

[15] Balance. Cf. p. 338, n. 4. [16] Judgment. [17] Cf. p. 307, n. 2.

[18] Oh for one word! v.l., mam.

[19] Merthyr, MS., f. 37; Llanover, MS. B. 1; Llanstephan, 47, f. 106; Brit. Mus. Add. 31,090.

[1]"Parlwr gan vwr niferoedd[2]
i vels draw val osdri[3] oedd
pen' Rys oe llys ae llaswyr[4]
pwys deu gant mewn pysd o gwyr[5]

"diffrwyth oedd weled offrwm'
dieithr[6] i haur da a thrwm'
i mawr freint gyda mair vry
i mae heneid am hynny.[7]

Risiart ap Rys. Marwnad Mres Elspeth Mathau or Adur.

"mae llun ymhell a enwir[8]
ymhen Rys ir meinwr hir[9]

"Risiart ap Rys, I sant Cirig ag i saintau
eraill i ddaisyf iechyd i glaf."

"Af i Benn Rhys
Yn fy uncrys
Rhag ofn encryd.

"Ar fy nglin
Oed pererin
Dapr[10] o wrhyd."

"There are nine heavens in one island", sang Lewis Morganwg; "there are men who are drawn over sea and land by thy miracle, oh Mary"—and the poets concur in exalting the glories of the Blessed Virgin of Penrhys. The popularity of the shrine may be due to several causes, national as well as sacred. Rhys ap Tewdwr had been taken prisoner at this secluded spot. A religious house is

[1] This extract is rather obscure. The poet is apparently enumerating her Christian virtues and graces.

[2] Her parlour was frequented by numbers of tottering invalids. *Parlour* from the Old French or Norman *parloir*.

[3] Hostelry (Italian *osteria*). Cf. Cadw ostri, "to keep open house".

[4] See p. 221, n. 10.

[5] Pillars (large tapers of) wax. See p. 298, n. 1.

[6] Strange, uncommon; perhaps the poet means that her gifts of gold were rare and heavy.

[7] As a reward her soul is with Mary in Heaven.

[8] Far-famed.

[9] *Meinwyr*, tall maiden; *meinir*, *meinwar*, are other forms of the same word.

[10] A candle a fathom long.

There are other fine poems addressed to the Virgin of Penrhys which are too long for insertion here, *e.g.*, a *Cywydd*, by Lewis Morganwg; "Mae nawnef mewn vn ynys"; and a fine *awdl* by Gwilym Tew; "Ynys yw Penn Rys yn nrwyn y phorest".

said to have been founded by Robert Consul between 1130-1132; the institution was completed in the reign of King Stephen, and friars were established there. Owain Glyndwr had presided over an Eisteddfod[1] there at which Gwilym Tew recited an ode embodying examples of the twenty-four alliterative measures of the laws of Dyfed[2] to "Y Wyryf Wenn o Benn Rhys".

To Our Lady of Penrhys.

"Morwyn wyryf mair winayrydd[3]	Mayr war mam y drigaredd
Mae mwyn Gyrw[4] mam y nowradd[5]	Mewn llaw fayr ymaen lleferydd
	lleferydd y llafyriaid

---

[1] Iolo Morganwg quotes an old MS. to this effect, *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, p. 113.

[2] It appears also in Sion Dafydd Rhys' *Grammar*.

[3] Of the auburn, ruddy, cheeks.

[4] The presence of the "G" in l 2 makes the cynghanedd faulty. v.l., mewn eirw; geirw, plural of garw, foam. Another v.l. is eurwy.

[5] See also the Cywydd to Teilo below. There is a good account of the Rabbinical idea of these Orders in Book III, c. i, of the Yad ha Chazakah of Maimonides He makes nine spheres which encompass the earth, those of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (this is their order of proximity to the earth; of course Uranus and Neptune were not discovered then). The eighth is the sphere of the fixed stars, and the ninth is that of the Zodiac, according to Maimonides (wherein he is not quite right, for the Zodiac is in the 8th), but it moves daily round the earth from East to West, and is evidently the *Primum Mobile* of the "Paradiso". Above and beyond the *Primum Mobile* is the Empyrean, the sphere of God Himself. According to the Cabala, each sphere is governed by an Intelligence (Heb., *Sekel*), and is assigned to one of the nine orders of Angels :—

(1) Moon, Gabriel. Angels (or *Cherubim*, according to some).
(2) Mercury, Michael. *Beni-Elohim* (Archangels).
(3) Venus, Haniel. *Elohim* (Principalities).
(4) Sol, Raphael. *Malachim* (Powers).
(5) Mars, Chamuel. *Gnag* (power), or some say *Seraphim* (Virtues).
(6) Jupiter, Zadkiel. *Hashmallim* (Dominions).

Ilu ymhen Rhus lle ymaen er
Ioed[1]
llun ywyry ay lliw'n eurayd[2]
lle may braich llaw mab aroed
Efo roed y fayr wyry wen[3]
wrth felys arayth foysen[4]
jesu yny bru ar brenn, an prynodd
brenin nef a phresen."[5]

Gwilym Tew.[6]

The house and shrine shared Glyndwr's downfall, being dissolved in 1415 by Henry V. for supporting the rebellion. A worse fate awaited the famous image. In common with others of note it was marked out for destruction by

(7) Saturn, Shebtaiel. *Erellim* (Thrones).
(8) Galgal Hammagiloth (fixed stars), Raziel. *Ophanim* (wheels= *Cherubim*).
(9) Primum Mobile, Metatron. *Haiioth Hakkodesh* (holy living creatures=*Seraphim*).

The *Ophanim* and *Haiioth Hakkodesh* evidently refer to the vision of Ezekiel.

Maimonides says that the spheres fit over each other like the skins of an onion. The chapter is rather a pleasingly fantastic one. In the "Paradiso" of Dante the whole book is arranged according to this epicycle system, which was the astronomy of the period.

Cf. "arweddodd wr i ddioddef
i roddi i ni nawradd nef."

Lewys Morganwg.

[1] *Erioed.* [2] *Euraid.*

[3] v.l., Ef a roed y Wyry Fair Wenn.

[4] v.l., wrth fessur. *Genesis*, iii, 15. He refers to the Oil of Mercy and Origin of the Wood of the Cross Legend. Seth goes to the gates of Eden, when his father is dying, to seek the Oil of Mercy. The Angel allows him to look in, and in the branches of the Tree of Life he sees a maiden with a child in her arms. He is then told of what is to happen, and is given three seeds from the fruit of the Tree, which he puts into his dead father's mouth. From these seeds grows the Wood of the Cross. Lewys Morganwg attributes a prophecy to Seth:—

"Seth a welas etholair
i gened mab o gnawd Mair
merch a ddyg y mraich ddigoll
Iesu ar lwyth yr jsrael oll."

[5] The present time. v.l., a Brenin nef Bresen.

[6] Llanstephan MS. 47, f. 21; 54, f. 150.

Cromwell and his associates. Bishop Latimer writes to him :—

> "I trust your Lordshype wyll bestow our grett sibyll to sum good purposse *ut periat memoria cum sonitu.* She hath byn the Devyll's instrument to brynge many (I feere) to eternal fyre; now she heresylff, with her old syster of Walsyngham, her younger syster of Ipswych, with ther other too systers of Dongcaster and Penryesse, wold make a jolly musture in Smythfield. They wold nott be all day in burnynge . . . . . 13 Junij (1538?). Att Hartlebury.[1] The images of our ladie of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London, with all the jewels that hung about them, and divers other images both in England and Wales, whereunto any common pilgrimage was used, for avoiding of Idolatrie; all which were brent at Chelsey by Thomas Cromwell, privie seale."[2]

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[1] Ellis's *Original Letters,* 3rd ser., vol. iii, p. 270.

[2] Stow's *Chronicle,* under year 1538, Howe's edition, 1615, p. 574. There is no doubt that many mediæval ideas (*e.g.*, many of the stories of miracles of the Blessed Virgin) would seem "revolting" to us now. Take for example the well-known story, which forms an episode in the Cornish miracle-play of St. Meriasek, of the woman, who, her son having been taken prisoner and condemned to death, goes to the church, takes away the child from an image of the Blessed Virgin, and declares that the Virgin shall not have her child back until her own son is delivered. Whereupon St. Mary actually does restore her son to the irreverent mother, who puts the image back again. Compare also the story which forms the basis of "The Miracle", which recently caused a rather violent controversy. Some considered it to be a very unedifying story, about which the less said the better. Others regarded it, perhaps, more sensibly, in the same way that Adelaide Proctor took it in her "Legend of Provence", as a parable of the eventual saving of a soul under exceptionally unfavourable circumstances, and a triumph of good (and mercy) against great odds. If either story were composed now, it would be regarded as profane. The only modern writer capable of writing either would be Anatole France, and he would certainly mean to be profane, and would succeed, as he succeeded in the early part of the "Ile des Pingouins", or in "Le Procurateur de Judée". But even he, as in "Le Jongleur de Notre Dame", which is a real mediæval story, would see the simplicity and pathos of it too. As regards the legends of the miracles of the Blessed Virgin current

The pages of Walter Scott abound in illustrations of the cult of the Virgin Mary, and here one instance from Scotland will suffice[1]. Musselburgh, near Edinburgh,[2] was the proud possessor of a popular image of Our Lady of Loretto, which was thronged by devotees. The year 1536 saw James V. of Scotland at the shrine in the guise of a pilgrim, praying for a propitious passage to France in search of a wife. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who paved the way for the Reformation in Scotland more effectually by his vivid pictures of contemporary manners, even than Knox by his exhortations, has described the flow of pilgrims to this resort :—

"I have sene pass one mervellous multytude
Yong men and wemen, flyngand[3] on thare feit,
Under the forme of feynit sanctytude,
For tyll adore one image in Loreit.
Mony came with thare marrowis[4] for to meit."[5]

Our poetical reformer returns to the attack in the *Monarchie* :—

"And speciallye that heremeit of Lawreit.
He pat the comoun peple in beleve
That blynd gat seyeht, and crukit gat thare feit,
The quhilk the palyard[6] no way can appreve."[7]

---

in the Middle Ages, in most cases they did not profess to be more than stories. The faithful were probably not expected to believe them more than an Evangelical of a by-gone generation was expected to believe in the literal truth of the edifying legend of the Dairyman's Daughter. The value in both cases lies in their evidence of what their writers and readers thought might have happened, for in fiction intended for adults there must always be a certain verisimilitude, even in its details of the marvellous.

[1] The tradition having been maintained in Ireland without interruption, it is unnecessary to furnish cases from that part of Celtic Britain.

[2] It was destroyed in 1543 by the Earl of Hertford. *Merlin's Life*, 1641, p. 313. [3] dancing [4] mates.

[5] *Ane Dialog Betuix Experience and ane courteour*, line 2661.

[6] rascal. [7] *Ibid.*, line 2689.

The popularity of the provincial pilgrimages is attested on all hands. Churches recounted and rejoiced in the line of glorified intercessors who were the respective objects of their grateful homage. Ireland, Scotland and Wales were as well provided in the Middle Ages as the Austrian Tyrol or Belgium in modern times. The connection of a sacred spot with the saint might be remote; the miracles attributed to the patron saint often did credit to the inventive faculty of the local promoters or proprietors, and ministered to the fond fancy of the enthusiastic votary. The Bollandist Fathers, on addressing themselves to the task of writing the history of the saints of the Christian Church, were amazed to find that Ireland and Wales claimed to possess as many saints as all the rest of Christendom put together. Of the Irish contingent these writers say: "They would not have been so liberal in canonising dead men whenever they seemed to be somewhat better than usual, if they had adhered to the custom of the Universal Church". Bishop Gerald of Mayo had 3,300 saints within the sphere of his jurisdiction. The total number of Welsh Saints who founded churches was about 500. The fact is, to the Celtic mind sainthood connoted something different from what it meant to the Latin Church, namely, one who had entered the ecclesiastical profession.[1] Piro of Caldey, for example, tumbled

[1] The meaning of the word "Saint" is certainly the way of accounting for the immense number of Celtic saints. Cf. the use of a ἅγιοι, *e.g.*, *Acts* ix, 32, 41; *Rom.* i, 7; xii, 13; xvi, 15; *I Cor.* vi, 1; xvi, 1, and many other passages in St. Paul. In the two passages in *Acts* ix, it seems to mean clergy. When St. Peter raises Tabitha to life and presents her to the ἅγιοι and χῆραι it certainly seems that the χῆραι, like those of *I Tim.*, v, 9, etc., were members of a rudimentary religious order, professional widows, so to speak, and, if so, the ἅγιοι might well be male "religious". The words of St. Paul about collecting for and and administering to the ἅγιοι seem to point to people set apart for religious purposes. The primary

into a well in a state of intoxication and was drowned, but was nevertheless included in the Calendar of Saints. In other words, many of them were saints by vocation, but not by character. To an inventive fancy the history of the myriad saints afforded a wide scope ; and the slightest incident sometimes set fire to a long train of imagination. The result was an upgrowth of legendary lore unsurpassed in its luxuriance. The Lives which were read for the benefit of the people gradually attained an authority second only to that of the Scriptures. They told of deliverance effected by the Saint's interposition ; of unhoped-for results obtained, tempests laid, pestilence put to flight, judgments inflicted, and presumptuous railers struck dumb. The church of the patron saint was regarded as a more sacred and more important edifice than the diocesan cathedral.

No better proof of the devotion of the Welsh to the cult of the departed is needed than the survivals still in existence to-day. Erasmus Saunders remarked of his own time : "as we are told by Eusebius and others that the first Christians were wont to meet at the grave of martyrs and others of their deceased friends, to say their prayers there, and to pay some respect and honour to their

meaning of qadosh, qaddish, in Hebrew (K'dash in Syriac) is to separate or set apart, and with ἅγιος and its Latin philological equivalent, *sacer*, there is always an idea of dedication to the gods. Many, however, hold that the N.T. ἅγιοι meant all who had definitely taken upon themselves the obligations of a Christian life, possibly all baptised Christians. *Sant* or *Naomh* in the early Celtic Church did not mean what we now mean by Saint. It only denoted what would now be called "a religious", (some sort of monk, friar or regular cleric) and as the term does not necessarily connote any more religion than pertains to a mere secular clergyman or even a devout layman, so the Celts, when they said Dewi Sant or Naomh Columchille, only meant that they were monks, not necessarily holier than others.

memory ; there is also something of the same kind here in Wales ; kneeling at graves especially on the feast of the nativity ; for they then come to church at cock-crowing and bring either candles or torches which they set to burn everyone, one or more, upon the grave and then sing Halsingod or Carolion . . . till prayer time".

Similarly, David Powel, writing in 1583, expresses the Protestant view :—" Loca quædam peregrinationibus assueta, in hac euangelii luce, vsque in hodiernum diem, ingenti peregrinantium multitudine singulis annis superstitiosè frequententur (sic) vt fons diuæ Venefredæ sacer : fons Dyfnoci in strata cluydensi : fanum Aenœ regis in aruonia : fanum Dauidis in Demetia."[1]

The story of Saint Melangell[2] is one of the prettiest of all ecclesiastical legends, tinctured, as it is, with the rose-pink of sentimental piety and enhanced by the romantic character of her life and the wildness of the spot where her shrine stood. The neighbourhood retains to this day not a few traces of her cult, and place-names linger to remind the present generation of the pilgrimage.

The following is a brief account of the story of the saint's life :—

> The daughter of an Irish King,[3] Monacella had taken a vow of celibacy. Unable to resist the importunities of her father who wished to bestow her hand on a nobleman of her own country, she fled to Wales, burying herself in one of the recesses of the Berwyn range, where she gave herself up to devout contemplation. She had escaped observation for fifteen years, when in 604 her solitude was invaded by a party of huntsmen. Brochwel Ysgythrog prince of Powys's hounds pursued a hare into a thicket. The prince coming

[1] Giraldus Camb., *Itiner.* ed. Powel, p. 85. The same practices at St. Beuno's Church are attested by a writer whose notes are printed in Leland, *Collect.*, ii, 648.

[2] Monacella ("little nun" ?).

[3] According to Rees she was a Welshwoman and her mother Irish.

upon the scene found it nestling in Monacella's dress. Plunged in reverie, the maiden was all unconscious of the fugitive's presence. Astounded at the discovery, the prince invited the devotee to quit those wilds, but in vain; whereupon he gave her lands on which to build a church.

Such incidents were calculated to arrest the popular fancy, and the cult sprang immediately into prominence. Monacella is said to have founded a religious house near the present church. Her remains were translated to the graveyard. Three centuries of Puritanism have not availed to obliterate reminiscences of the cult in popular parlance. For hundreds of years no parishioner would kill hares, which are still called Wyn Melangell.[1] and it is believed that if anyone shouts after a hunted hare "Duw a Melangell a 'th gatwo,"[2] it will certainly escape.[3]

It is also worthy of note that the neighbouring church of Llangynog was dedicated to Cynog, a saint of no small repute, who was said to have flourished in the fifth century and was afterwards canonized :—

KYWYDD Y NYCHDOD.

"Gorwaiddog[4] i gorweddai
gwae r vn korff gwirion ai kai
* * * *
ymhoen a ddyg ym henaint
addas ym weddio saint

i Gynog[5] mi a genais
gwanhae am hyn mae r gwaew
m hais[6]
kynfab[7] gorav mab i mi
nes[8] syl anfones eli

[1] "Monacella's lambs."

[2] "God and Monacella preserve thee!"

[3] The escape of the hunted hare is hagiological "common form". There are any number of stories of hunted deer being protected by a saint. Saints often seem to have been credited with taming powers over animals. Perhaps, as Coleridge says, "He prayeth best who loveth best all things both great and small", and animals know their real friends.

[4] v.l., gorweddiog, gorwyddiog; bedridden, prostrate.

[5] The Saint.

[6] Hence the pain is lessening.

[7] St. Cynfab.

[8] *nos Sul.*

kathen[1] a wnaeth ym enaint
mal saith jgainmil o saint
am i ddelw i meddyliaf
a weryd klefyd y klaf
mae mryd roi vy hyd i honn
o gwyr lliw[2] hyd gaer llionn[3]
mae tairoel gwedy taraw
ar y ddwy oel mae r ddwy law
ai draed ar yr hoel drydedd
mal i bu n ymyl y bedd[4]
* * * *
maen tad ar wlad yny law
engylion yn yng wiliaw[5]
mae bradwyr am i[6] bridwerth[7]
mair dy nawdd mawr yw dy nerth
dadlav dy drasav drosom
er hyd[8] yny byd i bom
kadw arnam yn kadernyd
y dydd i bo diwedd byd
yth vab na ad yn gado[9]
da vorwyn vair dy varn vo."

Huw davi o wynedd (1570-1600) ai kant,[10] neu Huw Llyn.

The shrines of female saints, though not so numerous as those of kings and prelates, were the most popular in Britain.

The ~~shrines~~ churches of St. Teilo and St. Dyfrig were frequented by tens of thousands. Buried at Bardsey Island Dyfrig's body was translated to Llandaff in 1120 by Bishop Urban in the presence of David, Bishop of Bangor, and Griffith, King of North Wales. Almost opposite to the tomb of St. Dyfrig, on the south side of the presbytery, stood the shrine of Saint Teilo who was no less famous for his virtue, his sanctity, and the potency of his relics. Ieuan Llwyd ap Gwilym expresses the feelings of his countrymen towards the saint in the following poem :—

[1] St. Cathen, son of Cawrdav ab Caradawg Vreichvras, a Saint who flourished towards the end of the sixth century, and founder of Llangathen in Carmarthenshire.

[2] Coloured wax.

[3] This probably means that he will present the taper at the Rood of Chester.

[4] See p. 298, n. 2.

[5] *Fy ngwiliaw.*

[6] v.l., dy.

[7] Ransom, blood-money.

[8] So long as.

[9] Leave, forsake, same as gadael.

[10] Llanstephan, 47, f. 168; 134, f. 45. Cf. a poem to this saint by Howell ap Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Rys, "Kadw yn tir kaidwad da".

"Radau dalm ro[1] duw Deilaw,
Ryeddog[2] loew aurog law,[3]
* * *
"Yn Llan Dav karav y kor
wr gwleddrym[4] o arglwyddryw,
Ev ath gonffermiwyd lwyd lyw,
Yn benrhaith drwy saith iaith
sant,
Morganwg mawr ogoniant
Val i mae gwarau gwiwras
O rym gwrthiau duw ai ras,
Dewi dy iawngar diwael,
Yn hir deheubarth wr[5] hael,
Wr kadr val i mae Padrig,
Vycheddawl o vreiniawl vrig
Yn ben o'r saint iawnvraint
Ion,
aur wiwddull ar[6] Iwerddon.
Megis Tomas[7] urddasawl,
Merthyr lle kyr bwyllyr mawl.
Arlwydd ar vonedd aur lyn,[8]
O Gantbri gwn honni hyn.
Velly sant trwy warantrwydd
Ir wyd rywiog broffwyd rwydd
yn saith gantrev nev niver
Morganwg vu niwg ner,[9]
Un or tri per[10] voli pur[11]

"Da ydwyd myn[12] duw awdwr
Oedd yn myned ged gywaeth[13]
Ti a[14] Ryvain deml gain gaeth,
Per voliant pan gant yn gain,
Glewach[15] ryvedd glych[16] Ruvain,
Yn wir praff i honnir hyn,
wych hirbarch[17] yn ych erbyn,
Yno n ffys union ffawd,
oth bregeth diveth davawd,
ti a gevaist teg avael
Tailaw yth ddeheulaw hael[18]
* * *
"da vy rhann gwyr morgannwg
duw ir rhai grasys ai dwg
kael yno nid koel anoeth[19]
y korff kysegredig koeth
ath drwsiad glanwedd heddiw
ath dlysau gwrthfawr gwawr gwiw
ath goron trwy ddaeoni
wasgad duw a wisgyd ti
ath gloch mi yw vn oth gler
ath grib[20] ath lyfr jaith groewber[21]
düw a wnaeth llawer erod
da wrthav glan diwarth glod
gwna dithav mygr[22] wrthav
mwyn.
Draw deilaw drwy adolwyn."

---

[1] v.l., boed i, and rhoed. [2] Rhyedd, mirth.

[3] St. Teilo was styled Llaweurog (the munificent), just as St. Dyfrig was Ben-eurog (the eloquent). [4] v.l., gloewddrem.

[5] v.l., jon. [6] o jwerddon. [7] Thomas à Becket.

[8] *Aur lyn* (*lin*). St. Teilo was son of Ensig ap Hychdwn ap Ceredig ap Cunedda Wledig by Tegfedd verch Tegid Foel of Penllyn.

[9] No lord frowns. [10] v.l., pert, par. [11] Dewi, Teilo, and Padarn.

[12] v.l., Mewn. [13] Rich gift.

[14] *Tua*; Teilo's supposed visit to Rome. [15] v.l., gloewach.

[16] Bells. The bells of Rome were said to have rung out of their own accord, when St. Teilo approached the city.

[17] v.l., Aurbarch. [18] Cf. n. 3. [19] Silly belief.

[20] The ritual comb used by the celebrant bishop at Mass, according to an ancient usage.

[21] All relics of St. Teilo. Llyfr, probably Llyfr Teilo.

[22] Fine, glorious.

The bard assumes the prophetic mantle and invokes the Saint's aid against the Saxons in revenge for a recent attack on his Church, when certain filibusterers from Bristol landed in Cardiff bay and attempted to pillage Llandaff Cathedral :—

"dewin wyf[1] o daw i nes
llongav gwyr lloegr ai llynges
lladd rhai ar drai o rhyw draill[2]
bydd ddewra sant bawdd eraill[3]
dial yn sorr am dorri
da glais[4] duw dy eglwys di
Teilo vab llewychfab llais
Ensig na ado unsais
gyrr hwynt oer vraw bwynt ar vrys
aurfawl enw ar[5] vel ynys
tailwng wynfyd pryd prydferth
tegan wr ti a gav nerth
or rai ysbrydawl ar hynt
atad dy genedl ytynt
gwynllaw praff gwynlliw[6] proffwyd
diwael yw a dewi lwyd
gwedy keffych koethwych kad
gwir ytiw y gwyr atad
na vydd war na thrigarawg
bydd groelawn rhadlawn yr hawg[7]
ynghilbant ny lvniant les
wrthynt lin alis arthes
tailwng[8] gwna ddinistr tylwyth
hen sais o lin Hainsies lwyth
aur oedd dy sens[9] vab Ensig
er duw au wrthav jor dig
hel[10] ar vnwaith hil Ronwen[11]
vryt jawn waith o vrytaen wenn."

Ieuan Llwyd ap Gwilym ai Kant (1420-1450).

---

[1] v.l., wyd.
[2] Cf. Gwr yw Ieuan Garw ei draill o girad ron. Owain Waed Da.
[3] *Boddi*, drown. [4] v.l., glos. [5] v.l., or.
[6] A saint of the fifth century.
[7] Be as cruel now as thou wert gentle.
[8] A play on the saint's name, Teilo.
[9] Incense. [10] Hunt, drive.
[11] For the exhortation, cf. an address to Owain Glyndwr: Na weinia gledd owain y glyn Par ym bax o dir maxen A chwnnkwest hors hainssiest hen. Ieuan ap Rydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd ("hors", Horsa). The poet alludes in this and the preceding lines to the Saxon Hengist and his daughter Alice Ronwen, "the unbaptized pagan", in whose favour Vortigern, in 452, divorced his wife. See Iolo MSS., p. 45. Her assassination of Vortigern and the part she played in Brad y cyllyll hirion (graphically described in *Drych y prif oesoedd*, part i, c. 4) earned her father's commendation: "Da merch i ! wele merch dy dad yn llwyr wyt ti ; mi a ddywedaf hyny am danat." Cf. *Meibion* or *Plant Alis* or *Plant Alis y biswail*, a term of opprobrium applied to

The history of the contest for Teilo's body and the ultimate victory of the Cathedral at Llandaff sheds light on ways of thought in the age of Faith. The saint's fame had excited a keen competition for his remains. Three churches stoutly maintained their right to them ; and hotly disputed the honour of safeguarding them. Penaly, near Llandilo Fawr, where he had lived as a solitary, was one, and Llandaff, the seat of his bishopric, another. Party spirit ran high, and the question seemed insoluble when a simple solution offered itself. After a night of fasting and prayer, the rival claimants beheld in the morning three bodies exactly alike.[1] The deadlock was thus terminated ; each rival appropriating one of the bodies and each one claiming to possess the real St. Teilo. That which fell to the lot of Llandaff was buried in the ancient monastery, but was afterwards translated to Urban's new cathedral and deposited on the south side of the presbytery. There it remained, the resort of generation after generation of pilgrims. Here the sick were brought ; and here solemn compacts were concluded or ratified as late as the 17th century.[2] An allusion to the

the English. A scurrilous lampoon in Llanstephan MS., 53, f. 506, contains the couplet : "drink all (perhaps the Saxon toast Trink heil) heb y mab alis Bradwr fo y bred ar fis." The poem in the text is from Llanstephan MS., 134, poem 36 ; 47, f. 284 ; Merthyr, f. 104.

[1] Cf. Clynnog and St. Beuno p. 34. For the relics in St. Teilo's shrine, see *Cardiff Records*, vol. i, pp. 376-9. It is an extraordinary fact that the legend of the tria corpora Sancti Teliavi is distinctly referred to in the Collect of the Proper Mass (Heref. Missal suppl.). It was doubtless based on an early partition of the saint's remains between the three churches. That the trunk lies at Llandaff has been ocularly verified ; the head has long been known to be elsewhere.

[2] The effigy is Early Decorated ; that of the arched recess and canopy is modern. The cathedral was known as Eglwys Teilo, the monastery as Bangor Deilo, the book of Llandaff as Llyfr Teilo. St. Teilo's day (in Wales not Brittany) is Feb. 9th. Until lately this was remembered by the annual horse fair at Canton, Cardiff.

practice of taking oaths at the shrine, noticed in the Book of Llandaff, recalls the fact that this was not the only relic of importance in the Cathedral. The record speaks of oaths sworn on the Sacrosanta Evangelia Ecclesiæ de Landav. These may have been the Book of Saint Chad, now preserved at Lichfield Cathedral, whither it found its way about 1020.[1]

CHAPTER XVII.

Domestic Pilgrimages.—Ynys Enlli. Mynyw. Ystrad Fflur.

The preceding chapter will have amply shown that the pilgrim spirit displayed itself at an early period in the history of the Church of Britain; further, it cannot be denied that the cult of relics existed before the influence of the Norman Church in these islands began, and that long journeys were undertaken with a view to their acquisition. It is proposed in this chapter to furnish two examples of

Within the apex of the canopy is a design representing the sun (Helios), as a rebus on the primitive form of the name of Teilo, *i.e.*, ty-Eliud. Devotion to St. Teilo was so great in South Wales and Brittany (there are distinct traces of it also in Somersetshire and Cornwall) that there was a name Gwasteilo, on the same principle as Gwasmihangel and the Gaelic Giolle-Phadraic, Giol-Chrisst, etc. The name Teilo has been given in baptism by (non-Catholic) natives as late as the close of the nineteenth century. Cf. J. Hobson Mathews, *The Life and Memorials of St. Teilo* (St. Teilo's Society, Cardiff), and T. Powel, *A Cywydd to St. Teilo* (Liverpool Coll. Welsh Soc. Transns.).

[1] Many shrines possessed a more local but no mean reputation. Of the history of Nantglyn, near Denbigh, little survives; Leland, however, mentions that "divers saints were of ancient times buried there". A monastery was situated at this place, and a bridge in the parish is still called Pontrhydsaint. The patron saint Mordeyrn is celebrated by the poets, *i.e.*, by Dafydd ap Llewelyn ap Madog: "Y sant nefol addolwn". Cawrdav, the patron saint of Abererch (Dec. 5th), is celebrated by Howel ap Reinallt: "Mab a Roed mwya' bradwr".

the continuity of the pilgrim movement from the Celtic into the Norman period, and a third exhibiting the culmination of the passion.

Ynys Enlli, now called Bardsey, was, from the days of the ancient British Church, visited by many bare-footed Christians as a spot trodden by "men of God":—

"Mae'n llawr hon mae'n allor ha',
Medrodau mel modrydaf."[1]

Its history ascends to the grey dawn of antiquity. Myrddin spoke of the Holy House in Ynys Enlli as Ty Gwydryn. It is said, but not on too good authority, to have been the joint work of a Welsh King, Einion, and a Breton Saint, Cadvan.[2]

A son of Eneas Lydewig,[3] Cadvan, was the patron saint of warriors, and was popularly believed to have become the first abbot of Bardsey. But other ornaments of the Celtic Calendar found their way thither. There were doubtless several reasons to account for this. One has been previously explained; namely, the article in the Celtic creed respecting the existence of a spirit-world, another Atlantis, beyond the setting sun, perhaps no other than the Classic Isles of the Blest. Bardsey's lone cliff looming over the horizon was a fit abode for the souls of the departed. A still more practical cause probably operated in the same direction; namely the disturbed condition of Britain in the centuries that succeeded the departure of the Roman Legions, owing to the menaces of marauding hordes, constantly hovering on the borders of

[1] The ground was as thick with graves as the cells in a honeycomb. But see p. 358b, l. 11.

[2] The former is celebrated in a cywydd beginning "Y crefydhwr cryf adhwyn," by Hywel Reinallt (1460-1490), Peniarth, MS. 225, f. 142; 197, f. 187; Llanstephan, MS. 47, f. 298; 133, section 1211; Cwrtmawr, 12, f. 504.

[3] Eneas of Brittany.

Photo by Griffith J. Williams.

To face p. 354.

Bardsey Island, from the Mainland.

Wales, and to the frequent internal dissensions between Welsh chieftains. A poem attributed to Cattwg was said to have been composed in reply to some persons who sought to learn from the saints whether they should seek refuge in Ynys Enlli, until the Saxon tyranny was overpast.[1] Silin, who came over from Brittany with Cadvan, spent some time at the college in the island. Cynon and Hywyn, who also accompanied Cadvan from Gaul, became respectively Chancellor and Confessor to the Brotherhood. Cybi's connection with the island is chronicled in the following poem, which is fancifully ascribed to Cattwg :—

YMDDIDDAN Y SAINT A CHYBI WRTH FYNED I YNYS ENLLI.

"Pan oedd sain[2] senedd Vrewi
ar ol gwiw bregeth Ddewi[3]
drwy arch y proffwydi
yn myned i ynys Enlli
i dywed a ssant[4] wrth Gybi
para fwyd[5] a gair ynyweilgi
Duw[6] a ro kyngor da i chwi
ar dir a mor a drysni[7]
mil kann haws gan Dduw roddi
na chan ddyn diddym erchi
Y mae medd y proffwydi
ddeuparth da r byd yn heli
gweddiwch Dduw yn ddifri
a goddefwch mawr galedi[8]
Yna i dyfod Eleri[9]
o chredir llyfr Genesi

---

[1] Nine hundred religious were said to have fled to Bardsey after the massacre of the monks of Bangor-is-y-coed, perpetrated by Ethelfrid. By others the poem was attributed to Aneurin Gwawdrydd.

[2] v.l., saint.

[3] The discourse said to have been delivered by St. David at a Synod of Brefi "against the Pelagians".

[4] Dywedasant. v.l., i gofynnent.

[5] What kind of food.

[6] Llanstephan MS., 133, poem 392, inserts here *Yno dywad Eleri, o chredir llyfr Genesi.*

[7] v.l., didri (perplexity, trouble), daeari, yleni.

[8] Several MSS. insert *Ni chair lles o ddiogi Trech llafur no direidi.*

[9] A saint in the fifth century, daughter of Brychan and mother of Samdde, David's father. But Llanstephan MS., 145, says Abad ymhenant, probably meaning the daughtor of Dingad ab Nudd Hael; she lived at Pennant, in the parish of Gwytherin. There are many variations of this poem in the MSS. For example, Llanstephan MS., 167, f. 388, reads on p. 19, Gweddiwch dduw yn ddifri A goddefwch

ni roes Duw ddyn yw eni
heb ryw lyniaeth yw borthi
Wellwell vydd Duw oi foli
waethwaeth fydd diawl oi berchi
dirwest a chred a gweddi
a orfydd pob klefyri[1]
Y mwya y glwyf ai dylodi
rhydda fydd y nydd[2] kyfri
Yr hackra[3] i verthyri
tekaf vydd ger bronn keli[4]
Nag ofnwch ormod lwystri[5]
mwy nar fwyalch ynghelli
nid ardd nid erddir iddi
nid llawenach neb no hi.[6]
Archwn i Dduw un a thri
arglwydd yr holl arglwyddi
Jessv ar i bum gweli[7]
yn dwyn o bob kyfelrhi."[8]

The following saints were traditionally reported to have been buried in the island :—Lleuddad (Laudatus) the first abbot ; Tefriog and Eleri : Durdan ; Cawrdaf ; Myrddin ap Morfryn (Merlinus Caledonius, or Sylvestris) ; Cadwallawn ap Owain Gwynedd ; Hywyn ap Gwynda Hen, an immigrant from Armorica, steward to Cadfan, and to the saints in Bardsey ; Beuno, to whom Clynnog Fawr is dedicated; Padarn of Llanbadarn Fawr, in Cardiganshire; Durdan, who lived, as is supposed, at Bodwrda ; Cadfan ; Gwytherin ; Derfel, the patron saint of Llandderfel ; Deiniol, first Bishop of Bangor; Thomas ap Gruffydd ap Nicholas, of Dinevor, in South Wales, who was killed in a duel at Pennal; Gruffydd ap Thomas, nephew of Gruffydd ap Nicholas. Huw ap Risiart ap Sion ap Madog, of Bodwrda, was buried there in the time of Elizabeth, as appears by the following englyn by William Lleyn :—

Hir yr wyd brophwyd a briant yn enlli,
Union-llwybr y cuvaint,[9]
Modd yw i gael maddeuant,
Mae'ch bedd lle on senedd saint.

---

galedi Ni chair lles o ddiogi Trech llafur na direidi. The same MS. gives "Aneyrin gwawdydd mychdeyrn Beirdd ai cant. Brawd oedd ef i Gildas Albanius, hwn a farw an. dom. 512".

[1] Diseases. [2] In the day of account.

[3] *hagr*, ugly. Llanstephan 167, f. 388, gives *ar llaw a gar ferthyri hagra fydd gar bron Celi.*

[4] A name for God. See p. 309, n. 2. [5] Rwystri. v.l., for heli.

[6] For the sentiment, cf. *St. Luke*, xii, 24.

[7] See p. 307, n. 2. [8] Affliction. v.l., klefyri. [9] The monastery.

Other names associated with the monastery are Llynab, Trinio, Maelerw, Arwystli Glof, son of Seithenyn, Meugan, the bard, and Llewelyn ap Bleiddyd. Such were some of the saints who lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and were gathered to their brethren under the shadow of the monastery on this lonely island. The twenty thousand saints said to have been buried at Bardsey are collectively commemorated in the following poems :—

KYWYDD IGAIN MIL SAINT.

Mi af i lunaw[1] vy medd
ir ynys oddiar Wynedd;
tir gwnaid[2] i gael enaid glân[3]
Troea megis tir Iauan,[4]
enlli dir yn lle i dad
Hoew wynn,[5] gwr hen i gariad
dav nyd aeth, koviaeth kovaint,[6]
i sel, ir[7] jgain mil saint;
aethon dros vawr dôn[8] vordwy,
hyn o saint yw[9] hynys hwy,
a gyrru hawl or gwyr hyn
gennad at lewdad lwydwyn;[10]
A phob vn o honyn hwy,
oedd vyd, ond y ddav vaudwy.
gweddiyson, y gwiw ddasaint,[11]
yw lles[12] oll y llv o saint,
i ordro[13] yr hain, wedy'r hawl,
bywch yddynt, wyr bycheddawl.
ywch benn y ffynnon honno
yn llaeth iraeth[14] ar i llo,[15]
bwyd y dda[u] vnwyd[16] o dda,
llawer, val Galelia[17]
baglav'r hain,[18] bv glaer hynny,
oedd ar vrynn y ddaear vry;
tyvysont val tw[19] voesen,
o anian pridd yn vn prenn;
pob vn yn llwyn yn dwyn dail,
a gywoeth o ryw gwiail;

---

[1] Llunio.

[2] v.l., gnaid and naid.

[3] Cf. l. 40 below, and p. 220, n. 5. [4] The Abbot.

[5] v.l., Hywyn, son of Gwyndav Hen of Brittany, a saint of the fifth century. He first joined the college of Illtud, but removed to Bardsey, where he was bishop, and founded the church at Aberdaron.

[6] v.l., nefiaeth nwfaint.

[7] v.l., or. [8] v.l., verwdon. [9] v.l., o'i.

[10] Lleuddad, Laudatus, son of Dingad ab Nudd Hael, and brother of Eleri. He migrated from the college of Cattwg to Bardsey, and founded several churches in South Wales. v.l., loewddyn.

[11] v.l., gweddyson y gwiw ddausaint; gweddiason, gwiw ddeusaint.

[12] v.l., llys. [13] v.l., i ado i'r rhain. [14] v.l., yr aeth.

[15] v.l., i ro. [16] v.l., a dhyfynwyd.

[17] In allusion to Our Lord's miracles wrought in Galilee.

[18] The transgressors' crutches.

[19] Twf, Moses' rod. Cf. *Legends of the Cross.* E.E. Text Soc.

a'wllys duw oedd velly
i roi yntwy nyr[1] vn ty,
gwedy yddynt gyd addaw,
gorffen i treth,[2] gyrff hynt draw;
gweniaith lydan gwnaeth lewdad
gweddio duw, gwiwdduw dad;[3]
a phawb a gavas i ffonn,
draw i Rwyvo drwy'r avon,
pabav a roes pawb ir vn,[4]
purdan nawdd pardwn yddvn'.
el i nef yn lan yfydd,
aent draw lle mae enaid rydd[5]
aed vn ir vedrod[6] yno
angof vydd i angav vo,
nyda r ail vrawd,[7] na diawl vrys,
ar enaid[8] korff yr ynys,
oes vnlle, ynys enlli,
oll yny hyd well na hi:
kyvailles yw, kavell[9] saint,
i ddaear nef maddaua[i]nt[10]
Rwymo ny ad, tra vad trwm,
brytaen erw brytaenwrwm:[11]
brynar[12] i beri rinion,[13]
brynarwyd a hewyd[14] honn,
ag esgyrn, ni a'i gwisgwn
saint a roed[15] sy ny tir hwn,
trwn delwav, tirion dalwrn,
talbwrdd[16] saint, talbyrddav swrn,
glan yw r ddol, glain ar ddolef,[17]
gardd a wnaeth y gwirdduw nef,
maen llawr hon main allor haf,
medrodav mel medrydaf,[18]
os gwelir, megis gwylain,[19]
esgyrn mewn ysgrinav main,
minnav af a cherdd davawd,
atyn vry yw ty yn vrawd;
At jevan abad dwyvol,
o ganon nef, gwnawn ny ol.[20]
mae brodorion ywch konwy,[21]
[o]jgain mil ag vn mwy.[22]
Brytwn yw brawd Dewi ner,[23]
brawd durdan[24] bwriad dewrder,
di anael chweg daniel chwyrn,

---

[1] v.l., wyr un ty. [2] Dues.
[3] v.l., duw r gwirdduw dad; gwiwdda dad.
[4] v.l., pawb ar un.
[5] Cf. p. 357, n. 3. v.l., caent enaid rhydd. [6] To be buried there.
[7] The Second Judgment. [8] v.l., na'r enaid.
[9] Capella, chancel. [10] v.l., ne i ddaear maddauaint.
[11] Britannorum, v.l., bryd tan airw brytaen wrwm.
[12] v.l., branar, braenar. [13] v.l., rhynion.
[14] v.l., braenarwyd a heuwyd kon.
[15] v.l., saint ai rad; saint erioed.
[16] Tawlbwrdd, a kind of chessboard. [17] v.l., jrddolef; aur ddolef.
[18] Modrydaf, the old beehive, from which the bees emerge in summer. [19] v.l., gwiwlain.
[20] After his example. v.l., o ganon o gwnawn yw ol.
[21] Perhaps the monks of Aberconwy.
[22] v.l., ag o un mwy. [23] Lord.
[24] This saint came to Britain with Cadvan, and ended his days at Bardsey.

y mrawd yw y mro deyrn
Baeno[1] mab da i benwn,[2]
Derfel[3] ap Howel yw[4] hwn,
gwyr vn waed gwirion ydynt,[5]
gwyr vn dad, gwerin duw ynt.

eithr od aeth, alaeth olwg,[6]
Ethrod draw mewn gwaithred drwg
paren[7] a daisyven saint,
ym ddiwedd a maddauaint.

Howel ap Davydd ap Jevan ap Rys ai kant.[8]

The reputation of such a cloud of saints could not fail to attract pilgrims from every quarter of Britain, and even from beyond seas, and generation after generation came to do homage. The centuries rolled by. The Benedictines assumed possession, but pilgrims still pressed towards Bardsey, still ventured to cross the dangerous sound[9] in the sure and certain hope that they would share the merits of the departed, pray at their tombs, feast their eyes on sacred objects and lay their bones in this veritable Golgotha.[10] The antiquity of the resort appears from the following legend to S. Annun or Anhun,[11] who was in the fifth century the handmaid of Madrun, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid. Accompanied by Annun, Madrun made a pilgrimage to Bardsey, and, on reaching a place now called Trawsfynydd, at dusk, rested for the night under the shelter of a thicket. In their sleep they both dreamed that they heard a voice calling to them, "Adeil-

[1] The founder of Clynnog. See p. 363.

[2] Banner (old English penon). Cf. Myn Beuno mae'n i benwn. Iolo Goch.

[3] See p. 324.

[4] v.l., hep, heb.

[5] v.l., gwerin ydynt.

[6] v.l., athrod draw am weithred drwg.

[7] v.l. Parent.

[8] Llanover MS., c. 1610. In the handwriting of Llewelyn Sion of Llangewydd. Cwrtmawr 12, f. 526; Llanstephan, 47, f. 286; 134, f. 87; Peniarth 225; f. 138; Brit. Mus. Add. 31,070, f. 28.

[9] *Arch. Camb.*, 1874. It would be interesting to learn more about the transference of the earlier Celtic foundations to the Benedictine Order. Little seems to be known; but the transition was probably gradual both in the British Isles and on the Continent.

[10] *Lib. Landavensis*, 282.

[11] Antonia.

adwch eglwys yma".[1] In the morning the one told the other, and great was their astonishment to find that they had both dreamed the same dream. In obedience to the supernatural command, they built the church, which was afterwards dedicated to their honour.[2]

The visits of these successive waves of pilgrims are unchronicled, and their names mostly unknown, save when they contain something of historical interest.

CYWYDD ARALL XX MIL O SAINT.

"Awn y Enlli rhif yr od,[3]
o nwyf bur[i]nef barod ;[4]
down yr Ardh, dyna r vrdhas,
ar draws goror glwysfor glas,[5]
yr ynys, bob rhyw vnawr,
ag wrthi mae gwrthiae mawr,
vgein mil a ganmolwn,
o saint draw sy yn y trwn :
yno rhof vy nigofaint,
er lliawshau yr llu o saint[6]
ar sieklau,[7] golau gwiwlan,
ar pum fenestr, gloewlesrt glan.
Ymhen bach am hwyneb i,
yn wr hen yn y rheini ;[8]
a'n gwyr oll yn y gaer wen,
an gwirdhuw yn y gardhen ;[9]
llei[10] trig esgyrn bendigaid ;
nodhfa ny phlyga moi phlaid,[11]
pedwar dialar dolef,

---

[1] Build a church here.

[2] *Enwogion Cymru*, p. 25, 1870. Brown Willis, however, assigns the dedication to Madrun alone.

[3] As numerous as snowflakes. A pretty simile, also employed by Morris Dwyfach in his elegant description of bees issuing from the hive in the summer's sunshine : "Parod fel yr od yr an Pawb oll oi pibau allan". But other MSS. give *is rod* and *rhy yn rhod*.

[4] Bardsey, a Paradise on earth. v.l , o nwyn bur i nenn barod.

[5] The Sound.

[6] v.l., ar llu saint ; or lliaws sydd ; or llu saint.

[7] v.l., sierclau. [8] yn yr haini.

[9] Perhaps a Calvary in a thicket or copse. It appears from this and other poems that a garden formed a prominent feature of the monastery at Bardsey. If we assume that the poet is studying pictures on the stained glass windows, perhaps he saw depicted there his favourite saints (see below) standing, *more antiquo*, inside Heaven, a walled city ; and in another panel, "Christ in Gethsemane". The usual expression would be "yn yr ardd", but *gardden*, a diminutive of *gardd*, is not uncommon.

[10] v.l., lle. [11] Unbending.

patron yw hep poetri nef.
Lleudhad[1] deunaw gwlad yn[2] oedh,
a phadarn, yn[3] hoph ydoedh ;
dewi ynill dewiniaeth ;
dirdan in rhan yn benr haith ;
ar grair hen, er gyrru cof,
a gaid vendigaid Jacof ;[4]
ar borth wen ar Aberthwyr,[5]
a bro saint, lle [i] brysiai wyr ;[6]
ar Abad val gleisiad glan,
aur[7] ei wenllaw or winllan ;
ar prior wrth y mor maith,
da i ladin dilediaith.
Dau olau nef dau lain nod,[8]
a dau angel du yngod.
Gwedhiais i, gwedhus oedh,
rhag marw yn rhwygo moroedh,[9]
howyn,[10] gwr breisgwyn,[11] gerbron,
in bwrw i ar dir [yn] Aber Daron.
Mudais o borth y meudwy[12]
y aber mawr, eb rai[13] mwy.
Ar don oer ei adenydh,[14]
ymwarchad ar bad y bydh ;
yr hwylwynt ar mor heli,
ar bob tyn,[15] in erbyn ni.
Och yr don eigion agwrdh,
ar mintai[16] deg, maint ei dwrdh.
Morgesig saesnig,[17] heb son,
mil o elltydh moel wylltion :
ag or wybr, yn gaer obru,[18]
gwal geu[19] o dhwr, gweilgi dhu.
Troes ynghefn,[20] trais anghyfnerth,

---

[1] v.l., llewdad daünaw gwlad jnn oedd.

[2] v.l., ymm, and in.

[3] v.l., gwr. St. Paternus, an eminent saint in the ecclesiastical annals of Wales, came from Brittany in the sixth century. He founded many churches, the best known of which is Llanbadarn Fawr.

[4] v.l., Iago. Possibly a relic of St. James, of which the monks were the proud possessors. v.l., graig.

[5] v.l., Borthwen.

[6] Visitors, pilgrims. v.l., lle brysia wyr.

[7] v.l. ar . . . . ir winllan.

[8] v.l., dav o lin nef dav lin od ; dau o lyn (namely Lleyn).

[9] Ploughing (the seas).

[10] v.l., hoewyn ; hywyn, c.f. p. 357, n. 5.

[11] *Braisg*, great, strong.

[12] *Borth y Meudwy.*

[13] v.l., heb arhoi mwy ; heb roi mwy.

[14] *Hadenydd.*

[15] Pull. v.l., ar bob tynn ny herbyn hi

[16] v.l., ai mintai. The waves coming on like an army.

[17] Breakers. Cf. Gwyddfeirch ton toren yn er trai (the wild sea horses were broken at low water), Gwalchmai. The poet may be alluding to the Saxon worship of the horse, of which the White horse of Berkshire is said to be a survival.

[18] The sea waves were now running mountains high, now towering like castles.

[19] *Gau.* v.l., gae.

[20] *Fy nghefn.*

tri mor yn vn, tramawr nerth;[1]
mor Groeg ymrig dragwn,[2]
a mor Tawch[3] yma ryd hwn;[4]
mor mewnd vil,[5] bum vw dhilyd,[6]
mynd dan[7] haul, mwndi[8] n ei hyd.
gyrrwyd hi[9] rhyd ei goryn,
y dwr[10] dan nawdh dirdan[11] wyn:
ymrwyllais[12] or mor allan,
val gleisiad leudad yn lan.[13]
A genais ag a ganwyf,
yr penaig[14] a wyr pwyr wyf;
ny cheisiwn or trwn, nyt raid,
am hyn, ond nef ym henaid.

Thomas Kelli.[15]

In fact, Bardsey, like Glastonbury, was a British Rome[16]. Certainly it had points in common with the Eternal City, and the stranger who visited the Isle of Saints might well recall his pilgrimage to the real Rome, or what he knew of it by hearsay. Bardsey, with its twenty thousand saints, reproduced on a small scale the ecclesiastical centre of Christendom, renowned for relics innumerable, of those whose blood had plentifully watered the Tree which now overspread the civilised world and sheltered beneath its shadow the inhabitants of the most distant and diverse

[1] The dangerous currents of the Sound.

[2] Assuming that *dragwn* is correct, the poet may be referring to the monster Scylla in the Straits of Messina, but other MSS. read *agwn*, *ragwn*, *yr agwn* and *yr eigiawn*.

[3] The main sea.

[4] v.l., yn y rhyd; rhyd hwn. [5] Sir John Mandeville.

[6] Follow, pursue. [7] v.l., mewn dan.

[8] *hyd mundi*, genitive case of the Latin *mundus*, world. v.l., mwndwin ei hyd; Mondwin i hyd; mewn dan haul Mowndin i hyd; mynd dan hwn, myn Duw yn hyd. Cf. p. 225, n. 6.

[9] v.l., vi hyd ei goryn. [10] v.l., ir dwr. [11] St. Durdan.

[12] Extricated myself.

[13] v.l., at Laiddad lan; and, at Leuddad ir lan.

[14] Prince, chieftain. [15] Llanstephan MS., 134, f. 88; Peniarth MS. 225, p. 140; and Llanstephan MS., 47, f. 29; 134 § 88, Brit. Mus. Add., 31, 103, and 345; Cwrtmawr, 12.

[16] *Liber Landav.*, p. 3 and p. 80. A further reason is given there:—"Enlli quae vocatur Roma Britanniæ, propter longinquitatem et periculosum transitum maris".

climes. Tradition relates that the church had a large tower, in which were six excellent bells, and that the monastery possessed a good library containing a great number of manuscripts. The poets lavished encomiums upon the island, and ransacked their theological vocabulary for fitting descriptions. Bardsey was one of the Marvels of Britain :—

RHYFEDDODAU YR YNYS HON.

* * * *

"A hevyd yngwynedd mae ynys vechan a elwir enlli a chanonwyr krefyddol ysydd yni chadw ar hynaf onaddvnt asydd marw yn gyntaf ac velly o hynaf i hynaf yn yr ynys hon i kladdwyd myrddin wyllt ap morfran."[1]

It was "the Land of absolution and pardon"[2] "the Road to Heaven", "the Gate of Paradise". But if the monastic community turned religious zeal to their own profit, their charitable institutions show that they were not unmindful of their responsibilities. Footprints of the cowled monk on his errand of mercy or dispensing his benedicites, and of pilgrims on their way to the island may be traced on the neighbouring promontory Lleyn, both in many usages and in place names. At Clynnog lay the famous shrine and Collegiate church of St. Beuno which for several centuries enjoyed a wide repute, and possessed a chapel, of which, however, nothing now survives but a plain altar tomb. The original scene of Beuno's activity lay near the Severn on the border of modern Wales. Already he had gathered around him a band of disciples, but hearing one day in the vicinity of his settlement the cry "Kergia", a call to hounds, he recognised the presence of Englishmen. He therefore determined to migrate to a more secluded spot where he could keep the even tenour

[1] Cardiff MS. (16th century).

[2] There is in the Vatican library a Latin list of the indulgences granted to pilgrims to Bardsey.

of his existence undisturbed by the voice of the hated foreigner. "Arise, let us go hence", said he to his followers, and they turned their faces westward. The saint found generously inclined patrons in the persons of Cadvan, King of North Wales, and Gwrddeint (cousin of the king), who installed Beuno at Clynnog Fawr. This happened in 616. Under favour of successive Welsh princes the community grew apace, and Beuno's reputation drew to its bosom large numbers of disciples and devotees. Afterwards the house passed into the hands of White Monks.

Beuno's Well attracted visitors from far and near. Some of the customs that obtained in connection with this will re-call pre-Christian superstitions, found not only in ancient Britain but in classic Greece and Italy. The invalids were carried into the chapel at nightfall and put to lie on the tombstones. If they slept a cure was assured.[1]

[1] Pennant declares that he saw on the stone in his day a bed on which a paralytic from Merionethshire had lain the whole night. There is a tomb in the parish church of Christchurch in Monmouthshire on which sick persons were laid to spend one night. Another usage connected with Beuno is paralleled in Brittany. At stated seasons bullocks bearing a mark called *Nôd Beuno* were brought to the shrine to receive the saint's benediction; and to this day earmarked calves are still prized by the farmers of the neighbourhood; hence the popular expression *Llyfiad Beuno*, or Beuno's lick.

Cyff Beuno, the coffer into which the proceeds from offerings were thrown, is still to be seen. Papal indulgences were granted to persons visiting the Collegiate parish church of Saint Beuno, abbot and confessor, at Clynnog Fawr, on the festival of that saint. *Papal Registers and Letters.* Descriptive Calendar, 1432.

That the money amounted to a considerable sum appears from the circumstance that a mize or church rate had never been levied in the parish. Willis, *Bangor*, p. 303. Not the least of the sacred relics of the saint was Cloch Felen Beuno, Beuno's Yellow Bell. It has been recovered from the ruins of an old chapel called Capel Beuno, in the parish of Llanidan, Anglesey. The Saint's eminent virtues and charitable deeds are recorded in the place-names with which North Wales is tesselated; especially numerous are the Beuno's Wells.

Near St. Beuno's Chapel also processions halted to enable the pilgrims to bathe in the well and to pray. The church of Saint Aelhaiarn (the Saint of the iron eyebrow) also lay on the pilgrim's way to Bardsey. Here again the wayfarers rested to pay their devotions. He too owned a well[1] on the slope of Yr Eifel, which was much frequented for its reputed sanctity long after the glory of Clynnog and Bardsey had departed.

The journey was not unattended by difficulty. A traveller from the North, on arriving at Clynnog, was obliged to face the steep pass of Yr Eifel, above Nant Gwyrtheyrn. His perseverance was rewarded, however, and his labour crowned by the prospect of food and shelter at the hospice on the crest of the hill, where he probably halted before entering on the last stage of fifteen miles to Aberdaron. As he pursued his route through Lleyn, a well paved road, the track of which is still visible, was at his service. Those who came from the South passed the church of Abererch, popularly supposed to indicate the resting-place of pilgrims who died on the way to Bardsey. Resuming his journey, the pilgrim plodded along the winding coast, passed by Saint Tudwal's Island, next, the ill-omened shore of Port Nigel, and negotiated the steep side of Mynydd Rhiw. Here provision for pilgrims was made at the public expense. The farm at Pistyll to this day pays no tithe—a reminiscence of the obligation to entertain these wayfarers free of charge.

A similar exemption dating from the days of Edward I was conferred on the Abbey in the island itself, as appears from the following transaction. An Abbot, in the reign of Edward II, petitioned the Throne to interpose on his behalf, the Sheriff of Carnarvon having claimed £3 8s. 6d.

[1] Pennant, Ed. 1888, vol. ii, p. 384 and 390.

in violation of the terms of the feoffment[1]. The king commanded Roger de Mortimer, Justice for Wales, to make enquiries. The upshot of the affair was a proclamation to the effect that the monks held the land *in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam.* From that time forward the monastery was free of taxes. The duty of accommodating pilgrims must at times have been onerous; for the visitors were at the mercy of weather and tide, which often rendered a passage to the island impracticable. On his arrival at Aberdaron, the pilgrim found himself in a region rich in historic memories, and addressed himself to his round of devotions. Porth Meudwy, or as it is frequently called Porth Neudwy, a small creek or harbour at the point of Lleyn, was the ~~point~~ of embarkation. Thomas Celli refers to it in the following couplet:—

Mudais o Borth y Meudwy
Aber mawr, heb arhoi mwy.

Capel Fair, or St. Mary's Chapel and Well, in the cave called Ogo Fair, was another popular resort, especially for weather-bound passengers, where they could propitiate the favour of the Virgin for a safe passage across the Strait. Capel Anhelog marks the site of another shrine. The risks of the passage are vividly depicted, not without humour, in the following poem:—

CYWYDD HANES Y BARDD AC ERAILL YN MORDWYO I YNYS ENLLI I YMOFYN MADDEUANT AM EU PECHODAU GAN YR ABAD.

"Aethum i fad ddyw sadwrn
Fal ydd aeth ysywaeth swrn;
Oferedd im gyfeiriaw,
Anllad Rys[2] is Enlli draw;
Mordwyodd mawr eu duad,
Tonnau o bell tua 'n bad;
Neidio o'r bad annedwydd,
A chwareu dawns,[3] och or dydd!

[1] Sebright MSS.
[2] The poet himself.
[3] The boat danced.

Fal ty a fai 'n[1] ymgrainio,[2]
Afraid rwyf ef a roi dro ;
Ing fu i'm a chael f'angau ;
Am pen dan y garthen[3] gau ;
Sef gwnaeth ton dalgron y dydd,
Torri 'r llyw, taro 'r llywydd ;
Berwi arnom yn burwen,
Ynill y bad o'r naill ben ;
Rhag ing y rhoed rhyw gynghor,
Bwrw rhai o'n mintai[4] i'r mor
Addef fu gennyf waeddi,
Bryd oer, rhag i'm bwrid i ;
Cael or braidd, clywir[5] y braw
Gan y Badwr gwyn beidiaw ;
Pan oedd fwyaf arnaf fi,
Drwm feddwl, draw am foddi,
Mwy am dir oedd fy hiraeth,
Na merch am ei meibion[6] maeth ;
Cilio dydd cyn cael diddos,
Difawyd ni, dyfod nos ;
Dyn ni welai dan wiliad,
Dor ei law neu dir ei wlad ;
Coeliais, mai cesig[7] gwelwon
A fyddai pan dorai 'r don ;
Mynnwn ar ben y mynydd,
Fy mod cyn dyfod y dydd ;
Y Bad heb nofiad a ni,
Ar hwyl yn llawn or heli ;
Gwaedd fawr fal gweddi a fu,
A roesom ar yr Jesu,
Ar unwaith rhoes wyr Anna,[8]
Wawr ddydd ac felly 'r oedd dda ;
Gwelai deg, mewn[9] golau dydd
Golwg gwae y Bugeilydd
Haid o ddefaid gwenhidwy[10]

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[1] v.l., march main. Cf. meirch mordwy and morgesyg. If this reading be adopted, ymgreiniaw (or amgreinio) will mean rolling over and over on the ground like a horse. Cf. Cywion brain yn ymgreiniaw. D. ap Gwilym. [2] Swaying, collapsing.

[3] A sheet of coarse cloth; a winnowing sheet; a sheet worn by penitents: Casul o'r awyr ddulwyd Carthen aniben iawn wyd. Dafydd ap Gwilym.

[4] Of pilgrims. [5] v.l., coelier.

[6] v.l., mebyn gives a finer shade of meaning than meibion.

[7] See p. 220, n. 5. [8] The mother of the Virgin Mary.

[9] v.l., Gwilied oll, cael.

[10] Gwenhidwy. (1) The sheep of Gwenhidwy, a celebrated dwarf, resembling Æsop: cf. Ail yw Rhys, yn ael y rhiw, Wan hudawl, i wenhudiw. The word gwenhidy occurs in an unpublished cywydd by Lewis Glyn Cothi addressed to his patron, William Vaughan, captain of Aberystwith Castle, with a request for a razor:—Ni adaf mal gwenhidwy Ar vy min dyfu barf mwy. The word was formerly in common use (e.g. in Cardiganshire) for an insignificant or decrepit individual, and often applied to a sickly lamb; it is still employed in Powys, but pronounced 'cnidw'. (2) The sea waves, cf. Tri enw y Mor—Maes Gwenhidwy, Llys Neifion a Ffynnon Wenestr (Finawn Wenestir mor terruin. *Black Book of Carmarthen*). Tri ennw addurn y Tonnau: Defaid Gwenhidwy, Dreigiau r Heli a Blodau r Eigion. Iolo MS. 89 (quoted by Silvan Evans.)

A naw hwrdd yn un a hwy[1]
Adnabod, nid anobaith,
Dinas Maelor[2] o'r mor maith;
Cael o'r braidd, diwladaidd[3] lwyth,
O bu rwystr, Aberystwyth;
Ac i'r lan bob gwan ei god,[4]
Ag a'i gern heb gogyrnod;
An eneidiau 'n annedwydd,
O bentraeth heb enaid rhydd;[5]
Myn y crwys[6] ar yr arian[7]
Mor lesg y daethum i'r lan;
Ni wyddid pa un oeddwn,
Pwy, Pwy, meddynt hwy yw hwn?
Cyrchais i'm tref gynnefin,
Cyn y nos, cawn yno win,
Eistedd gyfannedd fu y'n,
Lawlaw a Sion Lywelyn
Gweled medd[8] golud i'm mi,
A gweled Dyddgu Goli;
Rhoi diofryd[9] or dyfroedd
A'r mor o Rys, mor arw oedd.
Ni chair myned dan chwarae,
I Enlli mwy'n y lle mae;
Doed hithau, da y tuthir
Ynys deg, yn nes i dir."[10]

Rhys Llwyd ap Rys ap Riccart ai cant.[11]

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[1] The ninth wave is here compared to a ram, because it was popularly supposed to be larger than the others. Cf. fluctus decumanus, (also *τρικυμία*) and the Italian expressions for small waves 'pecore' (sheep), and for large ones 'cavalloni' (big horses). "E'l mar pur rugghia . . . . E tutto il prato di pecore è pieno" (Pulci) and "Puo' il mare ora con bonaccia lusingare altrui, e talvolta con tempestosi nembi, ed altissimi cavalloni, orrido molto e spaventoso divenire (Varchi's translation of Boethius 2, p. 2). Cf. *pecorella*, "foam". The comparison of waves to sheep occurs apropos of the submersion of Is, a Breton variant of the story of Seithenyn and Cantref y gwaelod—a legend which is combined with that of St. Guenolé and King Grallon.

[2] In S.W. Carnarvonshire. [3] Exiled.

[4] The pilgrim's wallet. [5] Without obtaining absolution.

[6] Cross, v.l., grog. [7] v.l., bwyf ddiogan.

[8] Mead, made of honey and water.

[9] Renounce with an oath. [10] Father of Lewis Morganwg.

[11] Cwrtmawr MSS. 12, f. 488. Brit. Mus., Add 15,003, f. 63. The monastery dispensed hospitality to all comers. But occasionally the Abbots, by their parsimony or their disregard of the bardic dignity, drew down upon themselves the resentment of the fraternity, who were not slow to satirize their churlish or niggardly disposition. Deio ap Ieuan Ddu of Cerediglon was told that Madog, the Abbot, was bountiful. Anticipating good cheer, he composed a *cywydd* in his praise, set out and hired a boat, paid him a visit, and received in acknowledgment of his effusions—a cheese. Thereupon he retaliated with *awdl y caws*, Brit. Mus., Add 14,962, f. 93; 14,881, f. 118; 31,086. "Abad Dafydd o ddyfryn dyfi" is another who wounded the bard's professional pride; see Llanstephan, MS. 53, f. 306.

To face p. 369.

The Remains of the Shrine of St. David, in St. David's Cathedral.

Upon the promontory which forms the southern horn of the coast of Cardigan Bay stood the shrine of St. David. It lay on the high road to Ireland, and pilgrims from beyond the Irish Channel were often to be seen treading its precincts.[1] The Saint had (according to the legendary lives that have come down to us, none of which are earlier than the tenth century), borne the chief part in the evangelization of Western Britain, had started a mission in Ireland, and had founded a school which was patronized by saints from all Celtic countries. Alike on religious and sentimental grounds his memory was reverently cherished; his shrine was hallowed by patriotic tradition and by the sanction of antiquity, and his relics possessed high sanctity. But what imparted the chief impetus to his cult was the action of the Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics, who, to conciliate Welsh sentiment, secured for the saint the honour of canonisation by the Pope.[2]

The miracles attending the translation of his relics were calculated to excite emotion in every Welshman's breast and to enhance his memory. The highly ornamented feretory was carried away in 1086 and stripped of its valuable casing. History is silent with regard to it during the next two centuries, but in 1326 it must have been restored to its proper place. For in that year the townspeople were requested in time of war to accompany the Bishop and convey the sacred receptacle with its precious contents for one day's journey. Again, a statute

[1] See p. 60.

[2] For the use of Dewi's name as an asseveration may be compared the following couplet in a poem of Richard III's time:—

"Da man cyff Dewi Mynyw
A da bangc diareb yw.
" Dafydd Llwyd ab Llewelyn ab Gruffydd."

by Bishop Nicholls (1418-1433) directs the chantry priests to bear the relics in procession.[1]

These remains were not the only objects of veneration at St. David's. "Mair o Fynyw"[2] is the subject of the following poem :—

"I Sioseb a Mair[3]
Am ddau ddyn dda o weddi[4]
Sy yn y nef [y] soniwn ni.

* * *

"Ni chaid merch iechyd ym myw
Ir fainael[5] Mair o Fynyw
I mae'r Cor wrth [yr] ystoria
Yno'n wir [ag] iawn a wna
Mae i thad ni ad un nes
Mae Anna yn ei mynwes
"Mae Mair yn unair a ni
Mae plaid Maudwyaid Dewi[6]
Mae Siartyr[7] mab Duw gartref
Mae Sioseb yn wyneb nef
I mae'r mab[8] yn yr aberth[9]
Mae mair yn un air ai nerth."

Howel Swrdwal (1430-1460).

Pope Calixtus II set his seal upon the pilgrimage; he ordained that two pilgrimages to St. David's equalled one to Rome, and three would count for one to Jerusalem, whence arose the saying:

"Roma semel quantum, dat bis Menevia tantum,"

or in the Welsh version:

"Dos i Ruvain unwaith ac i Fynyw ddwywaith
Ar un elw cryno a gai di yma ac yno."

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[1] *Stat.* 299. Under the same roof, at the back of the choir-stalls, and open to the north transept, is the shrine of St. Caradoc; he expressed a wish to be buried there in 1124. Among the many marvellous properties of St. David's relics, Capgrave mentions that they stayed a plague. *Acta SS.*, March 1. Cf. also p. 33.

[2] Mary of Menevia.

[3] Brit. Mus. Add 31,072, f. 45, and Cardiff, MS. 7; in the latter the title reads "I Sioassym ag i Anna Mam Mair"; Llanstephan, MS. 133.

[4] v.l., ymddyweddi.

[5] Of the delicate, fair eyebrow. v.l., mor feinael.

[6] Hermits of St. David's [7] Charter. [8] Mae'r mab rhad.

[9] In the Mass, according to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The same sentiment occurs in "Cywydd Dewi Sant", by Lewis Glyn Cothi :—

"Cystal om ardal[1] imi,
Dwywaith vyned at Dewi,
A phe delwn cystlwn[2] cain,
O riv unwai[3] i Ruvain,
Myned dairgwaith araith yw
Am enaid, hyd y Mynyw
I mae'n cystal a myned,
I vedd Crist unwaith vydd cred
Bedd Crist Cymmru ddidrist cain,
A ryvedd deml o Ruvain,
Dewi a bair[4] gywir ged,
I werin gymru wared,
Dewi ddyvrws yw'n diwyd,
Davydd ben saint bedydd byd,
O nev i daeth ffyrv goeth ffydd
I nev i ddaeth yn yvydd."[5]

"The British Loretto and the Palmyra of Saxon antiquity", as St. David's has been styled, has left its impress not only on the history and literature but also on the map of Wales. The road to the shrine was known as the Meidr Sant or Holy Way, and small stretches of road near the Cathedral bear to this day the name Pilgrims' Roads. But traces of the progress of these wayfarers who streamed from the four points of the compass are to be found much further afield. Little chapels were erected at the seaside near the landing places to invite the alms of seamen and passengers who came to pay their devotions at the shrine. At Nevern a picturesque survival exists in the shape of a wayside cross cut in relief, which, it may be plausibly urged, lay on the route to St. David's from the Abbey of Strata Florida and Holywell. It is hewn roughly in the rock, with a natural ledge below on which the devotees knelt and supplicated the saint to prosper their journey. Unsatisfied with chronicling the bare facts, popular legend has embellished the tradition, and makes Nevern the last stage on the pilgrimage to Dewi Mynyw's shrine; adding that at this point pilgrims

[1] v.l., am ordal ("ordeal"). [2] Family.
[3] *Unwaith.* [4] From *peri*, cause.
[5] Brit. Mus. Add., 21,084, f. 19.

often found their strength fail them, and expired, and were buried in the adjoining churchyard. A road connected Holywell with St. David's, enabling those who were blessed with a double portion of the devotional spirit to visit the shrine of the patron saint of Wales and the Lady of the famous well. At Rhosmaen stood a religious house which was bound to aid the traveller on his way. Strata Florida offered shelter to those approaching from the north; Whitland Abbey to those from the east. But perhaps the most romantic evidence is contained in the "Pilgrim Church" of Llanfihangel Abercowin and its pathetic story.

The legend has gathered around what are known as the five Pilgrim Stones, in the churchyard. It tells how a band of pilgrims wandered thither in a state of destitution, and, perishing from hunger, determined to slay each other. The solitary survivor dug a grave and here buried himself. Of the ill-fated wanderers one was a mason, another a glazier, the third a ropemaker. Two other memorials lie a few yards distant. When opened, the middle grave proved to contain several shells[1]—a discovery which lends colour to the identification of the occupant with a pilgrim or palmer.[2] Underneath the tradition there is doubtless a residuum of truth. The church stands on the route to St. David's, and it may very well have been a halting-station. A pilgrims' lodge once stood here, all traces of which have disappeared,

[1] See Professor Westwood's article in *Arch. Camb.*, I, ii, 317.

[2] See p. 256, n. 2, on scallop-shells. The sanctity of the pilgrims was, and perhaps is, popularly supposed to keep the peninsula free from reptiles, so long as the tomb-stones are not allowed to be overrun with weeds. Moreover, if the duty is neglected, the land around will pass out of the hands of its owners.

Mr. Tierney suggests that a sword and lance in the hand of two of the figures indicate their military or semi-military character. *Arch. Camb.*, V, xvii, p. 73.

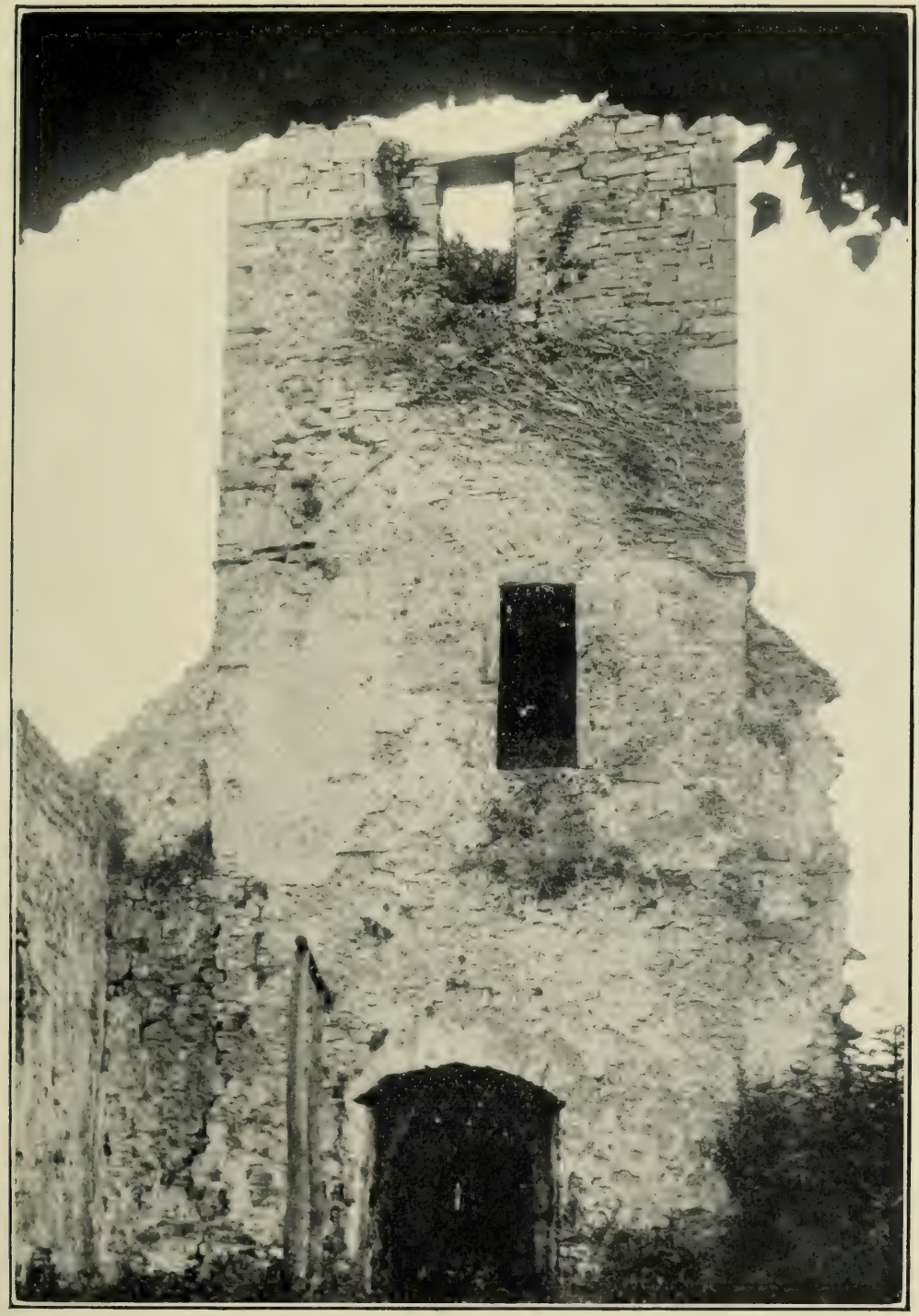
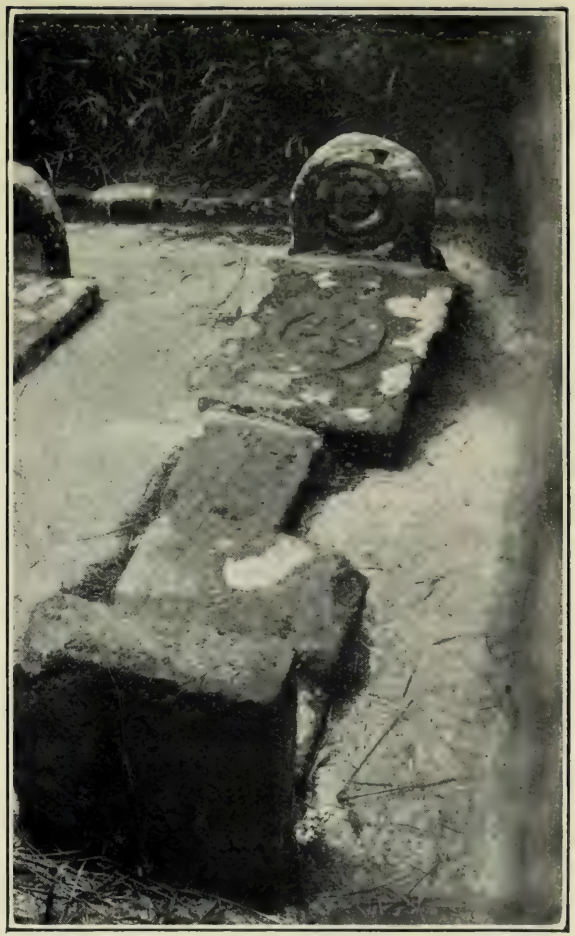


Photo lent by G. Eyre Evans. *To face p. 372.*

Llanfihangel Abercowin, Carmarthenshire: Ruins of the Pilgrims' Church.



Photos lent by G. Eyre Evans.

To face p. 372.

Llanfihangel Abercowin, Carmarthenshire : Pilgrims' Graves.

Photo lent by G. Eyre Evans.

To face p. 372.

Llanfihangel Abercowin, Carmarthenshire : Pilgrims' Graves.

Photos lent by G. Eyre Evans.

To face p. 372.

Llanfihangel Abercowin, Carmarthenshire: Pilgrims' graves (Headstones).

and apparently documentary evidence exists that a priory of Cluniac monks took up their abode here. Kidwelly, again, once the most flourishing port in South Wales and deriving its importance from a fine navigable river, within half a mile of its influx into the bay of Carmarthen (now obstructed by a dangerous bar of sand), was doubtless the landing-place for pilgrims from Devon, Cornwall, Brittany or other parts of the Continent.[1] The monuments have been ascribed to the fifteenth century.

The visitors who thronged the aisles of St. David's Cathedral were drawn from every class of society. Peasant and noble vied with each other in rendering homage to the Saint. The patriotic sentiments entertained towards him find expression in the following poem :—

"Dewi kyn deni[2] kaid ordainaw mwyn
Myniw yth weddiaw
a Phadrig aeth i drigaw
I Vyniw dros yr avon draw
* * * *[3]
Dewi lle r wyd aed oll yr jaith[4]
dyvod i mae rhyw adfyd maith[5]
term[6] anghyviaith[7] trwm anghyvion
dyry i gymry rhag drwg amraint[8]
draw dy voli drud avaelaint
a gwilo r naint[9] a galw ar Nonn[10]
llawer gweddi rhag llwyr godded
a blin oi ddwyn heb lonydded
duw gwyn rhodded dwg ni n rhyddion
y sawl a sydd a vy ag a vydd
pawb doed pob dydd yn rhoi yn rhydd

---

[1] This district is studded with place-names suggestive of ecclesiastical memories—Park Ffynnon Saint, Park y Groes, Park y Crwys, Park Yett y Groes, Tavernspite (*i.e.*, spittal), an hospice belonging to Whitland Abbey; the Church of the Waterman (*Liber Landavensis*, ed. 1843, pp. 367-8); Pant y Cerrig Sanctaidd. At Llanddowror two "Pilgrim Stones" stand upright in a field adjoining the churchyard on the west.

[2] *D'eni.*

[3] The next thirty lines furnish incidents in the life of St. David.

[4] Race, nation.

[5] See line 17.

[6] Crisis.

[7] Of strange tongue, alien, barbarous.

[8] Invasion of rights. Amraint (1) what is against privilege, right or immunity, a breach of privilege; (2) dishonour, ignominy. Cf. p. 168, n. 3.

[9] *Nentydd.*

[10] Mother of Dewi.

at hab y ffydd aed pawb ai ffonn[1]
dyma r amser i daw r ymswrn[2]
a dewr yn ddig a dur ny ddwrn
* * * *
llawer baner ir llawr haenydd
llawer gawr vawr yn lloegria vydd
lle mae brav gwydd llyma brig onn
Dewi rydym ar dy radav
bywyd aurer ar byderav[3]
y gwynerav[4] ag yn wirion
ath weddiau dithau ddewi
rhyddid a wnaeth rhwydddad i ni
yth rhieni athro vnion
ag y leni y goel wynedd
i kawn weled kann nialedd
yn gylanedd yn gelynion
gelynion a drig y leni m hob maes
kyn diwedd mis Medi
pob tir maith pawb on jaith ni
pob tyedd pawb at ddewi."[5]

Dafydd llwyd ap Llewelyn ap Gr. ai kant.

The following extract exemplifies the saint's versatile powers :—

"Diogel ei nawdd i'r neb a'i cyrcho diogan ei fro diogyweg
Rhag creireu Dewi yd gryn Groeg
Ac Iwerddon dirion dir Gwyddeleg
O garawn[6] gan jawn gan ehoeg
Hyd a Dyfi[7] afon firain a theg
O'r Llyn ddu lled fu llid gyhydreg[8]
Hyd ar Twrch terfyn tir a charreg
Doddyw[9] i Ddewi Deheubartheg
Bair ei ddial fal diwair dwyn ei wartheg
Dothyw[9] i Ddewi yn heneg
Gan borth Duw porth dyn yn ddiatreg
Dothyw[9] i Ddewi diffreidiad[10] teg
Rhys mawr Mon wledig reodig reg.
Rhy meddyliais i hyn i hofni
Urddawl, ei urddas anfeidrawl a feddy roddi
Rhwyf radeu bieu beirdd i'w foli
A llen, a llyfreu, a llen bali."[11]

---

[1] The pilgrim's *burdo*.

[2] Wrangle (lit. Snarling). Cf. Ymswrn ac ysgwr gwr gwrdd. Rhys Goch Eryri.

[3] Paderau, Paternosters, prayers. Cf. p. 338, n. 3. [4] Fridays.

[5] Llanstephan MS. 47, f. 32.

[6] Caron. [7] v.l., Dywi.

[8] Encounter. From Llyndu there was a stormy (angry) meeting.

[9] Daeth. [10] Defender.

[11] fine satin : fine linen.

But the saint's sympathies were universal and his services international :—

"Pan deuth o ffrainc ffrangc i oer erchi
Iechyd rhag clefyd rhag clwyf delli
Wynep-clawr didawr dim ni welai
Pesychwys, tremwys, trwy fodd Dewi
Merch brenhin dwyrain doeth i Frefi
A phryd a gweryd y gud a hi
Wrth glywed dabed tynghed Dewi
A'i fuchedd wirionedd wirion ynni
* * * *
Ni allwys gwerin gwared iddi
Hyd pan y gwarawd gwirion Dewi."[1]

Gwynfardd Brycheiniog a'i cant.

Cywydd i ferch o Fon oedd yn myned i offrwm i Fynyw, am ladd y bardd a'i thraserch.

"Gwawr ddyhuddiant[2] y cantref
Lleian aeth er llu o nef,
Ac er Non,[3] calon a'i cel,
Ac er Dewi, eigr[4] dawel;
O Fon deg, boed rhwydd rheg-
ddi
I Fynyw[5] dir, f'enaid i!
I geisiaw blodeuaw'r blaid,
Maddeuant am a ddywaid,
Am ladd ei gwas dulas dig,
Penydiwr cul poenedig;
O alanas gwas gwawdferw,
Yr aeth oer hiraeth ar herw;[6]
Greddf ffoes gruddiau ffuon,
Gadewis fy newis Fon.
Crist Arglwydd! boed rhwydd
y trai
Cas, a chymwynas Menai;[7]
Y Traeth Mawr,[8] goludfawr
glod,
Treia, gad fyned trwod.
Y Bychan Draeth,[9] gaeth
gerynt,
Gad im'dyn gwyn hyn o hynt;
Darfu'r gweddiau dirfawr,
Digyffro fo Ertro[10] fawr!
Talwn fferm[11] porth Abermaw[12]
Ar don drai, er ei dwyn draw;

---

[1] Llanstephan MSS. 133, poem 831.

[2] Reparation, reconciliation. [3] Mother of St. David.

[4] Ygerne, mother of Arthur; any handsome woman.

[5] Menevia, St. David's.

[6] Cf. *herwa*, flee from place to place, p. 302, n. 6.

[7] Menai Straits.

[8] The estuary below Port Aberglaslyn.

[9] The "small sands", chiefly formed by the river which runs down the vale of Festiniog to Maentwrog and Tanybwlch.

[10] A river in Meirion. [11] Toll. [12] Barmouth.

Gydne gwin,[1] gad naw gwaneg,
Dysyni[2] i dir Dewi deg;
A dwfn yw tonau Dyfi,[3]
Dwfr rhyn,[4] yn ei herbyn hi;
Rheidiol,[5] gad er d'anrhydedd,
Heol i fun hael o fedd;
Ystwyth,[5] ymhwyth, gad im' hon,
Drais dew-ddwfr; dros dy ddwyfron;
Aeron,[5] ferw hyson hoywserch,
Gad trwod fy eurglod ferch;
Teifi,[5] dw'r tyfiad eurwawn,[6]
Gad i'r dyn gadeirio dawn;
Durfing[7] drwy'r afon derfyn,
Yr el ac y del y dyn.
Mam hirffawd, mae ymhorffor,[8]
Os byw, rhwng Mynyw a'r mor;
Os hi a'm lladdodd, oes hir;
Herw hylithr, hwyr yr holir,
Maddeued Mair, neddair[9] nawdd,
I'm lleddf[10] wylan a'm lladdawdd,
Diau mae im a'i dihaur,[11]
Minau a'i maddau i'm haur."

Dafydd ap Gwilym.

The pilgrimage to St. David's was often diversified with incidents. The Abbot of Dore in Herefordshire[12] broke his journey at Carmarthen, and found in the local prison an old acquaintance, Gruffydd Bennraw by name, who had been handed over at the request of Gruffydd ap Nicholas, Chief Justiciary for Wales.[13] The worthy Abbot had befriended the well-connected and accomplished rogue, had gone bail for a bow, a dozen arrows and peacock's plumes, but had been left in the lurch. The surety's opportunity had come! He lost no time in asserting his claim and demanded the defaulter's arrest.

[1] Cydliw; of the same colour as wine; from *cyd*, *ne*, hue. Dafydd ap Gwilym often affects the termination *ne*. Cf. Hoywne eiry, honno erod.

[2] The river Dissennith. [3] The Dovey. [4] Icy cold.

[5] Rivers in Cardiganshire. [6] *Gwawn*, gossamer. *Cadeirio*, an Eisteddfodic term.

[7] Durfing; hard, austere, resolute. Cf. Dewi Wyn's awdl "Elusengarwch", *Blodau Arfon*, p. 109.

"a llwm yw ei gotwm, gwel;
Durfing i'w waed yw oerfel."

[8] Mair o Fynyw. See p. 370. [9] Hand.

[10] Cf. Y fun ail Enid Lladdai fil ai lleddf olwg. Sion Keri.

[11] From *diheuro*, acquit of a charge. [12] See p. 122, n. 2.

[13] The latter joined the York cause with 800 men, and fell at Mortimer's Cross, 1461.

Thereupon the Mayor placed him in the Abbot's custody, until he should refund the uttermost farthing. The prisoner then appealed to the generosity of Nicholas's son, Thomas,[1] who paid his debt and obtained his release. Ostensibly to repay his new benefactor Bennraw sought permission to beg the necessary sum and made his way to the Parish Church, where, turning his back on the altar, he recited the following stanza:—

"Mi a ddoethym o Vrecheiniog
i geissio pawb i geiniog
y sawl a roddo imi ddwy
Chwi a wyddoch pwy yw'r kynnog."[2]

The charitably disposed subscribed a mark, but not a penny found its way into Thomas ap Gruffydd's pocket,—the bird had flown.[3]

Menevia could boast of royal pilgrims too. In 1079 William, "King of the Saxons and the French", went to St. David's to pray, forgetting for the moment the monarch in the pilgrim.[4] In 1173, Henry II visited Menevia on his way to Ireland, and made an offering of two choral copes[5] of velvet, intended for the singers in serving God and St. David; and he also offered a handful of silver, worth about ten shillings. Then David, son of Gerald, who at the time was Bishop of Menevia, besought the king to eat with him on that day; but the king declined the invitation, in order to avoid taxing too

[1] The father of Sir Rhys ap Thomas.

[2] Chief, leader. Cf. "Cynog pob drygioni".

[3] The escapades of this hero are the subject of an interchange of tribannau (or quatrains) between Gruffydd ap Nicholas, Owain Dwnn, and Gruffydd Bennraw, which throw an interesting light upon the social and ecclesiastical customs of the period.

[4] *Brut y Tywysogion*; Giraldus, iii, p. 77.

[5] Choral copes worn by cantors are often referred to in old Welsh. *Cappa* is still a common word for cope, though *pluviale* (rain-cloak, waterproof) is perhaps commoner, *cappa pluvialis* being the full form.

far the bishop's resources. Nevertheless he came to the bishop to dinner, attended by three hundred men, and by Earl Rickert, a man who came from Ireland to obtain the friendship of the king.[1] It was on this occasion that, while Henry was passing to the Cathedral, a woman whose petition had been disregarded, invoked his death according to a prophecy by Merlin.[2] In 1214, at the time when Thomas Beck occupied the See,[3] Edward I and his Queen Eleanor repaired thither. He besought victory at St. David's shrine, offering two velvet copes; and on his return, came to pray at the shrine;[4] when, as he again knelt by the relics, he presented, for a thank-offering, a handful of silver.[5] Three officers were appointed by Bishop Beck to take charge of the offerings.[6] It is a significant fact that the image of St. David was left standing at the Dissolution.

The Abbey of Strata Florida attracted crowds of pilgrims whose presence is attested by archæology, history and literature. Many roads converged on this centre. It stood mid-way between two pre-eminent pilgrim resorts in the Principality, Ynys Enlli and Mynyw. Beddgelert was one of the halting-places on the road between these points, and had a shrine and hospice of its own to which pilgrims resorted at stated seasons.[7] The neighbourhood of the Abbey bears traces to this day of the

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion.*

[2] Giraldus, *Hibern. Expugn.*, c. 371; *Itin.*, II., c. i

[3] *Annales Cambriæ*, A.S., 1284.

[4] *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D., 1173. For copes, see p. 377, n. 5.

[5] *Brut y Tyw.* and *Annales Cambriæ.*

[6] Behind the shrine are still to be seen two round holes in which the coins were deposited.

[7] Indulgences granted by Pope Boniface IX to persons visiting the Augustinian Priory of Beddgelert on the feasts of SS. Nidan and Kawrda, confessors. *Papal Registers and Letters.* Descriptive Calendar, 1399.

facilities afforded to travellers (largely through the foresight of the monks and Templars) in such names as Pont ar fynach, Yspytty Cynfyn and Yspytty Ystwith. Well might Guto' r Glyn say in a poem addressed to the Abbot of Ystrad Fflur:—

"Abad corff y wlad Caer Fflur,
Aberth nef a byrth nifer
Ai byrth heb glo neu borthor
I borth Dehau aberthwyr[1]
Berthog[2] a thlawd a borthir
Ar barthau yr aberthwr."

But not only did the Abbey open its doors freely to the passer-by; it possessed objects of its own well worthy of devotion. The White Monks of Strata Florida were the fortunate possessors of a holy relic, famous for its wonder-working virtues, which was sought after by multitudes of devout souls. This was the Sacred *Phiol*. The secret of its origin was confided only to an esoteric circle among the inmates gifted with the spiritual discernment necessary to appreciate the nature of their trust; for it was said to be none other than the chalice with which the Saviour of men had consecrated the wine and water at the institution of the Eucharist; none other than the chalice seen by Sir Galahad, but hidden away from profane eyes during the sinful days which followed.[3]

[1] See p. 361a, l. 8. [2] Rich.

[3] The local tradition runs that at the Dissolution of the monasteries only seven aged monks were left to guard the treasure. Warned of impending danger this remnant fled by night bearing their precious burden, and found a haven from the storm at Nanteos. The guardians died off one by one; and the solitary survivor committed the cup to the safe keeping of his lay protectors until the Church once more came by its own. The belief in its healing efficacy died hard. Up to the nineteenth century it used to be carried, like an Italian Bambino or Russian icon, by a charitable concession on the part of the proprietors, to the bedsides of the sick; this probably accounts for the battered condition of the cup at the present time. A folklorist (Ceredig Davies, *Welsh Folklore*) speaks of recent visits to see the

Yet another claim on the reverence of the devotee consisted in the tombs of the heroes who figure in the annals of Welsh history—princes, warriors, statesmen, priests and bards, who had been closely identified with the fortunes of Wales, came there to pray while alive and were interred there: Meredydd ap Robert, 1145; Abbot Gruffydd, 1150; Cadell ap Gruffydd ap Rhys, 1176; Abbot Dafydd, 1180; Howel ap Ieuan, 1185; Einion ap Cynan, 1185; Owen ap Rhys, 1191; Rhys ap Gruffydd, the Founder, 1196; Gruffydd ap Rhys, 1202; Hywel Sais ap Rhys, 1204; Maud de Braose, the wife of Gruffydd ap Rhys, 1219; Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Rhys, 1221; Abbot Cadifor, 1222; Maelgwn ap Rhys, 1230; Owen ap Gruffydd ap Rhys, 1235; Meredydd ap Gruffydd, 1270; Philip Goch the thirteenth Abbot, 1280; Gutyn Owain, bard and historian, 1480.[1]

Among the notabilities who are traditionally reported to have been buried there is Dafydd ap Gwilym. The institution of pilgrimage, as we have seen, appealed to the poet's imagination. He frequently uses the term metaphorically; nay more, though no saint, he so far condescended to the customs of the age as to take part in pilgrimages himself. He was buried apparently under a yew tree in the precincts of the Abbey,[2] and a brother bard composed the following epitaph:—

"Dafydd gwiw awenydd[3] gwrdd
Ai yma'th roed dan goed gwyrdd,
Dan lasbren hoew ywen hardd?
Lle'i claddwyd ef y cuddiwyd cerdd.

cup, and a request from abroad for handkerchiefs tied on the cup for twenty-four hours, precisely the same process as may be witnessed at any Continental shrine or at Westminster Abbey. See p. 164.

[1] Cf. T. M. Rees, *Mynachdai Cymru.*

[2] The slight evidence that is available points, on the whole, to Strata Florida rather than Talley, as being the poet's burial place.

[3] Genius, poet.

Glasdew ywen, glan Eos-Deifi
Mae Dafydd yn agos!
Yn y pridd mae'r gerdd ddiddos
Diddawn in' bob dydd a nos."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Wells.

The cultus of wells forms part of a world-wide phenomenon, which is a prominent feature of a pre-historic animism, or, in other words, the worship of nature in its various manifestations. For the savage extends to the universe his own implicit consciousness, and regards all natural operations as intelligent beings, gods or goddesses, of forest and field. The same feeling has at all times prevailed among the less progressive classes and is not entirely eliminated from current civilisations. A Great Spirit resided in nature; his power was worshipped, not the material form in which it happened to be embodied. The varying moods and kaleidoscopic changes of nature thus furnished an infinite diversity of objects of veneration. To antiquity the sea (ever uncertain and unstable, facile slave of every fickle wind, shifting cloud or sportive sunbeam, propitious and treacherous, by turns)[1] was the emblem of unrest. But not the sea alone. Water, the ever-changing element, gloomy or bright, flowing or still, tranquil or storm-lashed, deep or shallow, inspired reverential awe.

The underlying principle of water worship is readily recognizable. Water was beneficent and recreative;[2] it

[1] Cf. Bötticher, *Baumcultus*, p. 78, and "Pyrr", as in Davydd Benwyn, "ý mor a'i byrr", "the never-resting sea".

[2] Cf. the old Eastern proverb "Of all things water is the first". Sébillot, *La légende dorée*, 190. St. Verena (the weather saint of Switzerland) is credited with similar powers. Rocholz, *Sagen*, I, 112, 14, and Runge, *Quellkult*.

afforded refreshment and invigorated the human frame after fatigue. Verdure and life flourished on the banks of rivers. Showers renewed the fertility, and revived the face of the earth. Further, many wells possessed medicinal virtues ; and these sanative springs enjoyed a wide celebrity, ministering, as they did, to imperative needs of humanity. To these attractions must be added the fact that water played an important part in family life, not only as a necessary means of sustenance, but for use in lustrations and similar ceremonies. It was but a short step, therefore, to the deification of the fountain. In some places the divinity was impersonated in the form of a Lady of the Spring, or Water Sprite, a fantastic creature invested with superhuman attributes.[1]

The most usual method of producing wells in Christian lore was by the stroke of the Saint's staff, hand, or foot. Ailbe, sent from the Apostolic See to preach to the Gentiles, drew to him vast crowds ; when the supply of water failed, he proceeded to a neighbouring mountain and, a second Moses, smote a rock four times with his *bachall* or staff, whereupon four streams leapt forth.[2]

[1] This question of the sacred origin of water may be illustrated by the modern idea, which is at present received by several mythologists, that Yahweh, the tribal God of the Hebrews, though his name was adopted as that of the One God when they became monotheists, and was then given a fanciful etymology based on the Hebrew verb substantive, was originally the Rain God of the Assyrians, or perhaps of the Semites generally. Recent Assyriology seems to identify the companions of Yahweh, the Seraphim, with *Saraph*, "the fiery flying serpent", *i.e.*, the Lightning, and *Cherub*, which, according to Rabbi Abuhu (*Babyl. Talmud*, Treatise Chegigah, § 2), was from *che-ravya*, "like a child" (*ravya* being, according to him, a Babylonian word for "child"), is now taken to be formed by a transposition of the first two radical consonants of rechub, "a chariot", that is to say that the Cherubim are the chariot of the winds. Cf. "He rode upon the Cherubim and did fly ; He came flying on the wings of the wind".

[2] *Vita*, § 16. Cf. 34.

Ruadan travelling on a summer's day in a parched country was approached by twelve lepers seeking alms. The saint thrust his staff into the earth and immediately a limpid spring arose ; he then made a well and bade the lepers bathe therein. They were immediately cleansed.[1] Anai, a Breton Saint, inserted his finger in a rock and lo ! a spring straightway gushed out. Cadoc, while in Cornwall, struck the ground in precisely the same way and forthwith a spring burst to the surface ; whereupon the author of the Saint's Life thoughtfully reminds us that Moses had similarly smitten the rock at Horeb, and with like result. He might have mentioned many intermediate instances. The biographer proceeds to say that after this achievement Cadoc went to Rome and Jerusalem and brought back from the river Jordan a bottle full of water which he mixed with his Cornish well. In consequence of this for every previous score of invalids, now a hundred found relief.[2] A quaint legend tells how La Fontaine du pas du Sant at Pierreic in Upper Brittany, acquired its name. The appellation dates from the translation of the body of St. Guingalois.[3] It was a scorching day. The route lay across rocky ground. The feretory containing the relics was heavy, and the sun's rays poured down on the shaven pates of the bearers. They were far from any water or human habitation. The good monks were dying of thirst. Thereupon the leader of the procession (himself a

[1] These feats, however, were not peculiar to Christian saints. Buddha and Mithra's bows were credited with similar achievements.

[2] St. Cadoc's well, according to the life of St. Cadoc in Cott. MS., Vesp. A., XIV, was at Dinsol, (Mons Solis), which was St. Michael's Mount. Just above Penzance is a hill fort, with a single vallum and foss, called "Lescudjack" (pronounced "Leskidjeck"), which is certainly the form that "Llys-Cadwg" would take in Cornish.

[3] Gwenole, Abbot of Landévennec in the fifth century (March 3rd). There is a St. Gunwalloe parish in Cornwall, near the Lizard.

saint) animated by a lively faith, implored St. Guingalois to intervene in their behalf, and suiting the action to the word, stamped on the ground, leaving a deep footprint, when lo ! a fresh and abundant spring of water arose. To commemorate the miracle, a church was erected and crowds flocked to the hallowed spot. But the saint's miraculous interposition is attested by several other wells and chapels raised in his honour.[1]

To the question whence water came Mythology answered, "From the seat of the Gods", the cloud-compelling heaven ; for when lightning rove the clouds, water streamed down to earth. In some accounts a reminiscence or trace of the connection with a lightning-bolt is still discoverable. A Bavarian legend describes how a shepherdess pursued by a hunter sprang from a cliff to earth, and behold ! on the spot where she alighted a fountain of water started into being.[2] Akin to this group of legends is another which describes how the innocent are persecuted or heaven comes to their aid. Under this category probably should be included the mediæval fancy attaching to the execution of St. Paul on the Ostian Way. The legend is soon told. His severed head bounded thrice, and behold, three springs arose out of the earth to commemorate the event.[3] Not every well, however, owed its origin to such stirring incidents. The prayer of a righteous man sufficed to call springs into existence.

[1] Comte Regis de l'Estourbeillon. *Itinéraires des moines de Landévennec*, 1889, p. 7.

[2] Panzer, *Bayer. Sagen*, I, 197. Cf. the metamorphosis of maidens similarly circumstanced into fountains in Hellenic mythology and the Lamia or Sybaris legend ; also Wucke, *Sagen der mittleren Werra*, 2 Ausgabe, No. 119 ; Rocholz, *Sagen* II, 282 ; Antonin. *Lib. Metamorph.*, Synag. VIII.

[3] Cf. Hermann von Fritsler, *Deutsche Mystiker*, I, 149. Lütolf, *Sagen, Bräuche und Legenden aus den fünf Orten.* Nr. 235. Rocholz, *Sagen*, I, 23.

St. Ludgvan, an Irish immigrant into Cornwall, decided to build a church. Anxious to stimulate devotion, and to secure a lucrative pilgrimage, he prayed for a fountain near the edifice and his petition was immediately granted. But even this favourable answer did not satisfy the Saint's ambition. He asked that his well might be endued with three gifts—the power of healing diseases of the eye, of inspiring everyone who drank the water with eloquence, and of insuring every person baptized therein against the gallows.[1]

The concessions which Christianity for a time made to Pagan feeling, with a view to ulterior conquest, are discernible in yet another feature of the cultus. A well was regarded as an entrance to the mysterious underworld; and, as in heathen legends a numen tenanted the passage to that region, a supernatural being (generally of the female sex and possessing remedial virtues) kept watch and ward over the spring. Thus, at Rhoscrowther, in Pembrokeshire, Decumanus the patron of springs, became the residuary legatee of the healing powers of some pagan predecessor.

The Church was fully alive to the evils attendant upon these heathen customs; but, content, even amid her spiritual triumphs, to bide her time, dealt tenderly with ancient prejudices, and counselled moderation in the abolition of institutions sanctioned by immemorial usage. St. Augustine, Gregory III, and Charlemagne,[2] forbade the continuance[3] of well-worship, but found the practice too

[1] M. and L. Quiller Couch. *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*, London, 1884, p. 124. Some Breton and Irish legends recall another pre-Christian feature; they associate animals with springs and wells —the horse (in the earlier lore ridden by a hero, in the Christianized legend by a giant), the ass, or the boar.

[2] *Capitul.* A.D. 775, 789, 790.

[3] *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, A.D. 743.

deeply ingrained to be easily eradicated[1]. The attitude of Gregory the Great towards native British customs is clear from his letters to the band of missionaries whom he had sent to Britain. There had been a time when, his zeal outrunning his discretion, he had enjoined a root-and-branch policy of extermination, but milder counsels finally prevailed. His later instructions show that he had wisely repented of his intolerance. He directed his emissaries to assimilate all that was consistent with Christian doctrine, but to discard the rest.[2] Mellitus was to destroy the idols, but to convert their temples into churches and to consecrate them by sprinkling with water, duly blessed by solemn prayer, instead of the blood of animals, which had in pagan times sprayed the walls. He reminded the missionaries that "men climb not by leaps and bounds, but by gradual steps". The annual festivals to which the natives and their forefathers had become wedded, should not be abolished, but preserved as dedication festivals in honour of holy martyrs. The practice of slaughtering cattle, familiar to Jute, Saxon and Angle, was to be continued, and the Christian congregations to feast on the flesh of the victims, seated in booths of branches around the newly consecrated churches, and to give thanks to the Bestower of all blessings. The established religion of the Roman Empire had set a precedent for even-handed toleration. Indulgent towards other creeds, so long as they did not interfere with State concerns or preach disloyalty, desirous of conciliating the inhabitants of conquered countries, Republican and Imperial Rome had not been ashamed to appropriate exotic elements from the religion

[1] Cf. Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapost. Zeitalter*, 1899.

[2] Bede, H. E., i, c. 30.

professed by their new subjects. And now the Church fell in with that long recognized policy.[1]

The Celtic imagination revelled in peopling the unseen with airy beings. Not only were the Trinity, Angels, Prophets and other Christian powers invoked, but the natural elements were also implored to intervene on behalf of the petitioner against merciless forces, spells of women, smiths, and druids.[2] The world of nature was supposed to be quivering with life. In every lake there lurked some dreaded being who might at times be discerned darkly moving to and fro through the twilight. Indeed, Celtic Britain presents so wide a field for the investigation of similar phenomena that it becomes necessary to exercise self-restraint, and to choose a few specimens which exhibit the chief characteristics of these time-honoured superstitions.[3]

The wide diffusion of the cult in Ireland is attested by the fact that the country possesses not less than three thousand sacred wells[4] A remarkable Irish incantation (contained in St. Patrick's *Lorica*) affords an illustration of the belief and practice. To this day the country population have implicit faith in the existence of maleficent or beneficent spirits. Voices of the Great Mystery speak from the corries in the hills, from the mountain torrent, and from the depth of the lough. The pages of

[1] Cf. Adamnan, ii, c. 11; St. Columba blesses a noxious spring in the county of the Picts, to which divine honours had been paid; the penitential canon at the end of the *Missal* of St. Columbanus: "Si quis ad arbores vel fontes votum voverit, tres annos poeniteat, quia hoc sacrilegium est". This is followed by a form of prayer for blessing a well. Cf. *Vita Trip.*, ed. W. Stokes, pp. 122, 323, honorabant magi fontem, et immolaverunt dona ad illum in modum dei.

[2] See e.g. P. D. Hardy, *The Holy Wells of Ireland*, 1836, and Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland.*

[3] The best plan seems to adopt the Comparative Method.

[4] W. G. Wood, *Pagan Ireland*, p. 143.

Adamnan afford evidence of a widespread belief in the power of the spirit world in Scotland also, where it was said that Druids could subdue the spirits by dint of enchantments. For Columba likewise these agencies really existed, and could be overcome only by the knowledge of the true God. Erasmus Saunders (in the seventeenth century) speaks of the Welsh in his time flocking to springs and fountains where they bathed and left oblations. That this was no passing phase is evidenced by the stubbornness with which the practice held its ground, and by the survival to the present day of certain customs which are redolent of the credulity of past ages. Unable to quench the native passion for the cultus, the Church made the best of the matter, and endeavoured to lead the traditional belief into right channels.

A further consideration disposed the authorities to deal tenderly with the pre-Christian practices. Water had from time immemorial been regarded as an emblem of purity, and in religious rites (Pagan or Christian, Eastern or Western, Gentile or Jewish) the use of lustral water entered largely into the personal acts of sanctification. Thus a compromise was effected. When the Italian missionaries set foot on the shores of Britain they laid the false gods and goddesses under an interdict, and preached the Trinity ; but they baptized converts at the heathen springs, they reared the Cross or erected a chapel[1] over the wells, which they now placed under the protection of the "Mother of God", of Jesus Himself,[2] the Apostles Peter and Paul, or of holy men and women celebrated in parochial annals.

[1] In some cases these structures may have been adaptations of pre-Christian shrines. Cf. Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, 1905, p. 206 ; Plummer, *Vitae Sanct. Hib.*, *I*, cl.

[2] For Cornwall see Quiller-Couch, p. 90.

The praises of Ffynnon Collwyn in Glamorganshire, have been chanted by a grateful patient :—

"Duw gwyn i'm Benwyn beunydd-y fo'n nerth
Ef yw Naf tragywydd,
Duw ddidwyll da i ddedwydd,
Duw 'n rhoi fy enaid yn rhydd.
Gan Dduw nef, on'd ef, iawn yw dwyn-iddo
Fe weddi fo adwyn ;
Gwelais gael gwedi gloes gwyn
Gwelliant with Ffynnon Gollwyn.
Yn y rhodd Duw gwyn heb gwyno-Ffynnon
E'r ffyniant i'm puro
Iechyd i'm bryd o fewn bro
Amlygwyd wrth deml Iago."[1]

Dafydd Benwyn a'i Cant pan gafas welliant, yn 1580.

The poets frequently allude to infirmities cured, to a prayer granted, or to a sin atoned for :

Gweddi at Gynhafal[2] sant rhag Gwayw mewn Clun.

"Y ceidwad rhag gwayw adwyth
I glaf a ludd glwyfau lwyth
Curio[3] i[4] bum rhag gwewyr byd
Cynhafal cwyno hefyd
Cwynais haint nid cynes hwyl
Claf o gwyn clwyf ag anwyl[5]

* * * *

Y lle hwn oll a henwir
Alwan hesp yn Alun hir[6]
Gwnant i Dduw[7] gynt weddiau
Gelyn cawr[8] or glun cau
Dyn a wnaeth daioni 'n ol

---

[1] Eglwys y Pil (Pyle), Morganwg.

[2] Cynhafal, founder of Llangynhafal, in Denbighshire. His well, situated about a quarter of a mile from the church, was famous for the cure of warts ; the patient pricked them with a pin which he then threw into the water. *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 54.

[3] v.l., crio. [4] y. [5] Here follow particulars of his lameness.

[6] v.l., Elwan yn help Alun hir. [7] v.l., Cant i Dduw.

[8] v.l., goresgyn kawr ger glyn kaw. The bard is here reminding Cynhafal how he tortured Benlli Gawr, "filling his body with agony and wild-fire", which he sought to allay in the Alun, but the river refused its aid and the giant's bones were burnt to a cinder at Alun Hesp (Dried up Alun), in the parish of Cilcain. The legend is fully discussed by Messrs. Baring Gould and Fisher, in *British Saints*, sub. v., Cynhafal. The giant gave his name to Moel Enlli, one of the hills of the Clwydian range, and probably to Ynys Enlli (Bardsey).

Dibech oeddynt[1] bucheddol
Ymwaredwr mawr ydwyt
A mach[2] dyn am iechyd wyt
I doddi nych[3] dydd a nos
Y daeth iechyd oth achos
Ffynnon i ti hoff Ennaint[4] oedd
Ffrwd nod a ffardwn ydoedd
Aml yn hon ymlaen henaint
Ydoedd help i doddi haint[5]
F'enaid oedd fu niod win[6]
Frig i ffrwd fawr gyffredin
Ful[7] wyf a dyn chlaf ei dal

Cyn i hyfed Cynhafal
Gwae adyn[8] gan wayw ydwyf
Gweddiwr yt gweddi 'r wyf[9]
Gwrando fod gwirion di farn
Gwaedd gyda gweddi gadarn
Edrych hyn o drwch[10] arnun[11]
A golch glwyf o gylch y Glun.

* * * *

Dod ddau bwngc dedwydd ei bod
Dwy arch ym drwy iach ammod
Iechyd ym om nych wayw dwys
Am rhoi wedi ymharadwys."

Gru. ap Ieuan ap Llyw. Fychan.[12]

Cywydd I Ddyfnog.

"Dyfnog wr dwfn a garaf
am a dal f'oes mi ai dy-laf
dof ith eglwys ddwys yn Ddol
Llanrhaidr[13] mewn lle rheiol
dy ddelw di addolwn
dy liw yn wir dy lun a wnn
yn y nef ith gartrefwyd
da gida Duw geidwad wyd
dy wrthiau am diwarthawdd[14]

yn y man hwnn ym yn hawdd
pistill o waith hapusteg
a roed it wr radau teg
mawr ei glod miragl ydyw
ffrwd groiwdeg or garreg yw
ffynnon or eigion a red
ragorawl i roi gwared
triagl[15] heb swnd[16] or grwndwal[17]
ni wyr dyn yn aur a dal

---

[1] Oeddyt. [2] Meichiau, "bail," "surety".

[3] Nychdod, "languishing".

[4] Cf. "Ennaint twymyn", applied to the hot baths of Bath. "A'r gwr hwnw (Bladudus) a adeiladwys Caer Fadon ac a wnaeth yno yr enaint twymyn." Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llewelyn Fychan, in his awdl to the Rood of Dinmeirchion, speaks of Egypt as "tir hoff enaint", in reference to the art of embalming with perfumes. Cf. *Herodotus*, ii, 86. See Miltwn's poem, p. 400.

[5] v.l., i ddiodde haint. [6] v.l., hynod oedd fy niod win.

[7] v.l., kul wyf a dwn klaf i dal. [8] v.l., gwan adyn.

[9] v.l., gweiddi r wyf. [10] Cf. awr drwch, "hour of distress".

[11] v.l., annwn. [12] Brit. Mus. Add. 31,087, f. 402, *Caerhun*, No. 2.

[13] Yn Nghymmeirch. [14] *Diwarthu*, carry, remove.

[15] "Love is the *treacle* of sin, a sovran salve for body and soul." Piers Plowman, *Vision of Holy Church*.

[16] Sand, gravel. [17] Groundwall, foundation.

Rhaidr gras i bob nasiwn[1]
er rhad a hap y rhoed hwnn
dwfr rhagorol feistrolaeth
presen ni wyr pris a wnaeth
prif afon seion[2] y sydd
berw llawn a bair llawenydd
arwydd enwog Jorddonen
gradd a ffons[3] oi gwraidd ai phen
gwneuthur yn eglur a wna
uwch ei deml iechyd yma
golchi clwyf o gylch cleifion
a bwrw eu haint a bair honn
erioed gwneuthur yr ydoedd
y claf yn iach coelfaen[4] oedd
Dyfnog hael da ofyn ced[5]
breua gwr a bair gwared
attad y rhed y gwledydd
wrthit sal o wrthiau sydd
pob cul afiach pob clefyd
pob gwann o bedwar bann byd
pob efrydd rhwym afrwydd rhus[6]
pob nifer pob anafus
ebrwydd fydd yn rhydd ir rhain
mawredd oth wrthiau mirain[7]
pob dall gweled ni allai
glod dy nerth gweled a wnai
pob byddar cynnar eu ced
yn glaiar gwnai i glywed
dy ras aml a droes yma
pob mud i ddwedyd yn dda
gwewyr oerion gair irad[8]
ar frech wenwynig oer frad
ith bistill ced cyrched cant
gwych feddwl ag iach fyddant
oth fraint lle mynnaist oth fro
bennadur sant benydio
oerni y dwr arnad oedd
garw gadarn or garreg ydoedd
hynn a droes fawr einioes fri
einioes yn iechyd ini
tra fuost difost ofeg[9]
urddwr dysg ar y ddaiar deg
rhodres byd nai wrhydri
mewn ystad nis mynnaist di
gwrthod yr holl bechodau
cordio'n fraisg caru Duw'n frau
gwisgo Crist a gwasgu'r croen
rhawn dewbais[10] nid rhan diboen
a haiarn cadarn yn cau
fu ith gylch o faith gylchau
ni fynnaist nerth aberthwr
yn dy bryd ond bara a dwr
er ynnill gwlad y tad hen[11]
berffaith heb drangc na gorffen."

Nys gwyddys pwy a'i cant.[12]

In short, the saints who now owned the wells simply entered upon the heritage of the heathen *numina*.

The seasons chosen for periodical pilgrimages to wells is not devoid of significance, and prove that the custom goes back to the cult of the pagan *genius loci*. These expeditions were made in spring, after the ice had melted, and at mid-summer, when nature was in full bloom ; for

[1] Nation. [2] Zion. [3] Latin *fons*, fountain. [4] Cf. p. 205, n. 1.
[5] Gift. [6] Suffering from an impediment.
[7] Beautiful, fair. [8] Cf. p. 302, n. 3. [9] Speech.
[10] Haircloth, sackcloth. [11] The Ancient of days, the Father.
[12] Llanstephan MS. 167, f. 331.

then the divine powers especially demanded homage.[1] Accordingly, on Good Friday and on Easter morning, the peasantry trooped before sunrise to draw water for use during the rest of the year. St. Nun's well in the parish of Altarnun, Cornwall, was especially efficacious in cases of frenzy. The patient was placed with his back to the well, and with a sudden blow on the breast was tumbled into the water, and "bowsened" until he "forgot his fury". If his right wits returned St. Nun received thanks; if, however, small amendment appeared, the patient was again plunged in, and the process repeated, while there remained in him any hope of life.[2]

[1] A belief widely prevails even now that at Eastertide water possesses a peculiar power.

[2] Carew, *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), p. 153. St. Nun (the "Nonn verch Gynyr o Gaergawch", who was the mother of Dewi Sant) is the usual Cornish form, and the place is *Altarnun* (pronounced Altar-Nún). (A neighbouring parish is Davidstowe; Davy and Davies are common surnames in Cornwall.) The bowsening story is not unlike the story of the Well of St. Meriasek at Camborne. This well is not traceable now (as there has been so much mining about Camborne it is not wonderful), but in the time of Hals, the historian of Cornwall (1685-1739), people resorted there "to wash and besprinkle themselves out of an opinion of its great virtue and sanctity". Those who were sprinkled were "called by the inhabitants merrasicks. These again are called by others mearagaks, *alias* moragiks: that is to say, persons straying, rash, fond, obstinate." (Hals, under "Camborne".) These words are really corruptions of the name of Meriasek (Meriadoc), a Breton Bishop, who, according to the Cornish account, miraculously caused a well to spring up at Camborne:—

"Inweth an dour ow fenten
Rag den varijs in certen
Peseff may fo eff ely
Thy threy arta thy skyans;
Ihesu, arluth a selwans
gront helma der the vercy."

"Also the water of my well
For a mad man certainly
I pray that it be a salve
To bring again to his sense;
Jesu, Lord of salvation,
Grant this through Thy mercy."

Beunans Meriasek (1511). Life of St. Meriasek, lines 1005-1010.

The name Meriadoc becomes Meriasek in Cornish by a common

Photo by Gibson, Penzance.

To face p. xxv.

St. Ruan's Well (with niche for the Saint's Image), near the Lizard.

But sacred wells did more than remedy bodily and mental disease. They resolved perplexities, and afforded insight into futurity.[1] A deep sense of awe crept over the worshipper as he approached the oracle. The methods of interpretation were various : ripples on the surface of the water ; strains of music, which the votaries fancied they detected ; the rise and fall of the water ; stones or sticks flung into the well ; the movements of the fish disporting themselves in the water ;—all were infallible tokens. If the answer was ambiguous or obscure, a Lady of the fountain, a tawny Sibyl or other fortune-teller, was at hand to interpret the omen to the quaking petitioner.[2]

change of d to s (cf. tas for tad, nans for nant), and later (if not always) an s followed by a vowel often had the sound of an English j. So "Mearagaks" or "Meerageeks" (with soft g) evidently meant "Meriaseks". The word was used for a noisy person in the Camborne district as late as the early nineteenth century in the form "merry-jeek", with an evident false analogy derivation connected with the English word "merry".

A similar practice was observed in Killin parish, in Perthshire. The deranged were brought to be dipped in St. Fillan's pool, and certain ceremonies were enacted. After remaining all night in the chapel bound with ropes the bell was set upon their heads with great solemnity. Sir T. Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xvii, p. 377.

[1] This belief was not confined to Aryan races. Robertson Smith remarks upon its prevalence among the Semites. *Religion of Semites*, pp. 133-166. Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 10, illustrates the fondness of the Germans for this method of augury. So too Plutarch, *Life of Cæsar*, c. 19. Pope Gregory III, A.D. 731, addressing German princes, prohibited "fontium auguria". The process of revealing the future was, in Ireland, attributed to water generally. *Lismore Lives of Saints*, p. 29 ; *Revue Celtique*, xxvi, 8.

[2] It is hard to escape the conclusion that the fish here really represented the water spirit, who was supposed to take upon him this form. Cf. Lütolf, Nr. 222 ; Runge, p. 120. There are several stories of these fish in a holy well in Cornwall. It was said that St. Levan used to find a fish in his well every day for his daily meal, and when his sister St. Manaccan came to visit him he found two fishes there. This is like the story of St. Paul the First Hermit, to

The fountain dedicated to St. Sampson in the *Liber Landavensis* affords a peculiarly interesting instance of imitative magic.[1]

> "Nautae illius gentis Armoricae, propter ventum consuetum ad naves illorum, ut in directum navigare possent ad rectum iter ubi velint, consuetum habent illum saluificum fontem purgare, et saepius ac saepius per interventum sancti pontificis (Saint Sampson) Dominus largitur precarium illorum, id est ventum ad velum navigii, ut cum gaudio gradiantur per aequoreum iter."

A precise parallel occurs at a well called Tobar na Cobhrach, the "well of assistance" in the island of Inismurray: "When the islanders . . . . . are too long detained on the island by tempestuous weather, they drain this well into the sea and repeat certain prayers, by which the storm will immediately subside through the miracles of God and St. Molaise who blessed the well".[2]

These favours, however, were not lightly or lavishly bestowed. The presiding deity or tenant of the fountain frequently required to be conciliated. None might approach the Presence empty-handed. St. Tecla's well at Llandegla affords an illustration of a survival of a Pagan custom under Christian auspices; and recalls the offerings made in ancient and modern times to the spirits of the stream. It was especially efficacious in cases of Clwyf

whom a raven used to bring a loaf every day, and when St. Anthony went to visit him the raven brought two loaves. It is traceable to the story of Elijah, and there are scholars who say that the Or'bim of *I Kings*, xvii, 4, 6, should not be read as "ravens", but *Orebim*, *i.e.*, men of Oreb, or possibly *Arabim*, Arabs. So the pedigree of the story possibly leads back to a mistranslation of the Hebrew. The Manx Bible takes that view, and says "cummaltee Oreb", the inhabitants of Oreb, instead of "fee" (ravens). But from the Septuagint onwards the miraculous view has been more commonly accepted. A similar story is told of St. Neot's well in Cornwall. [1] p. 133 (109).

[2] Plummer, *Vit. Sanct. Hib.*, who explains, "The weakening the fountain weakens the opposing elements".

Tegla or epilepsy. The invalid bathed in the well after sunset, made an offering, and walked round the well, carrying a cock or hen.[1]

In South Germany black hens are still offered to Saints by invalids or their kinsmen.[2] Among the remnants of many a dark and bloody superstition that lingered in the Hartz Valley, a black cock used to be substituted for the human victim once offered to propitiate the dreaded powers.[3] The frequent tributes of flowers and garlands of mountain

[1] Pennant, *Tours*, ii, 15 (1883). The identity of this Thecla is not easy to ascertain (there were altogether seventeen saints of that name); but if this is the original St. Thecla, about whom the very Early Christian *Acts of Paul and Thecla* were written, it is interesting to note that according to those Acts (cap. x) she went from Seleucia to a mountain called Kalamon or Rhodeon, where people came to her to learn the religious life and to be healed of various diseases and "unclean spirits" (which generally means epilepsy) were cast out by her.

[2] Panzer, *Bayr. Sagen*, 2, 32. There is positive proof that the usage prevailed in other parts of Germany, but see Kroop, *Sagen aus Posen und Wales*; Runge, *Quellkult*, p. 210. Cf. the Greek saying "A cock to Aesculapius". "The doctor was called in to see a woman who had some eruption on her face. On asking her to uncover her face, he found it presented a most ghastly appearance, being all smeared with the blood of a black cock. This unfortunate fowl is a sovereign remedy for many troubles, and is sometimes in a vicarious way buried alive. Within the memory of people still living an instance of this is known to have occurred in Ross-shire." J. Kerr, *Memories grave and gay*, ch. 25.

[3] For bloody sacrifices, see Kuhn, *Schwartzwald. Sagen*, p. 426, There seems to be a good deal of anthropology behind this custom. We hear of its being done with the foundations of new buildings, where it seems to be a substitute for burying a human victim (cf. the legend of Merlin and Vortigern in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. vi, cap. 17, etc., or of Ambrosius in Nennius) to secure the stability of the building. It is akin to stories such as those of the Devil's Bridges at Andermatt, in Cardiganshire, and in other places, where a human soul is redeemed by that of an animal. Compare also the Jewish rite of the redemption of the first-born (*St. Luke*, ii, 23, 24), which is still practised, and is one of the things for which a *Cohen* ("priest"; all Cohens are reputed descendants of Aaron), is required.

ash,[1] or of food, which were, until quite recently, made in various parts of Celtic Britain, may be paralleled from other quarters of the globe.[2] It can hardly be doubted that the latter were intended for consumption by the spirit, as appears from the following instance where the petitioner, in presenting meal, uses the ~~following~~ formula: "Brünnlein, ich bringe dir das Abendmälchen ; sage mir die Wahrheit, was geschehen werde."[3] The spirit took the strength out of the repast; the worshippers feasted on the remainder. Very common was the votive offering of coins, silver plate, statuettes of gods, pictures of the limbs which had been cured by the genius of the stream. Ancient Italy[4] and Gaul furnished many illustrations of the practice, but nowhere was it preserved with more tenacity than in Celtic Britain. Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides abound in examples.

Still more common in these countries were pinwells,

[1] This plant was a sovereign specific against the malign influences of wizards and witches.

[2] In *Corrector Buchardi*, p. 57, one of the questions at Confession reads: "Hast du Brot oder irgend ein Opfer zu den Quellen gebracht oder dort gegessen ?" "Have you brought bread or any other offering to the springs ~~and~~ or eaten there ?"

[3] Spring, I bring thee thy supper; tell me the truth, what will happen ?" The diminutives are used for spring and supper by way of endearment and propitiation. Grohmann, *Aberglaube*, No. 321 ; cf. Liebrecht, *Gervasius*, 101. For what looks like a libation see *Acta Sanctorum Hib.*, ed., de Smedt et de Backer, c. 280; Hardy, *Holy Wells of Ireland*, pp. 31, 55 ; Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands*, p. 244.

[4] Suetonius, *Vit. Tib.*, c. 14. Tiberius threw golden dice into the source of the Aponus, near Padua, to ascertain his fortune. Such votive offerings may be seen still in some Catholic countries. One sees in Italy and France waxen, silver, and even gold miniature legs, arms, hearts, and other limbs hung round special altars in certain churches.

into which horseshoes, stones, nails[1] and pins (accompanied with a wish, silent or expressed)[2] were thrown to win the Saint's favour, or for purposes of divination or witchcraft.[3] The interpretation turned upon the region of the sky indicated by the pin or needle's point.[4] Sometimes the pin was bent and then thrown into the water as a sign of the liberation of the afflicted from the disease.[5] But in all probability these objects must be included under the head of oblations. Rags, which were hung on branches near, should probably be regarded as mystic means of healing; the theory being that the disease was transferred to the shreds of cloth.[6] The circumstance that these votive offerings were

[1] Cf. Vernaleken, *Mythen*, p. 5.

[2] As in Britain so in Brittany. Sébillot, *La légende dorée*, p. 73.

[3] *e.g.*, St. Elian's Well, near Bettws Abergele.

[4] So in St. Elian's Well.

[5] For Brittany, see *e.g.* Bérendon (Villemarqué, *Revue de Paris*, xii, 47-58). At this well children throw in pins, and say: "Ris donc, fontaine de Bérendon, et je te donnerai une épingle". This is common in Cornwall. The idea is probably that of an offering of metal, reduced, as offerings tend to be, to its lowest terms.

[6] The custom of hanging bits of cloth, etc., on adjacent bushes was kept up in Glamorganshire until quite recent times. Ffynon Deilo at Llandaff is a conspicuous example of these springs, and much could be told of its recent history. In the *Book of Llandaff*, new ed., p. 136, there is the picturesque story of the women who were washing butter at the Well of Llandaff, when St. Docheu made a bell-shaped vessel of the butter and drank out of it; also the popular fountain of Cai in Brittany, where miracles were said to be wrought by the invocation of St. Teilo. At Llandaff Court there is a well with a niche where the Croes Deilo (now in the grounds in front of the house) long stood.

Monmouthshire abounds in curative wells, all bearing picturesque names, such as the Simmery (St. Mary) Well, Monmouth; the Well of Ease, on the Kymin, Monmouth; the Virtuous Well and the Saintry (Sanctuary) Well, Trellech or Llandogo; the Nine Wells and Ffynon Gofor at Llanover. Cf. Horace *Carm.*, i, 5. Me tabula sacer Votiva paries indicat uvida Suspendisse potenti Vestimenta maris Deo. Dionysius the Atheist, when reminded that the numerous tablets and *ex votos* put up in the Temple of Poseidon ~~formed~~ moved the

hung up before sunrise points to a connection with a primitive sun-worship. As a rule, wishing-wells were turned to a beneficent use, but they also served the reprehensible purpose of invoking curses on some obnoxious individual, or of wreaking vengeance on enemies. While the suppliant stood near the brink, the owner of the well read passages from the Scriptures, and taking a small quantity of water, handed it to the applicant to drink. What was left he threw over his head. The gesture was repeated thrice, the petitioner continuing to mutter his weird imprecations. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, Ffynon Elian in the parish of Llandrillo yn Rhos was frequented by hundreds harbouring such sinister designs. The tenacity

existence of a Providence, asked where were the offerings of those who had been drowned. Those who have visited the fortress on the summit overlooking the bay of Marseilles called Notre Dame-de-la-Garde, a shrine held in great veneration by the sailors of the Mediterranean, will remember the swords, guns, and pictures of ships placed in the chapel by returned soldiers and sailors. Cf. p. 336 (Stella Maris).

At Madron Well above Penzance, rags are hung about on the neighbouring bushes. Close by, with a remarkable font fed by the well, is a baptistery of early date, with the stone altar still *in situ*. It was complete until the Parliamentary soldiers unroofed it in 1650 or thereabout. The healing virtues of the well are discussed by Bishop Hall, of Exeter, in his "The Great Mystery of Godliness". Every year there are still expeditions to it of the nature of pilgrimages. On the first Sunday in May young men and maidens go there and drop into the well crosses made of rushes to ascertain their future fate in marriage.

A well to which people resorted in great numbers as recently as the late eighteenth century has been recently rediscovered at Constantine, in St. Merryn parish, near Padstow. It had been buried for something over a century in the drifting sand of the *Towans*, as sand links are called in Cornwall, and was recently dug out. St. Constantine is probably Constantine, the son of Cador, who succeeded Arthur. He began badly, but came under the influence of St. Petroc, and, after a miraculous hunted-stag story, like that of St. Hubert, was converted and became a monk. There

with which the peasantry of the Middle Ages, literally the counterparts of the *pagani* in the early centuries of the Christian era, clung to these practices, is attested by the prohibitions directed against them. Realizing the moral dangers of such customs, the Church fulminated against them ; the State issued edicts forbidding them ; and the Reformation was supposed to eradicate them, but human nature was stronger than Church, State and Reformation, and, in a modified form, well-worship lived on.

St. Winifred's in Flintshire occupies a unique position among the wells of healing virtue in Wales and illustrates several of the features already discussed.

Customs connected with it are recounted by Pennant in

are two stations of St. Petroc close by, Padstow (Petrocstowe) and St. Petroc Minor (more commonly called "Little Petherick"). There are interesting remains of the well chapel.

In 1628, a number of people brought before the Kirk Session of Falkirk were accused of going to Christ's Well on the Sundays during May to seek their health. They were found guilty and sentenced to repent "in linens" three several Sabbaths. In the Session's Records of June 2, 1628, we find it stated, with reference to this trial, that "it is ordained that if any person, or persons, be found superstitiously and idolatrously, after this, to have passed in pilgrimage to Christ's Well, on the Sundays of May to seek their health, they shall repent in *sacco* (sack-cloth) and linen three several Sabbaths, and pay twenty lib. *toties quoties*, for ilk fault; and if they cannot pay it, the baillies shall be recommended to put them in ward, and to feed them on bread and water for aught days". In 1657, several parishioners were summoned before the same Session for resorting to a well at Airth, a village six miles north of Falkirk, on the banks of the Forth, and the whole of them were ordered to be publicly rebuked for their "superstitious carriage". C. Heath, p. 119. Cf. W. G. Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, 1902, ii, ch. 3. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. ii, p. 134. Miss Stokes, in *Three Months in the Forests of France*, gives many instances of well worship in France. The custom of hanging up rags obtains amongst the Yezeedees of Persia (Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, 1852, vol. i, p. 99), Mahommedans of Northern Asia and the Shintoists of Japan.

his History of Whitford. For example, "The patient made an offering of a crooked pin to the nymph of the stream, and sent up at the same time a certain ejaculation, by way of charm ; but the charm is forgotten and the efficacy of the water lost".

The bards testify their allegiance to the saint :—

"Croew ddwr iach, ferwddwr fowrddawn,
Badd cynes, fan doethles fendithlawn ;
Ffynnonddwr hoff uni[w]onddawn,
Gwen Frewy a ddyru ddawn.
Berw glych aroglwych firaglwedd
Ffrydiog, ddwr enwog dda'i rinwedd.
Ffynnon mewn gorhoff annedd
Gwn fry mai Gwenfrewy ai medd."

Wm. Byrsinsia.[1]

"Treffynnon dirion lle da i weryd—klaf
rrag klwyfau anhyfryd
da diwedda dydwyddyd
iechyd a bair uwch da byd.

"Kael enaint[2] a braint berwiach—gwiw nowsaidd
gan Iessu yn gynnesach
Ffynnon Gwenvrewy ffeiniach
A na'r enaid yn iach.

"Treffynnon burion mae'n berwi Kroewddwr
Kry enaint daioni
pair i echrys pur achri
heb gel ymadel a mi.

"Ennaint o fwg nant o vedd—Treffynnon
Trwy ffynniant digoned
Kael iechyd . . uwch a hedd
dro gwiw ras a drugaredd."

Robert Miltwn.

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[1] William Burchinshaw, a native of Llansannan, who flourished in the seventeenth century. Brit. Mus. Add. 14,964.

[2] See p. 390, n. 4.

Photo by Donald Macbeth, London.

To face p. 401.

I WEN VREWI AR FFYNNON.

"Y vun wyrv o'r van oror,
a droes y maen dros y mor,
vo gae wan ac awenydd,
Gennyd ras ac enaid rydd.[1]
Mae'n y vron mal manna vry,
verw awen i wenvrewy
Tai[2] sydd val y tes iddi,
Trev o gaer nev[3] in gwawr ni,
ac wrth y drev grthieu[4] a drig,
Dwr garw a gwaed ar gerrig.[5]
Goreu gwin gwir a ganwn.
I dorri haint yw'r dwr hwn.
Kreadog[6] lawog ai gledd
Noeth gymmell a wnaeth gamwedd.
Pan[7] dorres pan na deuryd,[8]
Pen y lloer gwnaeth poen a llid,[9]
Beuno[10] ai rhoes yn ben rhaith,
neu'r[11] elai yn vyw eilwaith.
Pymtheg mlynedd mewn gweddi,
Vo aeth hon ni bu waeth hi.
Kynnal heb anwadalu,
Krevydd a bedydd y bu.
Ni bu yn ffraingk neb un oi ffryd,[12]
Ni bu yn vyw neb un vowyd."[13]

The poet proceeds to describe her gifts and graces:—

"Os un a ddaw heb synwyr
Ai kaiff ond ynynu kwyr.[14]
A dywedyd os mud ydyw,
Dyn byddar klayar y klyw
Un heb gerdded i redeg
Dyn dall i weled yn deg.
Nid anael[15] mwy no Dwynwen,[16]
Nid anoleu[17] gwrthieu gwen.

---

[1] See p. 220, n. 5.

[2] The chapel over the well, with five recesses, was built by Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII (just coeval with Ieuan Brydydd Hir). The poet may have had this structure in mind.

[3] Cf. p. 360, note 9. [4] Gwrthiau.

[5] The stones, which were discoloured with the saint's blood, were said to assume, on the anniversary of her decollation, a colour not possessed by them at other times. Cf. p. 406, n. 3.

[6] Caradog, the assailant. [7] v.l., penn.

[8] v.l., na deurrid. [9] Nature was convulsed.

[10] Two fields near the well are called Gerddi S. Beuno, "St. Beuno's gardens".

[11] v.l., nes. [12] Gwenfrewi, fairer than any French beauty.

[13] No one lived a life like hers. St. Winifred survived her decapitation fifteen years and died at Gwytherin, in Denbighshire, where her remains rested until the reign of Stephen.

[14] Taper. [15] Formidable, awful. [16] See p. 322.

[17] Not obscure, not hid under a bushel.

Hael yw val haul wyl Ivan[1]
Ili a dyr wewyr ar wan.
Mawr yw'r dwr val mor ar dan,
Mal triagl ymol y truan.
Ni threia[2] mwy no throya.[3]
Ni thau'r[4] dwr a gwneuthyr da.
Mae yn i ffons[5] man o'r ffydd,
Byd megis maen bedydd.[6]
Ag ynno mae gwen ai medd,
Aurddonen ir ddwy wynedd.[7]
Down atti wen dan y to,[8]
Ai ffib[9] win a ffawb yno
Yno kawn, ddyn unig gwan,
Ddiod val buchedd Ivan
Ychydig ddysgedig oedd
Ar vorwyn un arveroedd
Davneu[10] o'i gwytheu a gav
Oi chyveddach iach vyddav."[11]

Ivan Brydydd hir (1440-1470).

Cywydd i Wenfrewy.

"Y ferch wen fu r ychwanneg
Fal ir oedd un fil ar ddeg[12]
Gweryddon a gay raddoedd
Gwenfrewy deg un fryd oedd.

---

[1] St. John the Baptist's Festival, at Midsummer (June 24th). Cf. "The Sunshine of St. Eulalie" (February 12th) welcomed by French-Canadians.

[2] Ebb, decrease. [3] Troy, which sustained a ten years' siege.

[4] *Tewi*, be silent, cease. [5] Lat., *fons*. [6] Font.

[7] Cf. "Tarddu enaint Iorddonen", Tudur Aled (also of Gwenfrewi). Perhaps the form *Aurddonen* is intended as a play on *aur*, "gold". Cf. "por aur", p. 228, n. 2. [8] Of the chapel over the well.

[9] A pipe of wine. [10] Dafnau. [11] Brit. Mus. Add. 31,084.

[12] The possible historical basis for the legend of St. Ursula and her companions is the story told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and in the Mabinogi of the "Dream of Maxen Wledig", of the colonization of Armorica under the usurping Emperor Magnus Maximus (or Flavius Clemens Maximus) and his lieutenant, Conan Meriadoc. There are good grounds for thinking that there may be a substratum of truth in the colonization account, and that the legend of St. Ursula and her Eleven Thousand Virgins arose from the eager efforts of these celibate soldiers to possess themselves of wives. The name of Ursula and her father Dianotus and his brother Caradoc need not be taken as historical. There is, perhaps, some confusion by Geoffrey with a later Doniert or Dungarth King of Cornwall, whose name appears on an inscribed stone, "Doniert rogavit pro anima," in the parish of St. Clear, in Cornwall. He is said to have been drowned in 872 or 873, and to have been the son of Caradoc. The number 11,000 is probably an exaggeration, but the attempt to explain it away as a misreading of either the name of a "St. Undecimilla", or of an original "XI M(artyres) V(irgines) is a conjecture founded on no sort of evidence. The connection with Cologne is not mentioned by Geoffrey, though,

* * * * *
Nodi[1] amgylch nid ymgydd
Nod yr arf yn edav rydd
Tra fu yr mab ar i aberth
Ai weddi nvw[2] iddi yn nerth[3]
Arwain afon or nefoydd
A chwys[4] gras a chyscu roydd
Tyhyrnged[5] pan gododd gwen
Tarddu enaint[6] iorddonen
Llai o ferw yn llif ayron[7]
Neu effrates[8] na ffrwd hon
Eion[9] yn dwyn yn win da
Seion[10] tigris[11] antagra[12]
Awel deibr[13] o wlad ebryw[14]
Arogl o nef ir glyn yw
Ag ar[15] gwynt oi gro a gaid
Fal y gwynt o fel gynthaid[16]
Main gwiw arogl mewn gweryd

---

as he makes the company sail from London, the idea of their being driven by contrary winds to "strange islands", perhaps at the mouth of the Rhine, is not so improbable as it would seem if they had sailed from Cornwall. Possibly also "Armorica" (sea-board) might mean any part of the north coast of Gaul, not the western part only. It may be that the discovery of a Roman cemetery at Cologne, in which an inscribed stone bore the not very uncommon name of "Ursula", may have caused some antiquaries to rush to the conclusion that the bones found therein were those of St. Ursula and her companions. The Church of St. Ursula at Cologne is said to be on the site of a fifth century church, but the present church is mostly late. The modern Roman Breviary (Appendix, Officium Sanctorum recitandum aliquibus in locis ex indulto Apostolico. Oct. 21), gives what is substantially a shortened form of Geoffrey's story, only adding at the end "Quarum corpora Colonienses summo honore condiderunt", etc., and substituting "Germanicum littus" for Geoffrey's "strange island". The Welsh name for these Virgins is Gweryddon yr Almaen. *Buchedd Wrsula* in Peniarth MS., 182, f. 261 (translated from the Latin by Sir Hugh Pennant), gives an interesting but later tradition.

[1] v.l., nod o amgylch. The poet is referring to the red streak around the Saint's neck. [2] v.l., n wiw. [3] v.l., a nerth.

[4] v.l., achos. [5] Teyrnged. [6] See p. 402, n. 7, and 390, n. 4.

[7] Probably the river in Cardiganshire, though the next lines suggest Eurontes. [8] Euphrates. [9] v.l., Einon.

[10] v.l., Sion. Perhaps Gihon, the second river of Eden. *Gen.* ii, 13.

[11] Tigris. [12] v.l., Nant acra; Sant akra.

[13] Tiber. [14] v l., ne wlad Ebryw. [15] v.l., er.

[16] v.l., o fel y gynthaid. The first swarm; its honey was supposed to be purer than that of later swarms. Cf. Mel avo (a vo) chwechach naw mod no mel kynteit. *Mabin.* (ed. Rhŷs and Evans, 1887), p. 121, l. 26. The moss on the sides of the spring is said to have diffused a fragrant odour. This violet-scented moss (*Jungermannia Asplenioides*) is found in great abundance at a well in the parish of Llandysilio.

Mwsc a ban[1] y mysc y byd
Man per ar pob mayn pyrwyn
Main ag ol gwayd mwnwgl gwyn
Beth ydiw yr ol byth a drig
Band[2] y gwayd bendigedig
Dagrau fal kafod egroes[3]
Defni Crist o[4] fanau kroes
Daioni korff dyn y[5] kaid
Derbyn digr[6] dwr bendigaid
Dufriw[7] gwaed a dwfr a gwin
Dwyn ywch wrthiau dan chwerthin
Crych wyn gwraidd crechwen[8] groewddwr
Cael iechyd ynt[9] clochau dwr;
Aber brwd i berw[10] briwdan
Os brwd gwlith yr ysprud glan
Irder byd ywr dwr bedydd
A elwir ffons[11] olew r ffydd[12]
Aed i nofio dyn afiach
Ef a naill ain farw ai yn iach
A farno haint farw yn hon
Fe a ir nef or un afon

* * * *

Oe rhad ai gwyrth rhoed i gant
Einos[13] echnos yn ssychnant[14]
Iechud oi glefyd i glaf
Ag i hen gleiriach[15] gwahan glaf
Enaint o fwg nant y fagl
Ir rhai triain yw yr triagl
Rhag heiniau fil rhag hun fer[16]
Rhag gwaew llewig rhag llawer
Gwared a gay gred[17] i gyd
Gan gwynfan gwan ag ynfyd
Gwiliwch gant goleuwch gŵyr
Gwelais yno gayl synwyr
Y dall a wyl ayd iw llan
Ar dyn kripl er doe yn kropian[18]
Aed i offrwm y diffrwyth[19]
E ddeffry hon iddo ffrwyth
Doyn[20] yno a dyn anoyth
Oddiyno daw yn ddyn doyth
Eithr deufraych[21] a thrayd efrydd
A fo yn rhwym fe a yn rhydd

---

[1] Probably "musk and balm". [2] See p. 403a, lines 1-2.

[3] Eglantine berries. [4] v.l., Dafnau Krist ar vannau.

[5] v.l., o kaid. [6] Deigr. [7] v.l., di verw.

[8] The laughing waters. This probably refers to the plashing sound, as in the Greek καχλάζω, Lat. *cachinno* and ἐπιγελᾶν (used of waves and the mouth of rivers by Aristotle *Probl.*, 23, 24, and Strabo, 501); Minnehaha (Laughing Waters), the Sioux name for the Little Falls near Fort Snelling; and Æschylus's expression κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα *Prom. Vinct.*, l. 20, taken by Shelley in *Prom. Unbound* ("many-twinkling smile of ocean") to refer to the bright ripples. Cf. 'ridentibus undis', Lucretius, and p. 397, n. 5.

[9] v.l., ny, nwch and ym.

[10] v.l., or berw, oi berw. [11] Lat. *fons*, again.

[12] For the use of oil in the Bible in a figurative sense, cf. *Is.* lxi, 3, and *Heb.*, i, 9. [13] Einioes.

[14] A vale near the foot of the hill on which the town stands. Here St. Winifred is said to have lived in seclusion.

[15] Failing, decrepit. [16] Insomnia.

[17] v.l., 'r gred; grud (gryd). [18] Crawling on hands and knees.

[19] Cf. gwr . . . yn ddiffrwyth (ἀδύνατος) ei draed. *Acts*, xiv, 8.

[20] *Doe'n.* Cf. 339, n. 5. [21] v.l., aeth ir dwfr.

blin a thrwm heb law na throed
a ddaw adref ai ddwydroed
Bwrw dwyffon[1] iw hafon hi
Bwrw naid gar i bron wedi
Ir byddar help a ddyry hon
Mud a rydd ymadroddion
Arwyddion duw ar ddyn dwyn
Ef ai 'r marw 'n fyw er[2] morwyn
Os hely[3] y feddyges hon
Y ddav[4] iechid a ddychon
Iechid korff uchod i kaid
A chadw fun iechid fenaid
Pob iarll[5] ayd pob wr iw llys[6]
Pob brenin pob rhyw ynys
Edwart[7] doyth i dir at hon
Ar gweryd[8] ar i goron
Roen ar wallt[9] yr hen ar iav
Ag ar lawnt i garlantav[10]
Magu aruthr may gweryd
Maint oedd bwys mintioedd byd[11]
Mae yr dyrfa mor awdurfawr
Mae olau r llu yn malu r llawr
Mae enaid rhydd[12] maint iw yr ol
Oes Baradwys ysbrydol
Mae olew nef ym mlayn nant
Yn lle bevno yn llaw benant[13]
Am un Abad mae yn obaith
Y gwyl duw i glod[14] ai [g]waith
Yn goron York ne yngaer Non[15]
Y gorffeno gayr[16] ffynon."[17]

Tudur Aled.

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[1] Walking sticks; a crutch is ffon fagl. Many such evidences of healing are now to be seen at the well. [2] For a Virgin's sake (St. Winifred). [3] v.l., help. [4] v.l., yddo.

[5] It is worth noting that around the legend sculptured on the roof of the chapel and throughout the interior are shields displaying the arms of England, of Catherine of Arragon and of the Stanleys.

[6] v.l., pob iarll hen pob aer yw llys.

[7] When Edward I was taking measures for the final conquest of Wales he issued two mandates for the protection of the abbey on condition that the Monks should cease all commerce with the Welsh rebels. At this time the house was raised to the dignity of a mitred abbey, and the abbot was summoned to five Parliaments which were held during this reign. [8] The v.l., I roi gweryd makes better sense. [9] v.l., roi ar wallt. [10] "Lawn". v.l., a garland, i gaer lantau.

[11] Bodies of troops were a familiar sight at Holywell. The Abbey was alternately in the hands of Normans and Welsh, but the monks contrived to keep on good terms with both parties, at least so far as to escape serious molestation. In 1150, Owain Gwynedd inflicted a crushing defeat at Coleshill (or Counsyllt) in this parish on Ranulph Earl of Chester, and Madog ab Meredydd Prince of Powys; in 1157 he engaged Henry II in a narrow defile and gained a temporary advantage. [12] See p. 220, n. 5. [13] Llann benant. Dafydd Pennant, the abbot. v.l., yn llun beuno yn. [14] v.l., glyd.

[15] v.l., Ynghor yn iork. The poet seems to hope that the abbot may end his days as Archbishop of York or Bishop of Menevia. [16] Gaer.

[17] Brit. Mus. Add. 12,230, f. 75. Peniarth MS. 104, f. 129, and Llanstephan 47, f. 294; § 89. Brit. Mus. Add. 31,01, f. 311; 14,967, § 196; Cwrtmawr, 12, f. 534.

The wonders of St. Winifred's well are recounted in a controversial document of the reign of Queen Elizabeth:[1]

> "Allan o rifedi yw'r gwrthie a ddangossodd duw wrth ffynnon gwenfrewi er dechreuad y dwr hyd yr awrhon: ie, allan o rifedi yw'r amal glefydae a iachauwyd wrthi yny dyddie drygonys hynn er pan ddayth y gau ffydd newydd i ddirnas loegr. Mae digon yn fyw heddiw a fedran fanegy gwrthie mawr nodedig a welson ai llygaid wrth ddwr gwenfrewi."

Again,

> "gerllaw mynachloc dinas basi ymae ffynon wen vyrewe (Gwenfrewi) ai dwfwr yn berwi or ddaiar achyn gadarned val iteifl allan bethav trathyr ymion[2] ai ffrwd y symaint val i gwsnaethe i holl gvmrv petynt yn agos iddi a gwrthvawr yw Rac meirw neb ynti ac ynti i kair main kochion[3] val gwaed arnunt i arwyddockav y gwaed a golles gwenfrewe santes pan dored iffen ac y ddialedd ary gwr a dores iffen ef avydd y plant ef oi lin ef[4] yn kyfarth val kwn hyd pan ddelont yno i offrwm nev i amwythic[5] lle ymae i hesgyrn hi yn gorffowys."[6]

The above compositions by no means exhaust the historic interest of the theme.[7] The connection between Chester and Wales was of an intimate character, and party spirit ran high between Briton and Saxon in this region. Imagination may paint the mutual devastation and sanguinary conflicts that attended the border warfare of those times. To undertake a pilgrimage in such circumstances argued a resolute heart and devoted will. The Chronicles afford incidental glimpses of the dangers incident to pilgrimages to Holywell. Evidence nevertheless abounds

[1] See also pp. 19-21.

[2] Tra thrymion. [3] See p. 401, n. 5. [4] Caradog.

[5] See p. 407.

[6] Cardiff Free Library MSS., sixteenth century. Some stones in the narrow valley leading up to the Well are said to be survivals of the Stations at which the pilgrims prayed. Judging by other pilgrim resorts this is very likely.

[7] It is singular that no mention is made of Holywell in Domesday, nor in Giraldus Cambrensis, with all his appetite for the marvellous; he lodged a night at Basingwerk during his Crusading tour, 1188.

of the fervour which brought pilgrims other than Welshmen to this favourite shrine (Holywell being one of the three chief centres mentioned in well-known ecclesiastical decrees), of the routes followed, and the accommodation provided. It is a significant circumstance that the only road through Wales from north to south started at Holywell and ended at St. David's, both conspicuous pilgrim resorts in the Ages of Faith. Travellers to St. Winifred's may be traced far afield; for example, at the mountain shrine of St. Patrishow in Breconshire. At Ludlow also a lodging-house was established for their use. It would have been strange, indeed, were so time-hallowed a spot and so popular a centre as Holywell, unprovided with a religious foundation. So it proves; for the establishment of a society of monks at Basingwerk, dating from the year 1119, is demonstrated by the fact that Richard, son of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, being attacked by the Welsh on his way to Holywell, took refuge here.[1] Richard III. conferred upon the Abbot an allowance of ten marks each year for the maintenance of a priest at the chapel over the well, to minister to pilgrims. From that time to the summer day when Henry the Eighth's commissioners paid their official visit to the place, the house had been, in successive eras, and with varying fortune, frequented by pilgrims in never-failing succession.

The translation of the remains of St. Winifred by divine admonition, as it was said, from Gwytherin in Denbighshire to the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at the old Welsh town of Pengwern or Amwythig (Shrewsbury), in the reign of King Stephen, an acquisition destined to form an important commercial asset to that community, was the signal for a fresh outburst of religious ardour, owing to a vision; but it was a heavy blow to the fame and

[1] Bradshaw, *Life of St. Werburgh.*

prosperity of Holywell. The latter town was shorn of much of its ancient prestige, and Basingwerk must have suffered with it when the flow of pilgrims was diverted to the Saint's new resting-place. The reign of Queen Mary witnessed a revival of its popularity. Even the repressive measures passed in the times of Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth failed to extinguish the pilgrims' ardour. There are occasional references which prove that the spirit survived the Reformation. In 1626 the Privy Council wrote to Sir John Bridgman of Poole, Montgomery, enjoining the duty of putting a stop to these practices.[1] In 1629 two thousand persons came. His letters in the same year and in 1626 explained what steps he had taken to restrain the pilgrims. A document in the Record Office bears the title: "A note of Papists and Priests assembled at St. Winifred's well on St. Winifred's day, 1629". The persons whose names figure in the list hail for the most part from Lancashire, but the author, a spy in the employ of Government, says that they were men and women of "divers countries" to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundred besides "150 more priests". The last king to visit the shrine was James II., who went there in 1686 and presented a part of the dress worn by Mary, Queen of Scots, at the time of her execution.[2] His Queen commanded Sir Roger Mostyn (to whose descendants Basingwerk still belongs) to place a priest in possession.

[1] Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanies*, vol. iii.

[2] The King's avowed object was to ask the prayers of St. Winifred that he might have a son. This was in August 1687, and on June 10th, 1688, being Trinity Sunday, a son was born, who was in some respects one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, James III of England and VIII of Scotland, "non desideriis hominum sed voluntate Dei", as his son Henry IX expressed it on his medal. The pilgrimage to Holywell was one of the many harmless but injudicious acts which were connected with the event.

The influence of the Abbey as a centre of culture could not have been slight; the brotherhood dispensed unstinting hospitality to crowds of foreign devotees, and acted as a medium for the interchange of thought. The Book of Basingwerk attests the activities of the scribes. The Abbots patronised the Muses and encouraged the Welsh Bards and English minstrels, who repaid boons, received or solicited favours by compositions in honour of their reverend patrons. Such a Maecenas was Thomas ap Dafydd Pennant, to whom a poem was addressed by Gutyn Owain :—

"Neidio, fal gwr anwadal,
Yr wyf o Nef, Rufain Ial ;[1]
Ysbysu Dinas Basing,
Sydd raid swydd Assa, a ddring,
Llys Domas lles di ammau,
Lle a bair mawl, yw'r llwybr mau ;
Ei ddwy-wawl Arglwyddiaeth,
Yw'r lawnt i roe, ar lann traeth."

* * * * *

Tudur Aled and Thomas ap Rhys ap Hywel addressed him in a similar strain.

The Dissolution laid low this famous house. Fragments of the buildings remain in the shape of arches, pediments and walls attesting its ancient architectural grandeur. The narrow valley of Sychnant which runs down from the Well to the sea, though now desecrated, and sacrificed to the Moloch of utilitarianism, as the brethren of Basingwerk would have thought, still contains spots testifying to the beauty of the landscape and reminding the present generation that the founders of monasteries in the Middle Ages often had an eye for picturesque situations. The copious and transparent stream of water which issues from the Well is lost in a deep dell. A brook

[1] The district of Ial or Yale.

which flowed through Maes Glas (Greenfield, fit name for a sylvan scene of tranquillity and repose) beneath the walls of the precincts of the Abbey, afforded to its denizens a striking emblem of human life, and at the same time, by its soothing murmur, counselled contemplation and disposed the meditative mind to reverie. Sometimes the even tenour of the monks' life, and the round of devotional duties was broken by the clang of arms, and the quiet of their impregnable Eden was startled by the irruption of mailed men tormented by thirst for plunder or a passion for blood which even a sanctuary so sacred could not stay. Although the glory of Basingwerk has long since departed, the ivy-mantled ruins inspire awe, and the sycamore groves that wave over them whisper, "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the House of God . . for God is in Heaven and thou upon earth : therefore let thy words be few".

CHAPTER XIX.

Religious Effects of The Pilgrim Movement.

As the pilgrim movement responded to the deepest instincts of human nature, and was a universal and abiding phenomenon; so the impressions that it left on European civilisation were at once profound and far-reaching. Some of these results have been briefly noticed in connection with the successive stages in the growth, or some special manifestation, of the pilgrim spirit. It remains now to point out various broader aspects of the subject.

The mere change of scene produced a stimulating and recreative effect, which was the more accentuated because a moral motive underlay it.[1] Voltaire once observed that,

[1] The words of Cicero are well known : Movemur enim nescio quo pacto locis ipsis quibus eorum quos diligimus aut admiramur adsunt vestigia.

if in the ninth century the kingdom of Charlemagne alone possessed some measure of culture, this result was probably due to the Emperor's visit to Rome,—a curious confession on the part of this life-long antagonist of the Roman Church.[1] But his tribute to the educative influence of such journeys admits of wider application. The benefits accruing from pilgrimages in common with all travel, the enlargement of mind gained, the strength of character, the moral value of hardships bravely endured, and of dangers bravely faced, rendered a pilgrim the mediæval counterpart of the much travelled Greek :—

πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη.[2]

The pilgrim was taken out of his cramped environment, the squalid cabins and virgin forests of his home, and his thoughts were ennobled when he went wandering and wondering among the ruins of ancient magnificence, or in sites consecrated by historic memories and sacred associations. The professional palmer, the friar, the pardoner, and the monk—another common figure in the ranks of pilgrims—found their mental horizon recede immeasurably when their feet stood in the courts of Jerusalem or in the precincts of St. Peter's. The traveller brought back with him, as mementoes of his visit, or as gifts to the library of his monastery, not only stores of "spiritual treasures", but, what was of still more importance, an enlarged mental equipment, a taste for knowledge, and a spirit of intellectual adventure. The influence of travel on the Welsh is attested by the following incident. Birinus,

[1] "The eighth of the blessings", wrote Cathwulph to Charlemagne, "is that thou hast seen the golden and Imperial Rome." To this visit are probably traceable Charles's use of Italian scholars as craftsmen and his dream of erecting a new Rome in the Rhine land.

[2] *Odyssey*, i, 1.

while pacing the quays of Genoa, learnt the Saxon language from sailors visiting that port. On the suggestion of Pope Honorius he undertook to preach to the Angles and Saxons in mid-Britain, whither no teacher had penetrated. Arriving on the shores of Britain he turned his face first to Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. The Welsh population of these districts he found "by nature so hardy, and thanks to trade and travel, so intelligent, that they strengthened the mettle of the invader first by stubborn resistance, and then by gradual coalescence".

§ 1.

The pilgrim movement confirmed the loyalty of the faithful to the Church and contributed, at any rate for a while, to the erection of that fabric of ecclesiastical power and Papal absolutism, which afterwards became a recognized canon in the policy of the Holy See. This is clearly seen in the development of the Crusades. It has been observed on a previous page that their origin was of a complex character. The primary cause was the general awakening and expansive vigour of the Christian races, finding expression in the pilgrim impulse, in commercial enterprise, and a resolute determination to burst the barriers which Mahommedanism and Heathendom had offered to their progress. But, though the real origin must be looked for in the new life stirring the pulses of Christendom, the immediate, exciting causes were religious. To the ecclesiastical Order must be assigned the credit of inspiring, guiding, controlling and financing the campaigns. Hildebrand's assumption of the Tiara, under the title of Gregory VII, heralded the dawn of a new era ; it was he that initiated the idea of hurling an armed force upon the East, to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the unbeliever. Urban II kept the holy

enthusiasm aflame. Indeed, for seven centuries, that is to say, from the reign of Gregory until the final overthrow of the Turks at Lepanto, mainly through the heroic obstinacy of Pius V, the rescue of the Tomb of Christ was the constant cry of the Papal See. The aim was prosecuted with great pertinacity and zeal, with alternations of success and failure, but, to whichever side fortune inclined, the Papacy, consciously or unconsciously, stood to gain. The Chroniclers abound in allusions to the influence wielded by the Pope on these expeditions, and to the reiterated demand addressed to the See and Throne of Constantinople to submit to the spiritual supremacy of Old Rome.

Still more direct was the influence of the Roman pilgrimage on the destinies of the See of Rome. From the first century the eyes of Christendom were turned towards the Tombs of the Martyrs. From the fourth century onwards it was the cherished ambition of the devout-minded to mount the threshold of the Apostles and kneel before their hallowed dust. This led to an increase in the prestige of the Apostolic Chair, and to decisions uttered by the Fount of Apostolic tradition—pronouncements which, though recognised at first merely as counsel, in process of time assumed the character of judgments. Thus, for another reason, Rome gradually became the centre of an ecclesiastical commonwealth. The solemnities, hallowed by immemorial usage, and recurring at frequent intervals, were admirably qualified to deepen veneration and rivet allegiance. Not only provincial ecclesiastics but legislators turned their steps towards the Eternal City, in order to obtain authoritative guidance, or approval for their codes. At a later period deputations or aspirants like Giraldus and Adam of Usk were frequently to be seen on the road to Rome. The influence of the grandeur and massiveness of the Capital upon their minds

may well be conceived, and, as a matter of fact, examples are not lacking to show what a vivid and imposing effect was produced on the minds of the visitors.

In this particular Ireland furnishes an instructive parallel to Wales. Whatever may have been the original relations of Celtic Christianity to Rome during the sixth and early part of the seventh century, the Celts were less influenced by Rome than were the Teutonic tribes.[1] While Roman authority was acknowledged in the South,

[1] Its origin seems to have been eventually though not immediately Roman. Patrick and Palladius both held Roman commissions, if, indeed, they were not two names for the same man. British Christianity, wherever it originally came from, was in touch with Rome in the fourth century, for Arles, Sardica, and Rimini were Roman Councils; the Irish Church owed much to the British and both to Gaul, which was certainly in touch with Rome. The later intrusion of Saxons (see p. 153, n. 1) between Rome and the Celtic Christians cut off Britain and Ireland from the Empire and from the rest of the Church. (For the extent to which Britain was cut off and unknown in the sixth century, see Procopius's well-known story of "The Island of the Dead"; this seems to be really taken from the name of the nearest part of Britain to Gaul, which might come out in Greek as ἡ Νῆσος τοῦ Θανάτου.) The severance resulted in the development of independent fashions in Irish Christianity. The Irish and Scottish missions were all the time in full communion with Rome and Canterbury. When they had done their work, and the Saxons of the North had re-accepted Christianity, the organization of the local English Church, which resulted from a combination of the Roman Mission of Augustine and the Celtic Mission of Aidan, took place under Theodore of Tarsus. Then the Easter dispute arose again. If there was any thwarting it was on the other side, when the British King Cadwallon joined with the pagan Penda or Mercia, and broke up the Roman Mission of Northumbria. But that was for political, not for religious reasons. We have only to see how Bede speaks of St. Aidan and of the Scoto-Irish Christians (*Hist. Eccl.* Lib., iii, c. 3-6) to understand the attitude of the Roman to the Celtic Mission, and Bede is very Roman. Also St. Aidan and St. Columba are saints of the Roman Church to this day, and their days are kept (St. Aidan, 31st August; St. Columba, 9th June) in the local "propers" of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

the influence of the Irish and Scotch missions predominated in the North, and they developed on lines of their own. But since the year 604 one of the most effectual means of bringing the Irish Church into conformity on debated points with the rest of the Church and diminishing its local autonomy, consisted in encouraging the wavering or recalcitrant to visit Rome. We know the impression left on the minds of the Danish Princes of Dublin by their journey. In the twelfth century Malachi O'Morgair, acting as spokesman for the Irish Church, spent some time at Rome, and carried home a lively recollection of the sights that met his eye, and of the courtesy displayed towards him by Pope Innocent. These attentions were not thrown away. It was Malachi who completed the overthrow of the Irish Rite.[1] Ussher likewise in his day entertained a profound respect for the Roman See, as witness his admission: "If I myself had lived in Patrick's day,[2] for the resolution of a doubtful question I should as willingly have listened to the churchmen of the Church of Rome as to the determination of any Church in the whole world; so reverent an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those good days." A similar influence was brought to bear on the Church of Scotland. This appears from Cummian's Easter Letter (A.D. 635) to the Abbot Segen of Hi.[3] Arguments of this kind were equally effectual in dealing with the Church in Wales, and increased the fascinating enthralment. Dazzled by visions of past greatness and present power, a Hywel Dda or a Meilir returned with a sense of the unparalled import-

[1] Finally abolished at the Synod of Cashel, in 1172, when a Roman rite "juxta quod Anglicana observat Ecclesia" was introduced. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a general inclination towards uniformity of rite.

[2] *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, chap. viii.

[3] Cf. p. 202, n. 2.

ance of the metropolitan city. Bishops and chieftains seeking confirmation of their estates, or a solution of doctrinal doubt from the mouth of the Pope, returned with petitions granted, claims endorsed, and bearers of the proud title Son or Vassal of St. Peter. But not only prelates and princes were susceptible to the glamour of Rome. Let the reader conceive a pilgrim scholar possessed of common sensibility, finding himself in that seat of learning, spending his time in poring over the artistic treasures, or in transcribing the old manuscripts in the monastic libraries, or his money in purchasing them, and drinking in inspiration at this source. Let the reader imagine an Irish or British churchman transported from outlandish surroundings,[1] such as provoked mirth in Ralph, Abbot of Buildwas, and his contemporaries, in Ireland, to the midst of the brilliance, the magnificence of Papal Rome.[2] Let him con-

[1] For the Episcopal style of living see Swinsfield's *Household Roll*, ed. by T. Webb, Camden Soc., 1885, xxviii-xl.

[2] Situated in the midst of the splendid buildings of old Rome, and with the prestige of old Rome behind it, the local Roman Church, always rich and influential (one of the Pagan Emperors is reported to have said that he would willingly be a Christian, if they would make him Bishop of Rome, the position was such a fine one) gained immensely by having no civil rival by its side. Constantinople tried very hard, but without success, to be the ecclesiastical centre, but only succeeded in having the second place in order of precedence assigned to it. When the Western Empire broke up into semi-barbarous kingdoms, the centralization in Rome kept the church from breaking up also. There was a time, after the revival of the Western Empire by Charlemagne, when the Papacy fell into such disrepute that many have said that nothing but a Divine institution could have survived it. The efforts of such Popes as Gregory VII seem in a large measure to have been the endeavours of the awakened eleventh century Church to recover from the discreditable tenth century. The recovery went on, aided no doubt by the Crusades, through the twelfth century, and culminated in that greatest of mediæval Popes, Innocent III, who ushered in the wonderful thirteenth century, when religious art, architecture, poetry, the spiritual and monastic spirit,

ceive of either layman or cleric taking part in an imposing ceremonial with Christians of every land, of every tongue, of his wonder excited by relics of high sanctity and equally high antiquity. Let him imagine a multitude of the middle classes leaving their homes to spend their lives or a portion of their lives in the vicinity of the See of St. Peter. Let the reader picture all this, and he will understand the power over the imagination wielded by the long line of successors of the Apostles and heirs of the Cæsars, and will catch something of the spell exercised by the Eternal City. In brief, the centripetal influence of Rome was in the Dark and Middle Ages productive of far more good than evil.

Pilgrimages increased the power of the Church in another direction. Not only did they enhance the prestige of the hierarchy, and especially of the Chief Pontiff, but the movement added in no small degree to the material resources, to the worldly pomp of those who had taken on them the scandal of the Cross and the profession of poverty. Even a country shrine like that of Llanddwyn or Clynnog was a lucrative source of revenue. What then must have been the sums which poured into the coffers of a great centre like Canterbury, Compostela or St. Peter's? What more natural than that this stream of wealth should add to the exaltation and stability of the Papal dominions?

Thus equipped at every point Rome marched on to universal sovereignty.

and chivalry reached their highest point. This continued with a few vicissitudes until the "Black Death" (the three great pestilences in England were in 1349, 1361 and 1369), destroyed a very disproportionate number of priests (which speaks very highly for their faithfulness), and the necessity of filling up the vacant benefices somehow, produced an inevitable deterioration in the personnel of the clergy.

§ 2.

The Crusades helped to bring the British Church more and more into conformity with the general West-European system by inducing a corresponding change of attitude among other races towards each other, and by proving an active solvent of British insularity. The supposed descent of the Britons from Brutus, a noble Trojan, "Fryttys fab hen Sylys",[1] inclined the Celt in favour of the supposed cradle of the Roman race, the city of Troy. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century everything relating to the Trojan War enjoyed a wide popularity. Priam the Third, a grandson of Priam the Great, becomes the progenitor of the Franks. Dante regards their Trojan descent as established. Boccaccio does not doubt the Trojan origin of the Romans, but questions whether the Franks have the same ancestry, and repudiates the pretensions of the Britons who strive to embellish and dignify their barbarian origin by smuggling a Brutus into their genealogical system. Moreover, the heroes of romance and chivalry reminded the Celts forcibly of Aeneas, the reputed founder of th : Roman line of Kings, whose exploits are chronicled in Virgil's *Aeneid* and were invidiously contrasted with those of Homeric Ajax or Agamemnon. Virgil contained so much of the Christian element that he rather than Homer became the favourite Christian poet of the Middle Ages. Boccaccio rejects Homer as a partisan of Achilles. Pride and prepossession therefore conspired to attract mediæval minds to Rome. But this same feeling which predisposed them in favour of Rome prejudiced them against the Greeks. On the one hand, the power, majesty and order of the Roman Empire had sunk deeply into the memory of the nations of Europe. Roman institutions had left behind them an ineffaceable impression.

[1] "Brutus, son of old Silvius". Twm ap Ieuan ap Rhys. See Geoffrey's *Historia Reg.*, i, ch. 3, 11, 19, *et passim.*

Roman buildings or their ruins were familiar to the eye. Roman military terms had been handed down to the conquered peoples, and Roman military methods assimilated. This hostility towards the Greeks was probably due to more than one cause, partly to the supposed descent of the British race from heroes of Troy, partly to the inherent difference between Greek and Latin, Eastern and Western, modes of thought, civilization, law and duty, partly to the vast gulf that separated the clergy of the Eastern and Western Churches, partly to the refusal of the Orthodox Patriarchates to submit to the See of Rome ; but still more to the equivocal attitude assumed by the Greeks in the course of the Crusades. For the Christian nations of that day and time, engaged as they were for several centuries in an internecine struggle with the Saracen, included the Greeks in the same category, and the Greeks, smarting under the loss of empire, cordially reciprocated the aspersion.[1]

The wars between Cross and Crescent awakened an echo in popular literature. Western races transferred to their writings their rooted animosity against Islam, and their standing antagonism against the Greek race, and even viewed Classical antiquity through a distorting medium. They described the gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon as devils and demons, and conceived the Greek Olympus, the mountain where, according to the mythologists, "deities dwelt at ease", to be a hobgoblin. They fought the Trojan War over again, and instinctively took sides with the Trojans against the Greeks.

§ 3.

The predominance of the "cultus sanctorum" is intimately connected with pilgrimages. Underneath it lies

[1] Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, viii, 75, 273. He speaks of the degeneracy of the Greek race, which he attributes to their wealth. *Ibid.* 317.

the belief that the saint with whom a shrine or spot was associated could vouchsafe the heart's desire. The recipients of this homage were drawn from a wide field. Holy men and women who challenged reverence by their championship of Mother Church, by eminence in sacred learning, by constancy in the hour of martyrdom, by miracles (the evidences of transcendent sanctity) or by astonishing austerity, crowd the Church's Calendar. To follow out this multiplex, many-sided phenomenon in all its intricate developments, would be an endless and unprofitable task; and it will be our purpose, rather, to illustrate the usage from the case of Rome, at once the point of crystallisation, and the source from which the mediæval Church derived its inspiration.[1] The martyrologies (lists in the order of the Calendar, with a few facts about each saint) seem to have arisen when the cultus was fully developed. De Rossi and others have elucidated from the Catacombs the theological tenets of the Church in Rome in the first centuries.

These subterranean God's Acres afford a valuable insight into the growth of that superstructure of hagiology, which was destined in after ages to assume such vast dimensions. The dominant feature of the 15,000 epitaphs which have been unearthed is a belief in an inter-communion between those who had passed behind the Veil, and those left behind. The living talked to the dead: "Agape, thou shalt live for ever"; "Amarinus to his beloved wife, Rufina; may God refresh thy spirit"; "Severa, mayest thou live in God". Such plaintive utter-

[1] The invocation of Saints is so general, from the Syrian Churches to the Celtic, that one hesitates to attribute its origin to Rome for certain; more evidence is forthcoming from Rome because there is nothing elsewhere like the Catacombs; but the practice—and it is practice rather than doctrine that is involved—may well have grown up independently in various places.

ances bear pathetic witness to the opinion cherished concerning the relations between the living and the dead, to the continued interest of the latter in the fraternities of their earthly sojourn, to the consolation derived from mutual prayer. The Communion of Saints was accordingly an article of intense faith in the early Church of Rome.

The practice of invoking Saints is less clearly authenticated at the outset, but was slowly taking shape, and later developments were being adumbrated. Occasionally the survivors solicit the help of the departed. "Matronata, pray for thy parents" exemplifies this type of inscription. But some of the Fathers speak unequivocally on the matter. Origen feels little hesitation, and roundly asserts: "The doctrine that the Saints assist us by their prayers is doubted by none".[1] Cyprian, addressing the confessors on their way to martyrdom, engages by anticipation their intercession on his behalf.[2] Augustine speaks more guardedly.[3] The custom spread steadily and, by the fifth century, had become matured, methodised and universal. Still, it is a far cry to the multiplied devotions to specially powerful advocates which found favour everywhere in the Middle Ages. While the Church, as a body, reserved its supreme homage for the Deity, and did not set its seal upon all the notions of an untutored or unsophisticated laity, accretions tended increasingly to accumulate around the cultus of the Saints.[4]

[1] *Opera*, II, 273. [2] *Ep.*, 60.

[3] Reply to Paulinus of Nola, ab. A.D. 404. Cf. Basil, *Opp.* II, 155; Greg. Nazianzen, II, i, 288; Gregory of Nyssa, II, 1017; Ambrose, II, 20; John Chrysostom, IV, 449.

[4] The distinction between *dulia, hyperdulia* and *latria* was well understood in both Eastern and Western Christendom. *Latria* is the worship due to God alone, divine worship, recognition of omnipotence and service accordingly. *Dulia* is the service, or

Tales brought home by travellers, and losing none of their marvellousness by repetition, fired the imagination of the devout. The pomp, rejoicing and feasting on anniversaries, and other causes, contributed to swell the chorus of praise, to inspire the poet, to deepen the faith, and to intensify an unswerving loyalty to the saintly patrons. In the glorification of the saintly host, pilgrims bore a prominent part. The strength of this belief in the Dark and Middle Ages will force itself on the reader's mind by comparing such passages as the following in successive eras.

The first relates to the availing intercession of Columba, now dead:—

> "Then a third time, in the summer season, after the meeting of an Irish synod, when we were detained for some days by contrary winds among the people of the tribe of Lorne, and had got as far as the Sainean island,[1] there the vigil and solemn day of St. Columba found us waiting and very sorrowful, desirous as we were indeed to keep that day as a joyful one in the island of Iona. Wherefore, as before, once more we complained saying: 'Doth it please thee, O Saint, that we should spend to-morrow, the day of thy Feast, among country folk, and not in thy church? Easy is it for thee on the vigil of such a day to obtain from the Lord that the contrary winds be changed into favourable

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reverence, due to Saints. It is no more divine worship than is the service or reverence due to kings or to the *Worshipful* the Mayor. *Hyperdulia* is the superior *dulia* given to the Θεοτόκος and only differs from *dulia* in degree, not in kind. To the saints *dulia*, to the Blessed Virgin *hyperdulia*. To the images or εἰκόνες of saints and to the Cross, neither *latria* nor *dulia*, but *proscynesis*, and that not to themselves, for they are nothing in themselves (as St. Paul says of idols), but in honour of what they represent. *Veneratio* is the Western equivalent. The 25th session of the Council of Trent "De invocatione, veneratione et reliquiis Sanctorum et sacris imaginibus" explains the whole idea of the reverence due to images, etc., very clearly (about the middle of the section). The doctrine of the Eastern Church is exactly the same.

[1] Shuna.

ones, and that we celebrate in thy church the solemn Mass of thy Feast day'."[1]

The Saint interposed; next morning there was "not a breath of wind blowing".

CYWYDD I FWRROG SANT.

"Mawr iw dy wrthiau 'r awron
Mwrrog[2] sant mawr rowiog son
Bugail y cor baglog[3] cwyn
benn rhaith ail Beuno Rhuthyn
Duw a roes on da yr aeth
ywch ragor wych rowiogaeth
gwrthiau mawr eu gywerthydd[4]
yn dy feddiant sant y sydd
pob claf a phob dyn afiach
heb fost a wnaethost yn iach
y deilliaid ger bronn d'allor
yn dy gylch o fewn dy gor
gwnaethost iddynt yn unawr
gweled mil goleuad mawr
a gwneuthur mi ai gwnn wyth-
waith
i rai ni cherddai y chwaith
redeg ar dy waredydd
heb un ffonn Mwrrog benn ffydd
dof ith orsedd fucheddol
dyn wyf ai neges yn ol
clyw o Wynedd fyngweddi
clwyfus ofalus wy fi
gwyr fy ngalon or fronn fry
gwaiw hiraeth gwae ai hery
nid hiraeth meibion maeth medd
am gyrr i farw om gorwedd
o chuddiwyd gwyr gwych
addwyn
cant o rianedd au cwyn
meibion Jfan mae'm obaith
Fychan y deuan or daith
am Jthel mi a euthum
medde bawb or modd i bum
gwae fi bryderi dyrys
gwyr fy mron gwewyr am Rys
er gallel[5] o ddichellwyr
roi llenn gel ar Ieirll iw[6] gwyr
Mwrrog gwna'm ymwared
am ddau o benn creiriau cred
gwyddost lle mae dau flaenor
mewn castell ym machell mor
cyfod dy fagl yn draglew
cur y twr ar cerrig tew
tynn er dy fendith Ithael
or tyrau hwnt wr tra hael
par unwaith help ir ynys
I wlad yr haf[7] weled Rhys
minne a wnaf mynn y net
yn ddinidr[8] pann ddon adref
roddi dau lun ar dy law[9]
ag aur er i gywiraw

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[1] Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, II, c. 45. Huyshe.

[2] Patron Saint of Llanfwrog in Anglesey and in Denbighshire (close to Ruthin, cf. line 4).

[3] Bearing a crook or crozier. [4] Value.

[5] Gallu. [6] *In* should probably be read.

[7] Somersetshire. [8] Without delay.

[9] A votive offering. Cf. p. 397, n. 6, and Homer's *Odyss*, i, 267, an allusion to Greek suppliants placing gifts on the knees of the sitting figures of the gods.

cei fendithion uwch conwy[1] cei lawer o badreuau[2]
ag ym Mon ti [a] gei mwy cei glod am ddyfod ar ddau."[3]

Nys gwyddys pwy ai kant.

Other poems quoted in illustration of domestic pilgrimages bear abundant evidence to this doctrine in the Middle Ages.

The transitional theology of the sixteenth century is illustrated in the following vivid narrative of a storm on the voyage from the Thames to Calais. The writer, a Tudor chronicler, wielded a graphic pen, and the passage would be worth citing for its literary merit alone. But it throws sidelights on several points that have arisen for discussion in previous pages of this work.

"Wedi hynny Myvi aethum i wared mewn kavyn ar hyd yr avon ynnol y llong yr hon a gevais I i goddives garllawr penttre a hennwir y grinnheis[4] . . . . . yr hyn a oedd ar y mercher kyntta or grawys glaan y diwrnod oedd wynog[5] ar wybyr yn llawn o gymyl du ac yn llawn o wynt yr hwn a oedd yn chwythu ynn dymhesdlog iawn allan or gorllewin or achos ni wnaethom ni onnid shiwrnai oer y dwthwn hwwnw o herwydd bod y nos yn dod ynnyn dwylo ni Trannoeth diviau[6] . . . . . or achos i gorvu arnom ni vwrw angor dan benn yr ynys (Tenned) i gymerud i chysgod hi i dorri peth o greulondeb y dymesdyl. . . . . ."

"Syrre wrth megis ac kevais i y gair allann o gymru yma drwy dri ne bedwar o wyr onesd y vo a vu y kyfriw dymesdyl ynghymru y dethwn yma yrhwn a wnaeth lwggwr mawr ar dai a fflassau mewn ymravaelion leoedd o vewn Sir y Fflint ynny dymestyl y trewis gwth o wynt ddrws Eglwys y Grog o Gaer ynn y gored drwy bickio trossol mawr o brenn aoedd ar y drws tu ag att ddelw y grog[7] ac ynghylch saith ar y gloch or nos I doeth korff y dymesdyl hon attom ni yr hwn a chwythodd mor greulon ac ir angore golli i gavel a mynned ynnol y llong yr hon a oedd y gwynt ynni gwthio ir mor or achos I dyrchavasom ni yr angore ac ai bwrriassant wyntt ir

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[1] Cf. pp. 358, n. 21, and 193, n. 1.
[2] Cf. p. 338, n. 3. [3] Llanstephan MS. 167, f. 334.
[4] Greenwich. [5] Wyntog. [6] Thursday. [7] See pp. 294-299.

llawr bob un ynol i gilidd vn vynych iawn ynnyr amser ir oeddem ni yn kririo ar Saint pawb wrth y modd i bai i orglud[1] hrai ar Vair o Walsingham[2] eraill ar y Grog o ddrws y gogledd yn Eglwys bawl[3] ac eraill ar Saint Saviwr o Varmysay[4] eraill ar Vair o Varknt[5] ac eraill ar Vair or Pew yn Westmysdyr[6] yn yr amser ir oeddwn I kynn wanned fy ffydd a gwr arall or achos Ir addewais i ynnof vy hun ddyvod ar vyhraed a chennig i ddwynwen[7] parabryd bynnag ar ir hroddai dduw ar Saint geniad i mi sathru troed vedd o dir lloegyr ac ynn y modd yma ir oeddem ni oll yn hroddi yn gobaith yn fwy i gyffion o gau brenni yr hrain a oedd rai o honauntt twy CCC o villdyroed oddiwrtheum ni nog i dduw ac ir prenne drwy wyrthie duw aoedd ynn yn kynnal ar ucha y dwr."

The comparatively small proportion of dedications to Biblical characters points in the same direction. Most of the saints in Wales, for example, were native-born or had become acclimatised on British soil. Some of them, like Beuno and Elian, possessed special claims on the reverence of the faithful. Dewi, Ffraid and Gwenfrewi were pre-eminent in the sainted hierarchy. But besides these hierophants, an array of saints whose charge was to speed the suppliant's prayer, loomed through the fog of tradition as shadowy as the giants of Ossian.[8] The

[1] Probably goglud, "trust", "faith", *Proverb*, xi, 28. [2] In Norfolk.

[3] The Lollards preached against this rood.

[4] The Cluniac Priory, afterwards Benedictine Abbey, of St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, on the edge of Southwark.

[5] Probably St. Mary of Barking, the Benedictine Abbey of nuns at Barking in Essex.

[6] St. Mary de la Pewe, a little south of St. Stephen's.

[7] See pp. 322-3.

[8] The dedications of Churches in honour of strange Celtic saints has often been a difficulty to historians, but Messrs. Baring Gould and Fisher, in their monumental work on the British Saints, have identified many who were once a puzzle. The question of Celtic hagiology is complicated by the meaning of the word *Sant*. It probably meant no more than a religious, monk, or nun. If a quite obscure monk came to evangelise a Welsh or Cornish village, set up a *Llan* there (or perhaps only an *Eglwys*), and started a congregation, the place

age revelled in exhilarating records of the Church Militant, and the demand stimulated supply. Out of this wealth of material industrious hagiographers in cloister cells wove a tissue of Lives, which were seized with avidity, and furnished preachers with subjects for inexhaustible panegyrics or homilies, punctuated by moral brevities and pious ejaculations. In the Middle Ages, Legends[1] became the staple of popular literature, the dominant poetry, in short, a secondary Gospel. An obligation rested on villages and cities, burgesses and kings, to extol the virtues and to enhance the glory of their tutelary saint.[2] To grasp the real mental condition of hagiographers it must be remembered that the boundary between romance and serious history and biography was not defined until very modern times.[3] Thus did piety,

became called "Llan-so-and-so" or "Eglwys-so-and-so" and later "Saint-so-and-so", just as Spurgeon's and Whitfield's Tabernacles in London continue to be thus styled. Later these "Saints" would be supposed, from the change of meaning in their title, to be very holy persons. But possibly they were not. Some of the stories told about them are not altogether proofs of sanctity. See p. 345, n. 1.

[1] The word "Legenda", things to be read, was applied to a book containing all the "Lectiones", Scriptural, hagiological, homiletical and what not, which were read at the Nocturns throughout the year. A "Legend" is primarily a *book*. It came to mean the stories of saints, etc. Later, from the uncritical and unhistorical character of many of them, "legendary" became an epithet which implied a minimum of actual truth,—things which you might read but need not believe.

[2] Sulpicius Severus urged his friend Posthumianus to publish everywhere the fame of St. Martin: "Dum recurris diversasque regiones, loca, portus, insulas urbesque praeterlegis, Martini nomen et gloriam sparge per populos". *Vita S. Martini*, Dialog., iii, p. 583.

[3] The older hagiographers, like St. Anastasius, Jerome, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Symeon Metaphrastes, observed some limit in the marvellous accounts of the Saints, but later biographers knew no bounds. Gilbert de Stone, a legend-monger of the fourteenth century, according to a well-known story, when requested by the monks

patriotism, and worldly interest concur to promote and establish the hold of the cult on the mediæval mind.

§ 4.

The missionary enterprise of the Celtic Church was a direct development of the pilgrim system; for many of the saints from the sister isles earned their title to saint-hood by their endeavours to Christianize the populations among whom they had been thrown during their travels. Fired by a high apostolic passion or harrowed by the multiplied miseries resulting from the inroads of Lombard, Vandal and Goth, or grieved at the moral and spiritual darkness of the regions that they traversed, they either remained or returned on a bloodless crusade to found schools and churches. The enthusiasm that they displayed in the face of formidable obstacles compels our admiration. Often, while Europe was convulsed by wars, or distracted by perpetual alarms, in the darkest day these lofty-minded Celtic pioneers fanned into flame and kept burning the lamp of religion.

The palm for these displays of universal philanthropy must be assigned, over the heads of Armoricans, Britons, and, indeed, of every nationality, to the Irish race. The untamed natives of Ireland were led to faith by Patrick, who had been grounded in the truths of the Christian religion in British and Continental nurseries of learning; and now they burned with a desire to repay the debt.

of Holywell to write up the Life of St. Winifred, felt not the least embarrassment on being told that no materials existed, and undertook to compose "a most excellent legend after the manner of that of Thomas à Becket". The tale is, however, told of the male patron saint of some abbey. It has one inherent improbability, that St. Winifred was a woman and St. Thomas was not only a man, but a very remarkable man with rather a unique history. It should also be remembered that when the uncritical character of many of these stories becomes prominent they are revised and altered.

The Picts, amid their forests, acknowledged Christ at the bidding of Columba.[1] The Northern Saxons relinquished their idols through the exhortations of alumni trained in Celtic schools. So the eager race now turned their eyes towards Continental Europe, where their activity

[1] The mission of Columba to Pictland belongs to the category of *peregrinationes* (see pp. 13, 14). A pupil of St. Finnian (at the celebrated ecclesiastical school at Moville, *Adam*, ii, 1), a scion of the Clan of Neill, and a diligent student, he had embroiled himself with another no less famous St. Finnian over the possession of a manuscript—an early instance of copy-right law. The slaughter of a clansman by King Diarmit, after he had fled to sanctuary, had roused the ire of the clan. This fresh incident fired the train. The Irish temper was inflammable; Columba's relatives espoused his quarrel, flew to arms, and inflicted a crushing defeat on their opponents. Struck with remorse, Columba consulted his *anamchara*, acting on whose advice he undertook to win a soul for every life that had been lost in the conflict. Accordingly he put to sea in a wicker coracle (Cf. p. 13). Landing at Oronsay, but still discerning dimly Ireland on the horizon, he resumed his journey, and finally settled at Iona. A little bay on the southern side of the island where Columba landed is called Port-na-Churraich, and a cairn on the hill has from time immemorial borne the name Carn-cul-ri-Erin. Columba had now outgrown his youthful effervescence. The monastery which he made his base of operations for the conversion of the heathen Picts, became famous, and extended its influence not only over the Picts but also over the Saxons of North Britain. From Iona the subsequent missions to England derived their inspiration. The house was held in equal veneration in Ireland. The halo of sanctity and glamour which gathered around Columba's name, the recollection of his piety and philanthropy, the traditions that lingered around the spot, and the memorials of his life treasured by later generations, attracted troops of pilgrims to Iona, not a few of whom hailed from Britain. The settlement of the Benedictines on the old foundation in 1203 gave the pilgrim movement a fresh impulse. St. Adamnan, in his life of St. Columba, gives incidental glimpses of the life of the brotherhood. He speaks, for example, of a stone vessel, full of water, which was probably used for washing the pilgrims' feet. A few British names have come down to us. Fergna ruled from A.D. 605-623. St. Odhran (Oran), another Briton, is the hero of a strange and pagan story, the legend of "Reilig Orain" in Iona. When the cemetery was laid out,

lasted from the end of the sixth century to the tenth, and inaugurated a long succession of heroes of the Faith, though in many cases the exact time of their departure from Ireland and their labours are enveloped in mystery, and their achievements uncelebrated.[1] Charlemagne, as we have seen, intuitively perceived in the new arrivals serviceable instruments for furthering his schemes of educational advancement and moral regeneration among his subjects.[2] Ever since that mon-

St. Columba desired to inaugurate it with a funeral, but there was no corpse. St. Oran offered himself—"Here am I, take me". So they buried him alive. After three days they dug him up, when he sat up and said, "There is no God, no judgment, no life hereafter". Then said Columba, "uir, uir sam beul Orain (earth, earth, in the mouth of Oran), that he blaspheme no more", and so it was done, and they finished him. The story, needless to say, is not in Adamnan. Scott alludes to it in the notes to "glen finlas". "Uir, uir sam beul Orain" is a Gaelic proverb, to stop inconvenient disclosures. St. Odhran was one of the community. Of him probably is told a story to the effect that the soul of a certain blessed Briton was carried to heaven by angels. He appears also from the Ancient Irish Life, to have been a Briton (Adamnan, Lib., iii, c. 6). St. Mochta of Lughmagh, or Louth, was another ecclesiastic of British origin, who went on pilgrimage to Ireland, and is associated with Columba. He landed at Omeath, in the county of Louth, with twelve followers. Hence the title of *proselytus* or new-comer was conferred on him. His name is commemorated in the Calendar on August 19th.

[1] These Irish exiles were, however, not proof against homesickness, and felt the force of saying in Oided mac n-Uisnig, "Better one's native land than aught else, for there is no pleasure to anyone in prosperity, however great, unless he sees his native land". The School of Sinchell taught "ailithre cen tintud", "pilgrimage without returning". Cf. Adamnan, i, 48; *Vita Comgalli*, § 41, 42, and *Fintani*, § 2.

[2] See also p. 65. Charles's educational advisers did not always work harmoniously. Dungal's dialectical skill and erudition excited the hostility of his more sober predecessors. Theodulf dubbed him a "wild man of the woods, a plaguy, litigious fellow, who thinks he knows everything and especially the things of which he knows nothing". Alcuin accused him of Alexandrian gnosticism. Dungal had inherited the mystic teaching of his native country.

arch's reign Irishmen had flung themselves with ardour into the work in Germany. Rheinau, near Schaffhausen, a centre of illumination and a hive of industry, owed its origin to Findan. Appalled by the deplorable sights, the gods of iron and clay, the savage sacrifices, and the lawless witchcrafts that met his eyes, while in the year 840 threading his way through the wild forests of Alemannia and Lombardy, he volunteered his services for the amelioration of the natives. Two Scots, in like manner, seeing the benighted condition of the Rhine country, established themselves at St. Goar at the suggestion, it is said, of no less a personage than the Saint himself. Muiredach Mac Robertaig, known on the Continent as Marianus Scotus, while on his way to Rome, in 1067, with two companions, was hospitably entertained at the nunnery of Obermünster, and realized the need of evangelising effort in that quarter. Ultimately, he settled down in 1071 at Ratisbon. When the news of his spiritual triumphs reached his native district in the north of Ireland, it kindled an enthusiasm half religious, half romantic, which decided many of his countrymen to throw in their lot with him and to second his philanthropic endeavours. Of the immediate successors in the abbacy of his monastery, which he had planted in the year 1076, no less than seven hailed from the North of Ireland. This house became a base of operations on the Eastern frontiers of Germany. But it was more; from this centre sprang, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Scottish houses at Würzsburg, Nürnberg, Constanz, St. George's and St. Mary's at Vienna, Eichstädt, Erfurt, and Oels, all of them owing allegiance to the Abbot of St. James at Regensburg. Indeed, a chain of Irish cloisters extended from the mouths of the Meuse, the Rhine and the Rhone.

The consuming fire of their religious zeal impelled these Celtic monks to Christianize races who were still in a state of veneered savagery or tinselled barbarism. Their method anticipated in some measure that of modern missionaries. On the outskirts of civilisation, they began by training natives for Christian work; and, as soon as this task was accomplished, sought fresh fields. When, from the seventh and tenth centuries, the work deteriorated in the scenes of their earlier activities, they proceeded to open up new territory. Frederick Barbarossa, on his way back through Bulgaria from a Crusade, found in 1189 at Skribentium[1] an establishment presided over by an Irish abbot. So it was elsewhere. Letters are extant from the Irish Abbot of Ratisbon in 1193, calling upon Wratislaus of Bohemia to guarantee his messenger a safe conduct and to speed him on his way. We hear of another Irish monk, who, with his divine errand, united a shrewd business instinct. Joining some merchants from Ratisbon in an expedition to Kieff, he returned laden with costly furs which he sold, and devoted the proceeds to the erection of the monastery. The Irish houses in Germany reached their zenith in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth their spirit began to droop, and their industry to flag. The causes of this decline were various. First, their very virtues and disinterested devotion in rearing native missioners rendered their own presence superfluous.[2] Secondly, their idiosyncrasies in the long run re-acted unfavourably, and militated against missionary endeavour. Their strained austerity was an exotic in

[1] Possibly Skripetz, now in Roumania, about fifteen miles due east of Widin.

[2] Zimmer, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, has pointed out that Marianus Scotus stood on a different footing. His foundations were of the Benedictine type. Germans were not admitted and novices were recruited from abroad.

their adopted country, and did not take kindly to the soil. Thirdly, the subjugation of Ireland in 1171 involved disastrous consequences to the Church at home, extinguishing its independence[1] and quenching the old Celtic fire. Fourthly, influences of a more sordid nature co-operated to the same end. A rank aftergrowth sprang up in the Irish settlements on the Continent. An undisciplined rabble from Ireland took the place of these single-hearted servants of God; and the institutions fell from the lofty purpose which they had originally served. The term "Scotus", in allusion to the trade that they carried on in furs, became synonymous with "retailer" and "pedlar". The monks established taverns,[2] for example, at Nürnberg; at Vienna they organised public dances, and public brawls precipitated their collapse. Some of these houses steadily decayed, others passed into the possession of native Germans. A few, here and there, survived the Reformation, when they were secularised.[3] Still, the old spirit was not dead. So deeply was the roving propensity engrained in the Irish nature, that even when, in the eleventh century, the race had completed its work (at least in its important field of labour) Irish monks continued to wander through the Rhine Valley for another century. By the fourteenth, Celtic missions in Germany had passed their meridian, and by the fifteenth,

[1] But see p. 155, n. 1. In practice the conquest of Ireland caused the abolition of the Celtic rite and probably introduced Anglo-Norman ways. Henceforth the religious customs of the Irish lost, to a considerable extent, their individuality; they have not quite lost them now.

[2] Cf. a satirical poem by Nicolaus von Bibera on the orgies of some Irish monks at Erfurt. He notes their weakness for "heavenly dew".

[3] St. James's, Ratisbon, continued to exist until nearly the nineteenth century. Cf. Scott's *Redgauntlet*.

their star had set for ever.[1] But they had acted as dykes to stem the tide of paganism and ignorance, which otherwise must have ensued in the chaos of the tenth century, and they left an indelible impression. No better testimony is required than the fact that *peregrinus* had become practically a technical term on the Continent for an Irish missionary.

No less was the concern felt by Celtic monks for Italy. The sixth century is remarkable for the rise in the educational firmament of two great luminaries, and two great centres of intellectual illumination, at opposite ends of the Italian peninsula. Never, indeed, did personality carry more weight or influence human history more deeply than in that age. The first of these institutions will always be associated with the name of St. Benedict. His Rule, composed in the year 515, was adopted generally in the West, and its establishment is contemporaneous with the earlier Celtic monasteries. While the disciples of St. Benedict were extending their operations another torch was lighted among the deep valleys and hills of Northern Italy. The annals of Irish missions on the Continent contain no more outstanding personality than that of St. Columbanus. A typical product of the cloister schools of Ireland, cast in a heroic mould, brought up at the feet of Sinell[2] and Finnian, animated with an unextinguishable fervour, his individuality soon asserted itself. At the age of thirty, whilst at the monastery of Bangor, he claimed to have heard the Voice

[1] The fate of St. James's was curious. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was not understood that "Scot" had meant Irish. Taking advantage of this ignorance certain Scotchmen claimed it as a Scottish foundation, basing their claim on the name *monasterium Scotorum*. The evidence was considered conclusive, and, in 1515, they entered into possession, driving out the Irish remnant.

[2] Probably Sinell of Clonmacnois.

that spake to Abraham: "Get thee up out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee". The saint was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. Accompanied by twelve trusty companions, all like himself burning with zeal, he crossed over to Britain and then proceeded to the Continent, where he plunged into the work assigned to him by Providence. At the outset of his chequered career Gaul seemed to afford an outlet for his superabundant energies. No slight task confronted him. The moral atmosphere of Gaul, desolated by barbarians, had become so mephitic that it needed spiritual ozone. In the year 574, at the time of the death of Gregory of Tours, the Merovingian kingdom was in a condition of anarchy, ignorance and depravity. Undaunted, Columbanus threw himself into the work of restoring social order, purifying public morals, and reviving religious faith. Jonas of Bobbio, Columbanus' biographer, depicts Irish missionaries in his day. Under a leader, who was not seldom the chieftain of a tribe, and destined to become the founder of a future religious settlement, a band of twelve, in accordance with Apostolic precedent, would sally forth into the wide world, carrying long staves, leather knapsacks and writing tablets (which were often mistaken for iron swords), their locks flowing and their eyelids painted after the manner of their country; they would later settle down in some place suitable for a base of operations, and recommended by the salubrity of its climate. There they sustained life by tilling the ground and fishing in the streams. Columbanus and his disciples doubtless answered to this description. Undeterred, he attacked vice in its main stronghold, the Merovingian Court, thereby drawing upon himself the resentment of the Queen. Church and State were against him. The affair ended in his banish-

ment from the realm. Conducted from Luxeuil, the monastery of his creation, and afterwards a centre of spiritual effort, he was at Nantes placed on board a ship bound for Ireland ; but his life's work lay neither in Ireland nor in Gaul. The vessel was driven back upon the sands at the mouth of the Loire. Here a new chapter in Columbanus's missionary labours began. Still unsatisfied, he crossed the Alps. The year 595 found him at Milan combating the heresy of the Arians, and recalling to the Faith the Lombards, who were tainted with that pernicious error. Jonas, in his Life of the Saint, speaks of a book that he wrote in Lombardy, a work of "abounding knowledge",[1] which had apparently a wide vogue in Italy, but has not survived the ravages of time. His endeavours were crowned by the conversion of the king of the Lombards, Aigulph by name, who valued his services so highly that

[1] Florentis scientiæ. Bobbio was no exception to the rule enjoining strict mental exercises upon the monks. Columbanus set the example. Sermons, tracts, epistles and hymns (a favourite mode of composition and vehicle of instruction with Irish Saints) emanated from the *scriptorium* at Bobbio. The spirit of the great reformer lived after him, and of the Irish manuscripts (which were scattered abroad at the dissolution of the monastery) some now repose in the libraries at Turin, Milan, Vercelli, Florence, Naples, Rome and Vienna. Some of them were written in Ireland ; others, written or annotated at Bobbio, survive to this day to attest at once the former wealth of the library at Bobbio and the enthusiasm for knowledge which the Celtic scholar had infused into his disciples. The Bobbio Sacramentary (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) a work of the first importance, was discovered at Bobbio by Mabillon. Whether it was written there does not appear. Because of a Mass in honour of St. Sigismund it has been attributed to Besançon, but it represents the Irish rite with Roman additions and belongs to the seventh century. The Benedictine community which succeeded did not allow the tradition to die out. As an old writer tells us, the new comers added to the store of " rich treasures and precious volumes". Of these the most famous was the Muratorian Fragment, now preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. The oldest extant copy of

he desired him to remain and stamp out the expiring embers of Arianism. The Irishman yielded to his importunity, and spent the rest of his days in Italy. Afterwards the king presented him with the basilica of St. Peter, at Bobbio, where he welcomed many a Celtic saint and pilgrim.[1]

The enthusiasm of these pioneers on the Continent proved infectious. British monks threw in their lot with their Irish cousins. The presence of so many Irishmen in Wales from the earliest period of Welsh history; the close communication maintained between Wales and Ireland; the dedication of so many churches in Wales to Irish saints; the contributions made by the schools of Britain to the culture of Ireland, and the popularity of Irish pilgrimages among Welsh devotees, suggest that the British would join hands with the Irish in the work of illuminating the Pagan Continent. But, as a matter of fact, we are not left to mere surmise. Bobbio attracted many missionaries of British blood. When Columbanus, on November 3rd, A.D. 603, placed his monastery under the ægis of St. Peter, the signatories to the deed were Cunochus (Cynog), Gurgarus (Gwrgar), both Britons, and Domicialis, a Scot.[2] Under the original founder and his successors, monks who were either native or naturalized

Adamnan's Life of St. Columbanus was found in 1845 at the bottom of a chest by Ferdinand Keller at Schaffhausen. The scribe, Dorbene, was in 713 elected *tanist* or coadjutor abbot to Jonas, and may have written it at the dictation of the author. Lovers of romance will remember Barrili's novel *Le confessioni di Fra Guilberto,* which is based on the supposed discovery of a manuscript at Bobbio.

[1] At Bobbio may be seen frescoes relating to the constellation of Irish and British saints who rallied around Columba, *e.g.*, Cummian and Attala.

[2] *Monumenta Historiae Patriae,* (Turin, 1836) i, p. 3. Twelve of the brethren (the Apostolic number, see p 434.) signed the document.

Britons, with familiar names, such as Dogmael,[1] Eogan,[2] Eunan,[3] Brynach, and Senan, were enrolled on the register of this house. The experience of Bobbio is repeated in Germany and elsewhere. David of Würzburg, who became bishop of St. Asaph, was typical of the migratory Celt and his work; a specimen of the interchange of kind offices and the rivalry in philanthropic endeavour between the races not only of the British Islands, but also of Europe generally during the Middle Ages.

The two monastic houses at Monte Cassino and Bobbio respectively paved the way for a fresh stage in the evolution of culture, the issues of which were destined to be momentous. The inaugurator was no other than Charlemagne. This enlightened monarch, the Colossus of his age and the subject of a hundred legends, initiated it at a time when literature was at a low ebb. He devoted special attention to Lombardy. His establishment of public schools in that province was pregnant with results. The death of Charlemagne, which occurred in 814, checked the growth of the movement. Unrestrained barbarity on the one hand, and simony on the other, succeeded in stifling the spirit of reform and suspending intellectual activity, so that matters remained at a standstill until the year 825. The Emperor Lothair, true to his great ancestor's ideal, issued an edict to the following purport: "As regards true teaching, which through the extreme carelessness and indolence of certain superiors is on all sides shaken to its foundations, it has seemed good to us that all should observe what we have established." He decreed the foundation of a central seat of learning at Pavia, to which subordinate schools at Milan, Vercelli, Tortona, Lodi, Acqui, Bergamo, Novara, Genoa, Asti, Como, should be affiliated. And

[1] In Italian Domiziale.

[2] Eguano.

[3] Eunoco.

what readier instrument to execute his will than another Celt, Dungal? Under Dungal's rule Pavia became a nurse and training ground for theology, jurisprudence, literature and medicine. And who better fitted to continue Dungal's projects than Edward Evans, who at a later day appears as the president of that seat of learning? The school of Pavia, with its various dependencies, was the fore-runner of educational establishments on a more ambitious scale at Verona and Rome.

§ 5.

It has been already remarked in passing that among the beneficent results of the Crusades must be included its humanising effect, and a charitableness extended even to avowed enemies. The feeling was closely connected with the growth of chivalry, for chivalry implied the idea of courtesy and humanity, of which a Charlemagne was the beau idéal. *Kymdeithas Amlyn ac Amig* (The fellowship of Amelius and Amicus),[1] the mediæval counterparts of Damon and Pythias, Orestes and Pylades, in Greek story, belong to the age of chivalry, and show how the religious spirit and the chivalrous sentiment went hand in hand. The reason is not obscure. Forced into continual intercourse, hostile or friendly, according to the circumstances of the moment, with races of different manners, creed, and knowledge, men found their prejudices gradually softened, and giving way to mutual forbearance or appreciation, only broken from time to time by sudden, short-lived paroxysms of fanatical vehemence.

The Crusades brought other changes in their train. As the opposing forces became better acquainted, even a Saracen appeared in a more favourable light. Time was when Welsh poetry breathed a fierce hatred of unbelieving

[1] Lat. *amicus*, 'friend'.

Paynimry impersonated in Saladin, the "hammer of Palestine[1]"; but the infidel champion was found to be less of an ogre than the minstrel of the day was wont to paint him, or than a sister art still represents him in the 'Saracen's Head.' The Saracen cavalier's mind matched his bearing; he proved eminently capable of displaying courtesy and politeness. On the other side, the chivalrous attitude of the strangers from Frangistan[2] was not wasted on the Saracen. Melech Ric,[3] if he inspired a wholesome dread, also commanded the admiration of the foe. The Moslem acquired the Lingua Franca and learnt the language of chivalry.[4] This better understanding which arose, reacted upon the relation between the contending armies. Many of Saladin's dicta are quoted with approval; his respect for oaths is frequently applauded. A revulsion set in among Europeans. The feeling of personal antagonism yielded to a desire to convert the enemy to the Christian Faith.[5] Even matter-of-fact legal documents show that the State was not insensible to the change coming over the public mind of the period. The poet Gower, a man of habitually calm mind and deep piety, gives expression to his feelings as follows :—

[1] Giraldus Camb., iv, 109.

[2] The Land of the Franks, Europe.

[3] Richard Cœur de Lion.

[4] As Mohammed was probably a Christian (of a sort) to begin with, he may have been influenced by the idea of Christian pilgrimages, but Arab pilgrimages to the Kaaba at Mecca were earlier than Islam.

[5] Langland cannot reconcile himself to the notion of consigning so many Saracens to everlasting torments, and speaks of them without cursing. He deplores any recrudescence of the Crusading spirit, and thinks all Bishops of Nazareth and Damascus who live so quietly in Europe ("That hippe aboute in Engelonde", b. xv, 357) would be acting more consistently with their holy office were they to go forth as Apostles of peace and convert their heathen flocks (b. xi, 114).

"For Cryste cleped us alle, come if we wolde,
Sarasenses and seismatikes, and so he did the Jewes."

"To slen and feihten thei ous bidde
Hem whom thei scholde, as the bok seith,
Converten unto Cristes feith.
Bot hierof have I gret mervaile,
Hou thei wol bidde me travaile;
A Sarazin if I sle schal,
I sle the Soule forth withal,
And that was nevere Cristes lore."[1]

CHAPTER XX.

Effects: Social and Economical.

The pilgrim movement entered into departments of the social organism, and affected aspects of life which, at first sight, would appear to have but a remote connection with it. But here we must content ourselves with pointing out two or three more ways in which it helped to harmonise and cement the various elements of human society.[2]

§ 1.

The institution of sanctuary is closely connected with the regard for relics, as appears from the expression, frequently recurring in the Welsh Laws, *nawdd y creiriau*, and affords an illustration of their value in the interests of justice. Doubtless borrowed from the Hebrew cities of refuge, the idea came into vogue in the seventh century. Its object was to afford the fugitive an opportunity of coming to terms with his enemies by making a composition for the offence, or, at all events, to allow time for the first heat of resentment to pass away before the injured party sought redress.[3] To violate the protection of the shrine was an offence too grave to be compensated by

[1] *Confessio Amantis*, Macaulay, vol. i, p. 346.

[2] The influence of the pilgrim movement on material civilization and especially on commerce and architecture, though of the first importance, lies outside the scope of our enquiry.

[3] It has been estimated that in England for several centuries during any given year, as a rule, a thousand persons were in sanctuary.

a pecuniary penalty. Such ecclesiastical refuges existed in many parts of Britain and are associated with some of the most frequented resorts of the pilgrim. St. David was one of the first to shield the oppressed. His shrine in Menevia furnished one of the earliest examples of asylum. Noddfa Brefi, the name given to St. David's church at Llanddewi, is a sufficient indication of the usage. But the right was no monopoly of the national saint. The Collegiate Church of St. Hywyn, Aberdaron, affords an historic instance of the power of the Church in curbing the ferocity and checking the despotism of the chieftains in an age when each man was a law to himself. In 1112, Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, King of South Wales, came from Ireland to Dyved. He had gone with some kinsmen to Ireland, where he remained until he arrived at maturity. At last, wearied with the long exile, he returned to assume possession of his patrimony. King Henry heard that "the minds of all the Britons were with him, in contempt of the royal title", and that he had gone for safety to Gruffydd ap Cynan, Sovereign of North Wales. Gruffydd offered to betray his guest, but the traitorous design was foiled. The fugitive was warned, and almost simultaneously a messenger arrived breathless to say, "Yonder are horsemen coming in haste". Thereupon the fugitive sought sanctuary at Aberdaron. His treacherous host ordered his soldiers to drag him from his retreat, but the "bishops and elders who owned that country" would not permit the outrage, and enabled the prince to escape by night to the south, and gain the deep forest of Ystrad Tywi, where loyal adherents flocked to his standard.[1]

The Pope granted the same privilege to Llanbadarn Fawr. Tintern is another notable example. Two kings sought protection at the horns of the altar (so ran the

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion.*

story), and only left it to meet a violent death; Theodorick, the king of Glamorgan, and Edward II, fleeing from the "Shewolf", also took refuge under the shadow of the Abbey.[1] North Wales in like manner was well provided with sanctuary churches. SS. Cybi and Melangell, for instance, enjoyed and constantly availed themselves of a similar prerogative.[2] In Cornwall, "the church of St. Petroc"[3] (the Captain of the Cornish saints, as Fuller writes, a descendant of Welsh kings, and a disciple of the claustral schools in Ireland) was a sanctuary,

[1] Swinsfield, *Register*, pp. 165, 175, speaks of certain sons of iniquity from the diocese of Llandaff who were excommunicated for violating sanctuary in the diocese of Hereford.

[2] Welshmen were not particular in the choice of a sanctuary. Among the fifty suppliants who took refuge at "Holy St. Peter's at Westminster" on June 25th, in the twenty-fourth year of Henry VIII, appear the names of three Welshmen, John ap Morgane, "for ye dethe of a mane in Wales wher he was"; "Morgane Albrey for murdre"; John ap Howell for felony, "a poor mane for stellynge of herrings". *Domestic State Papers*, 1532.

[3] There may be a little confusion about St. Petroc. The shrine of St. Petroc, the "Altar of St. Petroc" of the manumission of serfs, in Add. M.S. 9381 in the British Museum, was at Bodmin. This was probably the Sanctuary. Padstow, which is "Petroc's stow", was his first hermitage, and Little Petherick (or Petroc Minor), about three miles from Padstow, was another cell of his. The "Church of St. Petroc" was probably what is now Bodmin Parish Church (the largest and finest in Cornwall), which was the church of the Priory of Augustinian Canons. St. Petroc is certainly the Patron. The shrine in which the relics of St. Petroc were kept (an ivory casket of Hispano-Moorish work of the twelfth century, probably the casket in which they were brought back from Brittany in 1177 after theyhad been carried off by one of the Canons) is in the possession of the Mayor and Corporation of Bodmin. The relics have disappeared. There are two places called "Sanctuary" in West Cornwall. One is at Buryan, where there was a collegiate church with a dean and canons until quite modern times. There is a farm called "Santry" near the village, and some ruins marked on the Ordnance Survey as "Sanctuary". The other is at Mawnan. The Scotch law of gryth (Sanctuary) is illustrated in the church of Wedale (Stow), where there was an image of the Virgin Mary "brought by King Arthur from Jerusalem."

and was connected with Wales. It was the practice in Coroners' courts to assign to those obliged to abjure the realm certain ports at which they might take ship for other countries. Padstow was frequently designated for this purpose in cases of crime committed in Cornwall and Devon. The reason, doubtless, was that Padstow was a busy port in constant communication not only with Wales and Ireland, but with Brittany and Normandy.[1] That the institution operated for good amid the rapine and tumult of the Middle Ages is self-evident. But for the existence of such harbours of refuge beyond the reach of cruelty and licentiousness, among the huts of a wretched peasantry and the castles of an oppressive feudalism, European society must have consisted merely of beasts of burden and beasts of prey. It placed the control of society in the hands of the Church, which was less tempted than any other body or class of men to misuse the power. But abuses crept in and called for safeguards. The Laws of Hywel Dda refer to sanctuary in the following clause: "If a man do wrong to the value of a penny while in sanctuary and a relic be upon him, he is to lose the whole of his property, unless he obtains a new sanctuary".[2] St. Cuthbert (an Irish saint), says Bede, expressed a wish to be buried in the oratory of his cell on the Island of Farne, rather than in the monastery church:— "I think it better for you that I should repose here, on account of the fugitives and criminals who would flee to my corpse for refuge"[3]. Thus, while the sanctuary offered

[1] The same reason seems to have dictated the following course. Alicia, the wife of Thomas Talgogon, a fugitive in the Church of St. Teath, was ordered to betake herself to the port of Elfredecombe (Ilfracombe), which faced Wales. Cox, *Sanctuaries*, p. 302.

[2] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841, pp. 411, 445, 447, 703.

[3] Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 38. Cf. Simeon of Durham's *Hist. de S. Cuthberto*, c. 13.

shelter to the innocent against violence or vengeance, lawbreakers were enabled to set the civil power at defiance. One of the chief causes of the decay of sanctuary in the fifteenth century was the scant respect shown by kings for the immunities of the Church when their political enemies sought shelter under its wing. But it is worthy of note, as an evidence of the beneficent effects of the institution, that the English Reformers, while restricting the right of sanctuary, did not altogether abolish it. The Church clung tenaciously to the prerogative until the authority of the law became established on a firm footing. It was not tlll 1534 that persons accused of treason were deprived of the privilege. Ultimately, in the reign of James I, the right of sanctuary in cases of crime was finally suppressed.[1]

§ 2.

The salutary influence of the pilgrim movement is further exemplified in the treaties formed by rulers with a view to helping the pilgrim—rapprochements which must have reacted favourably upon the contracting parties. For pilgrimages and wars were practically the only motives that led the inhabitants of one country to visit ~~that~~ of another. A letter from Charlemagne to King Offa, in 794, promised immunity to all those who, for the love of God and the well-being of their souls, wished to travel to the Tombs of the Apostles. This compact is noteworthy as being the first monument of foreign diplomacy in England. Always solicitous for the welfare of pilgrims, Charles endeavoured to secure them the enjoyment of "a roof, a hearth, and water"; and ensured travellers making their

[1] The sanctuary of White Friars in London would seem to have been one of the last. The description in the *Fortunes of Nigel* shows how impossible the institution had become.

way to Compostela a peaceful progress through the Empire.[1] A respite from Danish inroads into Ireland in the ninth century was used to send an embassy from the Irish Princes to obtain from Charles the Bold full liberty to travel through his dominions for Irishmen who were bound for Rome. The exemption of pilgrims from the payment of toll points in the same direction.[2] The King of France undertook to refrain from attacking Richard I.'s realm during the King's absence on pilgrimage, and until 40 days had elapsed after his return, thus affording him time to take measures for self-defence. In like manner, Canute, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, bought a free passage for pilgrims in many places at a great expense, and James, King of Scotland, guaranteed safe conduct to visitors to Ninian's shrine. In brief, kings and nobles regarded the duty of furthering pilgrimages as one of their chief concerns.[3] The result of these facilities was an increase in international intercourse.

The Church at an early date turned its attention to the regulation of the movement. The Council of Chalcedon enacted that poor pilgrims should bear letters of recommendation. St. Benedict laid down that these pious wayfarers should be accorded a special welcome, and that the pilgrim's place was at the abbot's table ; but caution was needed and discrimination must be exercised. "We have proved," says Charlemagne to Offa, "that certain persons mingle with the throng merely for the sake of trade, following gain and not in obedience to the dictates of religion".[4]

[1] Cf. pp. 245—9.

[2] Du Cange, *Via Sanctorum* and *Via Dei.*

[3] In 1399 an Englishman was taken prisoner by the French soldiers at Cahors, but immediately set at liberty when they discovered that he was on pilgrimage to Roc-Amadour. *Hist. Critique et religieuse de Notre Dame de Roc-Amadour.* A. B. Caillu, 1834, p. 113.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, iii, p. 497.

The pilgrims were frequently fleeced, assaulted and murdered by bands of brigands, marauders or "gentlemen" who took to the highway to mend their fortunes.[1] In some lawless districts pilgrims carried their lives in their hands.[2] But justice visited heavily those who molested them, and the places where they had been plundered or victimised were razed to the ground. Such offenders were to be excommunicated, and when captured, to be driven into exile or immured in a monastery.[3] The third Lateran Council extended these provisions and penalties to those who molested peasants on their way to their daily work.

Welsh legislators were not behind-hand in safeguarding the pilgrim's person and property :—

> "There are three persons against whom, according to law, no one is to be received, or heard, preferring any plaints in an established session of law, as the pleas of the king ; and the law as to contempt is not to affect them, in any matter or cause, on the day when they may be called. The

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[1] Cf. "*Boneddigion* yn estyn eu cegau ar grogbren", in an old MS.

[2] The following passages of the Vulgate were commonly used as charms against thieves and robbers. "Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat". *St. Luke*, ix, 30. "Irruat super eos formido et pavor ; in magnitudine bracchii tui, Domine, fiant immobiles, quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine ; donec pertranseat populus iste, quem possedisti". *Exod.*, xv, 16. Mediæval pilgrims speak of a rock near Nazareth, known as "Our Lord's Leap", where the Jews led Him unto a high rock to make Him leap down. (The interpretation of the first passage, to the effect that Jesus became invisible, seems to have arisen at a very early period). *Psalm* 118 (119): Beati immaculati in via, and Christian hymns like *Coimge Conaire* (path protection) or *bricht comga* (a spell of protection). Cf. St. Patrick's *Lorica*, which made him and his companions appear as deer. *Vit. trip*, p. 46. St. Columba's compositions, *Adamn.* i., l ; the Irish hymn, "A Brigit, bennach ar set" (O Brigit bless our path") and *Black Book of Carmarthen*, "Sanffreid suynade in imdeith", p. 168, n. 4.

[3] Hardouin, *Acta Concil.*, v, p. 311, vi, pp. 1058, 2054.

first is, a man who goes with the king's army upon service for land that is held under the king ; . . . .

The second is, a person who might chance to commit some act, so as not to be able to obtain the communion of the church of God, until he obtained absolution from the pope: if, after setting out upon his pilgrimage, a claim should be preferred against him, the plaintiff is not to be heard, nor is his application for proceedings at law to be countenanced, until a year and a day shall have elapsed, from the day it was ascertained that the pilgrim had departed from that canghellor-ship ;[1] since it is not right, according to law, to disturb the condition, or possession, of a person who might be constrained to seek customary remission of a deed, committed within the period when he might return.[2]

There are "three persons for whom when absent a *tavodiog*[3] is to stand : one is, a person who shall be on a pilgrimage to Rome, or to the grave of Christ ;[4] . . ."

§ 3.

To facilitate travel, the Church, as is clear from the New Testament and the Fathers, from the outset enjoined upon its members[5] the duty of hospitality, and made the traveller a public charge.[6] The exercise of this duty towards the brethren formed one of the special functions of the diaconate, and was soon extended to Christians belonging to other churches while on their travels. Justin in his

[1] The *canghellor* was an officer of the *cymwd*, having a like duty and dignity with the *maer*.

[2] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, Book x, chap. xvii, 583.

[3] One who has a good tongue, well-spoken : (1) a pleader, who is the client's spokesman ; (2) a solitary witness, whose evidence suffices of itself to settle the matter in debates.

[4] Book xi, chap. iv, 601. Similarly in Ireland the law protected from distress a tribesman who had gone on pilgrimage. *Senchus Mor.* Rolls ed., p. 267.

[5] *Epistles to Romans* xii, 13 ; *I Peter* iv, 9; *Heb.* vi, 10, xiii, 2 ; *Romans* xvi, 1. *Shepherd of Hermas, Mand.* viii, 10. Tertullian, *ad uxor*, ii, 4.

[6] Scots travelling in the ecclesiastical habit receive alms. *Recepta et expensa*, MCC, xxxiv, art ii, *Rec. des hist. des Gaules*, t. xxi, p. 230.

Apologia,[1] the oldest account that has come down to us of the ordinances for divine worship on Sundays, alludes to the practice. Strangers were entitled to receive support from the alms of the community where they were sojourning. It was an outward expression and visible sign of fraternal feeling and Church unity. "Omnes ecclesiae una", said Tertullian; "probant unitatem ecclesiarum communicatio pacis et cotesseratio hospitalitatis."[2] Cyprian of Carthage directed that the expenses of all *peregrini* (wayfarers) should be defrayed out of Church funds.[3] Lucian, in his satire on the death of Peregrinus (testimony the more convincing because it emanates from a pagan pen) described how his hero by embracing Christianity was relieved of all anxiety on the score of food and shelter. "Peregrinus thus started out for the second time, and betook himself to travelling; he had an ample allowance from the Christians who constituted themselves his body-guard, so that he lived in clover." The demands on the public purse became specially numerous in periods of distress. But at all times the institution of hospitality served as a bond of union between the Churches; for Christianity was a homeless religion; and Christian captives were constantly carried away into captivity and banished to remote quarters of the Imperial dominions. Thus early hospitality became essential to the propagation of the Faith. It was supported by appeals to the example of saints, and, as early as the second century the bishop of Sardes, in Asia Minor, even wrote a treatise on this Christian virtue.[4]

[1] I, 67. [2] *De praescr.*, xx.

[3] Letter vii, written during the Decian persecution. Cf. a striking letter from the Roman Churches to the Corinthian. *I Clem.*, xi, 1; xii, 1.

[4] Eusebius, H. E., iv, 26, 2.

The tradition lived on in the Dark and Middle Ages. Travellers remained the objects of compassion, and the pilgrim, in whatever clime he found himself, never lacked the right hand of fellowship.[1] The rich courted his society; even kings were known to invite the pilgrim to their hospitable boards. But pilgrims were not left to the casual hospitalities of brethren in the Faith; provision for their entertainment was reduced to a system. A network of hospices, established first along the routes to the Holy Land, in course of time developed into a world-wide organisation. St. Jerome speaks of the hospitium for British pilgrims at the Roman Port, which owed its foundation to the piety of Pammachius and Fabiola. "All the world", says the Father in his epitaph on that lady, "has heard of the Xenodochium situated at Portus Romanus".[2] A still more ancient hospice for foreigners stood on the Esquiline Hill. It would appear from the context that British pilgrims visited Rome on their way to Palestine or Syria, whither they were drawn, as we know, by the fame of Simeon Stylites. St. Gallicanus in the middle of the fourth century enlarged a building at Ostia

[1] The word *croesaw*, "welcome", is said to be derived from *grasaw* (gratias ago). Stokes, *Cormac's Glossary*. But it is interesting to observe that it was popularly connected with the Cross. Hence the expression: Dyma wr dieithr iawn; rhowch groes ar y pentan. Canon Silvan Evans states that the custom was not obsolete in his day.

[2] Migne, i, § 401. St. Jerome commends Pammachius's zeal in "planting a twig from Abraham's tree on the Ausonian (Italian) shore". He is referring to the patriarch entertaining the three angels in the Vale of Mamre, *Gen.*, xviii, §§ 465, 6. Paula and Pammachius, says the saint, are rivals in zeal: "Emitur hospitium et ad hospitium (v.l., et hospitum) turba concurrit. Adducant maria quos in gremio suo terra suscipiat. Mittat Roma properantes (v.l., navigantes) quos navigaturos littus molle confoveat." Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, March 2, 150, 157; Glaber, "Chron." in *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, vii, 62.

for their reception.[1] Pilgrims from Ireland to Rome became objects of pious solicitude at an early period. Irish houses of entertainment had been founded in France in the days of Charles the Bold, but were diverted from their proper use.[2] Unscrupulous laymen had seized the revenues, and not only refused to admit poor pilgrims, but even drove out those who had lived there from childhood. Germany likewise could boast of several Irish houses or foundations,[3] erected for the instruction of German youth, and the convenience of pilgrims on their way to Rome. In that City there were several institutions for British subjects. Such was the Hospice of St. Edmund, and the later foundation dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, which extended hospitality to all comers, and, as has already appeared, was closely connected with Wales.

The following extracts from two statutes of St. David's Cathedral record the provision made for the pilgrims who flocked to the shrine of the national saint :—

> "I (Bishop Thomas Becke) ordain and enact that in the town of Lawadyn,[4] at a place specially appointed by me for the purpose where I have erected an oratory, shall be built a hospital in which pilgrims, orphan paupers, infirm, old and feeble persons and imbecile strangers, and wearied travellers may be entertained." Dated, the octave of St. Martin, 1287.[5]

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[1] *Acta SS.*, June 25. Cf. *Revue d'archéol. d'Anvers*, 1849, p. 33.

[2] St. Faron, bishop of Meaux, entertained British and Scotch pilgrims visiting the tomb of St. Waast. *Acta SS.*, saec. ii, pp. 618 and 786; *Vita S. Faronis*, ch. 95, 96; *Mirac. St. Vedasti*, ch. vii; *Acta SS.*, saec. iv, pt. 1, pp. 601-2. Respecting monasteries on the Continent, where pilgrims from all the British Isles were entertained, see, further, *Capit. reg. Franc.*, ed. St. Baluzio, t. ii, col. 743, 761; *Gloss. Med. et inf. Lat.*, t. iii, p. 702, col. 3; *Hospitalia Scotorum*, t. vi, p. 126, col. 3, (Scoti peregrini) and F. Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, p. 6.

[3] See p. 430.

[4] Namely, Llawhaden.

[5] Statute of Bishop Thomas Becke.

> "I (Bishop Adam Houghton) with the consent of the Chapter (of St. David's Cathedral) decree and ordain that all men and women, as well of my own as of any other diocese, who for the purpose of a devout pilgrimage shall come at any time of the year to my church or the City of St. David's, shall have free ingress without any impediment by me or any other person. And during the time of such pilgrimage, I take them into my special protection and especially enjoin all my officers peacefully to admit all pilgrims into my lordship, and not to permit them to suffer any molestation, damage or insult. And if they shall suffer any annoyance, satisfaction shall be made to them for it without delay under the blessing of God, St. David, and the Bishop." Dated 12th May, 1385.[1]

The Church covered the earth with such mansions of charity, and their number is attested by the place-names which stud the surface of Europe, marking the sites of abbeys or priories. These names often afford a clue to a pilgrim's route. In many cases the clergy were bound by the terms of their appointment to offer shelter to travellers. Numerous ancient charters record that when a benefice was created it was subject to the charge of almsgiving and entertainment. Bequests were often made for a similar purpose. But, as a rule, the duty devolved upon the monastic bodies outside cities and towns, or on outlying estates or on mountain passes. The monastic orders were well qualified to undertake this obligation. Everywhere, from the Scottish Islands to the Spanish frontier, and to the limits of Christendom, a Benedictine or Cistercian might be sure of a home. To these citizens of the world, travelling for purposes of research or devotion, or for both reasons combined, such provision was a necessity.[2]

[1] Statute of Bishop Houghton. See Mr. Treherne's suggestions of pilgrim's track from Llanfihangel Abercowin, in Appendix.

[2] The names of many old hostels and inns for the accommodation of pilgrims were changed at the Reformation, but a few 'signs' survive,

Out of this sympathy for the wayfarer engaged on an ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical errand arose certain obligations, universally recognised among civilized communities, and forming part of the *trinoda necessitas*. The first was to keep roads in good repair, to afford travellers security, to provide accommodation for shade and rest, and to plant trees near way-side crosses.[1] Guilds were formed for the maintenance of roads and bridges; and chapels were placed near the latter for the convenience of passers by. St. Giles's Chapel, erected at the ford at Neath for the benefit of pilgrims,[2] and still called the

e.g. Salutation (Ave Maria), *Cross Keys*, *Cardinal's Hat*; the last mentioned was popular when Wolsey was at the zenith of his power.

[1] Cf. Du Cange, *Albellus*.

[2] The Bridge near Bonning's Gate in the Close of St. David's is called Pont y Penyd (Bridge of Penance). In connection with this the following information taken from manuscript notes in the possession of the late Mr. W. Watts Williams of St. David's is interesting :- -"The piece of ground between the cowshed now occupied as a dwelling-house in the Valley and Pont-y-penyd is called "Calvary" because there was a Calvary Cross there; to this there were three steps upon which they placed the coffins as they were being brought to be buried. (This information was given to Mr. Williams by John Phillips, the clerk of the Cathedral, who in 1894 was about 80 years old). A narrow lane leading from Waun Vawr (a moor on the road from St. David's to Llanrian) to Pont-y-Penyd Bridge is at the present day known as "Feidr Dywyll," and "Saints' Lane"; this road, I am informed by a man born and resident in St. David's, was also known as Ffordd y Pererinion", Pilgrims' Road. (*Communicated by Mr. Francis Green*). The name "Calvary" above suggests a parallel. On the borders of Zennor and Mowah parishes in the north part of the Land's End district of Cornwall there is a fine rugged hill called "Carn Galver". In Breton "Kalvar" is the form for "Calvary" ("Ha pa oent erruet el lec'h hanvet Kalvar" St. Luke xxiii, 33). The word does not appear to occur in Cornish literature, but it would probably be the same. "Carn Galver" or "The Galver" (as it is also called) is probably "Carn an Galvar", the cairn of the Calvary. There is no tradition to account for it, but from a certain point on the road to Penzance one sees three granite peaks of it, which might suggest the three crosses. "Kalvar" should

Pilgrim's Gate, is an interesting survival of the custom,[1] and also the ferry at Llanstephan which belonged to the Hospitallers of Slebech.

The meritoriousness of bridge-building for the service of pilgrims and other wayfarers appears from the following lines :—

YMSON Y BARDD.

"Kriston wyf j n kredu grist, ag yn drist veddyle
ag yn gweddio r drindod, i ddyvod oi bechode
gweled i ddwyf j nadoes, pan ddelo gloes yn ange
i ddyn ddim mor dailynged, a bod ny gwaithred gore
achos pan ddel yr enaid, ar kythraülaid ar pwyse[2]
maen bryderys ony chair, gan vair ddodi phadere[3]
i gydbwyso an gelyn, yn erbyn yn pechode
am ddelẏed kymodog,[4] trwm ywr gainog nas tale
chwaethach golüdion lawer, ag a gasger drwy okre
a chael i kynull gan bwyll, trwy dwyll ag anude
maen hwyn elyn ir enaid, ony chaid ai gwasgare
i ventuno[5] eglwysi, ag i beri fferenne[6]
ag i waith pynt avonydd,[7] a rhoi baünydd gardode
lle bo mwya r kynired,[8] ag i wared kawsie
ag i helpẏ ysgolhaigion,[9] tylodion ar i llyfre

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be feminine, as the Latin is "Calvaria", (though the French "Calvaire" is masculine) and if so "the Calvary" would be "an Galvar". The pilgrims to St. David's were lodged at the hospitium which gave its name to Spital in Pembrokeshire, before entering upon the final stage in their journey.

[1] Several bridges exist in Wales which were originally built for the benefit of pilgrims. Under this category probably falls the one at Pontarfynach which spans a yawning chasm to accommodate devotees on their way to Strata Florida. See p. 379.

[2] A common representation of the Judgment in mediæval frescoes. Cf. p. 338a, lines 1-5.

[3] ei phaderau. Cf. p. 338, n. 3. [4] Reconciling.

[5] Maintain, help, succour. Cf. pp. 338 and 339 and notes.

[6] To cause masses to be said. [7] Constructing bridges.

[8] In the most frequented places.

[9] Another meritorious act. Two illustrations will suffice. Thomas Mucloyne arrested on charge of espionage "protests to God the cause of his coming though the North of Ireland was to crave alms to go to his studies in France, as it is the custom that all poor

ag i ventuno merched, amddived yw lletye
gwedy darffo i dad rhoi, ai rhoi gymen vu ddime
l [aia gobrwy oddiwrthyn, a vyddai r dyn ai kasgle
i ddüw i ddwyf j n erchi, er ym dorri r gorchmynne
f] od vy enaid jn gorffwys, yny baradwys ole.

"Thomas ap Ieuan ap Rys ai Kant."

§ 4.

The Crusades inaugurated an humanitarianism, the effects of which are still potent in Europe to-day. The solicitude for the pilgrim induced a feeling of brotherhood, and the practical exhibition of Christian charity reacted upon the giver. To this result may be added the moral influence attaching to genuine pilgrims. Again and again these privileged persons appear in mediæval literature as peacemakers, counsellors, and guides. In the following stanza a pilgrim assumes the rôle of a chartered censor of morals :—

"Englyn a ganodd pererin wrth was Owain Cyfeiliog ar voreu yn rws ei blas, oherwydd bod Owain yn ymarfer a'i garesau : ac yn ol hynny y gwnaeth ev dair elusen ; mynachlog Ystrad Marchell, Pont Calettwr ac Elusendy yn nol y Cleivion, a losgwyd am odineb y cleivion.

"Dywaid i'th arglywydd, rwyddwas,
Vod llu yn aros ;
Nad cyvrwydd caru cares ;
Nid cyhyd y byd a bys."

Not infrequently they carried messages of peace between nations at war, and at all times the pilgrims' badge was a reminder of international brotherhood.[1]

scholars use in all that country when they go out of the realm". *State Papers, Eliz.*, 1599. Cfr. Wood, *City of Oxford*, ii, 185.

"They (the schollers of St. George's College, Oxford, where the prison now stands) were for the most part Welsh and had nothing allotted them but lodging and diet which they had from Osney, and the charity of other people and noe wages, but what they got by dirigees". Wood, *ibid.* Singing dirges was doubtless a congenial occupation for Welshmen.

[1] Cf. the popular belief mentioned on p. 372, n. 2.

In like manner the military pilgrimages to the Holy Land effected, at any rate for the time being, a moral change at home. A truce of God (treuga Dei) was proclaimed; private quarrels were suspended, or entirely ceased; judiciary duels diminished. The Crusader enjoyed certain exemptions; for instance, he was relieved of any obligation to pay his debts until his return from the expeditions, or for a certain number of years. He was released from certain tallages, and was at liberty to mortgage land without permission from his overlord; for the nonce his property and person were taken under the protection of the Pope or a Bishop; he shared the privilege of clergy,[1] except as regards criminal cases, and could plead in ecclesiastical courts. The ordinance, however, entailed some disadvantages. It is easy to see that prerogatives so great opened the door to abuses and set a premium on hypocrisy or fraud. On the other hand, intending Crusaders who screened themselves under cover of such privileges experienced a difficulty in obtaining loans. The consequence was that in many cases they were obliged to renounce their estates. The lord, prince, or even king who assumed the Cross thought it a matter of common prudence to secure his lands before embarking on the hazardous enterprise. But the Church was always at hand to advance the enthusiast money on his property, and in this way monastic houses and prelates became mortgagees of landed property pledged by Crusaders in order to provide munitions and men necessary for the campaign. Many properties thus passed into the possession of the spiritual body. For others, the benediction and prayers of Holy Church were an adequate recompense for the toil under-

[1] Urban IV's Bulls, addressed to the Welsh bishops, illustrate the privileges held out to Crusaders. See T. Matthews' *Welsh Records in Paris*, pp. 63, 64 and 69.

taken, the peril encountered, and the treasure expended.

The Church, however, was not the only institution which stood to gain by the departure of lords and landowners for the East. Kings reaped no small benefit from this impulse which drove their vassals to the Holy Sepulchre. The absorption of the smaller fiefs into the larger, and of these in their turn into the royal domain, tended to an extension of the sovereign power which loosened, and finally dissolved the feudal system. It enabled kings to break the power of their rivals, infused independence into the burgesses of large towns, raised the condition of the peasantry, contributed to the removal of serfdom, developed a communal system, and inspired generally a love of freedom.

Another social result closely connected with the above remains to be mentioned. The Crusades raised the standard of affluence and introduced among Western races a splendour to which they had been hitherto strangers. It is easy to imagine the impression made on minds accustomed to conditions like those described by Giraldus in Wales and Ireland, when they were suddenly thrown into the midst of the pomp environing the flower of chivalry that struts across the stage in the pages of the French chroniclers, or into the novelties of the Saracenic civilization. But the diffusion of comfort in the houses and mansions of the West formed only a small part of the economical changes consequent upon these protracted expeditions. Just as Bristol and smaller seaports on the Welsh coast owed much of their prosperity to the pilgrim traffic, so in a more marked degree pilgrimages and Crusades alike redounded to the advantage of great commercial centres and promoted the rise of free towns. Of these, none benefited more than Pisa and Venice, which lying on the routes of pilgrims, whether bound for Italy

or for the Holy Land, played a momentous part in the transport of Christian armaments to fight the infidel. Industry and trade in these localities became multiplied an hundredfold, and navigation made immense strides. Constantinople, itself a pilgrim resort, was situated on the main road to Palestine and Egypt. However embarrassing the stay of the Crusading hosts might be to the ruling powers of that city, solid commercial advantages accrued from their presence. There is, indeed, an element of irony in the manifold contrasts between the avowed aims and the actual achievements of the Crusading campaigns, and by no means the least striking of them is that between the austerity avowed at their inauguration, and the luxury that they introduced. Archbishop Baldwin, who toured Wales to enlist soldiers of the Cross, was instrumental in passing a sumptuary law. At a council held at Geytinton in 1188, previously to taking the Cross, it was enacted that no one should use scarlet cloth or sable, or furs, or dine off more than two dishes, because the King and all the great men of the realm were departing for the Holy Land. In the light of this self-denying ordinance, it is strange to reflect that the Crusades proved the main cause of an advance in the standard of living. To a large extent the pomp of the later mediæval times, from the twelfth century onwards, was derived from the riches and magnificence of the Orient.

§ 5.

The pilgrim was a recognised transmitter of news, and letters were written in expectation of one of these stray travellers. The guest-house attached to a monastery was one of the chief channels by which intelligence of passing events was disseminated through the more sequestered parts of the country. Jerome, in his epitaph on Fabiola, observes: "In one summer Britain has learned what the Egyptian and

Parthian have known in the spring". Theodoret speaks to a similar purport.[1] So early had the pilgrim distinguished himself as a newsagent. The explanation is easy. The pilgrim enjoyed exceptional facilities for gathering news, either from the concourse of people of all nations, or from flying colloquies with strangers he met on the road. A woman who was returning from the shrine of Our Lady of Boulogne, on appearing in the market place, was immediately surrounded by enquiring crowds, whom she regaled with sensations to the top of their bent. "I ken not her", says a correspondent, "by pylgrimys yt passe the kontre, nor noon other man".[2] The hospitium, in a sense, supplied the place of an inn, a club, and a newspaper.

The pilgrim was a vehicle for subjects other than news. The popular songs and tales of the Middle Ages illustrate his character. When Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales*, represented his characters as whiling away the time by telling stories, he was adopting a familiar plan. It was customary for bands of pilgrims to hire minstrels and story-tellers, in order that "with such solace the travail and weariness of pilgrims might be lightly and merrily borne out".[3] A pilgrim on his way homeward from a distant shrine repaid his host by recounting to a spell-bound, awe-struck audience at the hearth, all the gossip of the country-side, saintly legends, and travellers' tales, which lost none of their horror, pathos, or mystery in the recital. With a want of critical discernment characteristic of the age, the pilgrim accepted them from others in good faith, and, owing to frequent repetition first half believed, and then fully believed them; until at last his voice caught an accent of truth which could not fail to carry conviction

[1] Cf. Ussher, *Antiq. Eccles. Britann.*, pp. 109 and 110.

[2] *Paston Letters*, ii, 62 and 76.

[3] *Dialogue of Archbishop Arundel and William Thorpe.*

to his hearers. Those who had been given grace to reach Rome or Palestine, and, still more, the grace to come home again, were especially revered; the former had seen with their own eyes the marvels of the City of the Seven Hills; the latter could tell with bated breath of the worshippers of the False Prophet. But even in the Middle Ages there was a limit to the capacity for wonder. The stories of hardships endured in far-off regions, of wonder-working shrines, of marvels on sea and land, told by roving pilgrim and palmer, in course of time awakened scepticism and provoked mirth. The more enlightened members of the community no longer allowed these demands on their credulity to pass unchallenged, nor would the ignorant yield unquestioning credence. Ultimately, the pilgrim fell into disrepute, and enemies of the movement said, "If these men and women be half a month out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be, half a year after, great jugglers, story-tellers, and liars".[1] A Canterbury Tale became synonymous with a fabulous story.[2]

CHAPTER XXI.

Effects: Theology.—The Drama.

The old educational system of the Benedictine and Columban type with its usual accompaniments of the unambitious teacher, his undisputatious methods, and his unexciting studies, was well suited to its time and place. Excellently did these self-appointed instructors fulfil their mission. But the times changed; the day of the meticulous scholar was past. New forces, which demanded new methods, came into being, and leaders of thought were, by the exigencies of the new age, compelled to quit the tranquil creeks or safe waters on the coast, to face

[1] *Dialogue of Archbishop Arundel and William Thorpe.*

[2] Kentish proverb. Fuller, *Worthies.*

currents and cross-currents, and to steer for the open sea. Theology, and the philosophy that underlies all religion, rather than the forms in which theology and philosophy are enshrined, now began to engage attention. Scholasticism arrived and soon rose into favour. For a time at least it eclipsed its predecessors, pure poetry and pure literature, in public estimation. The universities were now at the door and their influence marked a momentous stride, namely, the beginning of the scientific period. In brief, science now supersedes poetry; poetry becomes ancillary to science.

Of the causes that brought about this intellectual awakening, the Crusades were not the least important. Contemplative minds, not content with the excitements or honours of war, drank deeply at the calmer sources of emotion and fountains of wisdom which were found among the sages of the East. The last Crusade, which came to an end in the thirteenth century, was synchronous with the rapid rise of the New Studies; but, in reality, all the Crusades co-operated in a very direct and decisive manner to that end, since they issued in an enfranchisement of the human mind from the trammels of mediævalism. They had opened the gates of the East and had familiarised Western races with two civilisations richer than their own, namely the Greek and Saracenic. The Celts, who were swept into the movement, were keenly alive to these fresh intellectual influences. They were brought into contact with a new realm of marvels, with a new region of mystery. Even those who remained at home could not remain unaffected. Like Ulysses and Sindbad the mediæval pilgrim was revered because he had experienced so many adventures and seen so many nations. When human thought thus wandered into new worlds, the simple tales and indigenous literature which fascinated the eleventh

century ceased to appeal, or at any rate lost much of their power.

§ 1.

Of all the influences flowing from the Crusades, none was more momentous, none more prolific, than the rediscovery of the Aristotelian writings. Entirely lost for centuries, or imperfectly known, through the medium of Augustine, Boethius and Martianus Capella, they were brought to light by the godless Mohammedan.[1] This revived Aristotle was an Arabian interpretation of Greek thought. The movement, half Arabian, half Aristotelian, sprang up in Syria as early as the second and third century after the Hegira (A.D. 622) and, gradually making its way during the following six centuries into the schools of Cordova in Spain, gained an entrance into the universities of France and Italy. There it first made its appearance under the auspices of medicine. Physicians were its teachers as in Damascus and Bagdad, so also in Paris and Auxerre. Syrians, Greeks and Jews, on whom the Arab was dependent for medical skill, brought with them not only the treatises of Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle, but also works on other departments of knowledge. To the Alexandrian school of astronomy, out of which in Asia arose astrology, may doubtless be traced in the last resort the craze for that pseudo-science in the Middle Ages. This outburst of intellectual activity

[1] The Mohammedans were often spoken of as practising polytheism. All pagans were said to worship Mahound. Everyone who was not a Christian must be either a Jew or a Moslem, occasionally both. In the Cornish St. Meriasek play, Teudar, the pagan king of Cornwall, who lived before Mohammed was born, figures as a devout follower of Mahound. The Emperor Constantine, in the St. Sylvester play that is mixed up with it, is represented as zealous for Mahound and Sol (Apollo or Mithras). Another Pagan worships Monfras, Mahound and Jove.

coincided with the termination of the last Crusade, namely, the thirteenth century. Aristotle had been hitherto regarded as a mere logician or a master of dialectics; but now his encyclopædic writings on ethics, metaphysics, and natural history, sprang into fame. They received ecclesiastical acceptance. Aristotle became the dictator of the schools, and enjoyed the patronage of prelates. The Arabic commentators Avicenna and Averrhoes are placed by Dante among the philosophers who wanted only baptism to be saved.[1] If the application of Aristotelian methods awakened suspicion in the minds of the orthodox, it was on account of the Arabian comment on the philosopher's works rather than on account of the writings themselves. The Dominicans, at that date pre-eminently the leaders of thought, threw themselves with characteristic ardour into current controversies, and vindicated the reputation of the Church in the debating-halls of the schools. The Scholastic disputants, they fulfilled the function of the "merchants of light" attached to the Hall of Science in Bacons's Utopian commonwealth. The life of universities, properly speaking, lay in the new science of theology, law, medicine, and, in subordination to these pursuits, natural history and languages. John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois might lament the decline of minute study of the classics, and the substitution of the short-lived reveries of ingenious sophists. But now students were promised truth in a nut-shell.

The progress of this scientific movement here links itself on to Ireland and Britain. A Celtic monk had a share in the re-discovery of Aristotle. Under the encouragement of Frederick II, Michael Scotus translated the *Natural History* from the Arabic. John Scotus

[1] Dante, *Inferno*, canto iv. Dante's master, Thomas Aquinas, entertained a great regard for their names.

Erigena's travels in the East conduced to the cultivation of Eastern thought in the West. Scholasticism furnished the Celts with a congenial study and endless scope for the exercise of their restless intellect. While visiting holy places they were able simultaneously to gratify their intellectual tastes. The irrepressible "Scot," that is Irishman, was ubiquitous. Lecture-halls and other arenas of debate rang with his voice. A predilection for philosophic or scientific studies in the Celt was not of recent origin. Already Pelagius had afforded an instance of skill in this field of controversial activity. Whether we suppose that the heresiarch was born in Ireland or was of Irish descent, but, as has been with much plausibility suggested, actually a native of Britain,[1] the Celtic talent for bold speculation and its power for mischief when used on the side of error was apparent as early as the fourth century. Carried away by the seductiveness of the new science, these Scottish thinkers incurred the displeasure or the jealousy of their contemporaries, and were held up to execration. But it was in the Middle Ages that their disputative powers were destined to reach their zenith. Their manifestation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries after a long night of intellectual darkness, proves that the Celt's capacity for inquisitive observation and acute reasoning, had not languished for want of use, or, if dormant, had needed only to be elicited. The story of the two intellectual gladiators from Ireland, enlisted by Charlemagne to carry out his projects for the reformation of learning, their appearance with certain merchants in Gaul, their advertisement of their intellectual wares in the market place crying "Who wants wisdom? Who wants wisdom?" was no solitary case.[2] Clement, Samson and Virgil, natives of Ireland, wrote

[1] See p. 94.

[2] See pp. 65 and 66.

their names in the scroll of Fame. It is a striking fact that two great crises in human thought were associated with such Celtic nondescript missionaries of knowledge, half philosophers, half tramps. Eric of Auxerre, the biographer of St. Germanus, in 876, dedicated a work to the Emperor Charles the Bald, in which he asks, "Need I remind Ireland that she sent troops of philosophers over land and sea to our distant shores, that her most learned sons offered, of their own accord, their gifts of wisdom, in the service of our learned King Solomon ?"[1] The debates of the ninth century were but a prelude to the whole cycle of schisms and audacious speculations of the twelfth. The credit for the systematisation of Scholastic Theology has been assigned by some writers to another Celt, a flaming meteor or falling star, who for years shone with unrivalled brilliance and unchequered success, the Breton Abelard.[2] His early history is bound up with that of another Celt, whose pupil, successor and antagonist he had successively been, namely, Roscellinus, from whom Abelard derived a speculative impulse which made him the Samson of the schools in the wildness of his course, the Solon in the fascination of his genius. Before his career was prematurely closed, and his candle put out, his teaching anticipated some features of Protestantism; his fame attracted from all quarters disciples, just arising or risen into manhood, to seek knowledge. In the language of Fulco, he was noted for "the brilliance of his genius, the sweetness of his eloquence, the ready flow of his language, and the subtlety of his knowledge". John Scotus Erigena, the intellectual potentate whose

[1] *Bouquet*, vii, 563.

[2] Others consider St. Anselm and the School of Bec as the real source of Scholasticism. But see Hauréau's *Histoire de la Philosophie Scholastique*.

personality dominated the Schools in the ninth century carried his theories to the verge of pantheism. If he had not attacked, neither had he defended the truths of religion. He may be defined as a somewhat unorthodox Christian Neo-Platonist or a belated Gnostic. But what he had refrained from doing was left to other Celts to carry forward to its logical issues, and these have written their names large on the page of history. John Scotus was a solitary watchman emerging from the dead level of traditional education, and passing away without founding a school or inspiring a successor; but his appearance proclaimed the dawn of a new era.

The laurels in the province of British Scholasticism must unhesitatingly be assigned to the Irish. A college for Scotchmen was founded in Paris by David, bishop of Murray, in 1325. In 1333, it was established in the *Rue des Amandiers*, and in the sixteenth century was enlarged by the liberality of Mary Stuart and James of Bethune, bishop of Glasgow. The presence of Scotch students in France in Rabelais's day is shown incidentally by a passage in that author.[1] Panurge quotes an obscure sentence on the "inequality of the rewards of virtue", which, as he pretends, is English, but is really Lowland Scotch, derived, doubtlessly, from a Scotch student in the Capital.[2]

The Irish and Scotch did not, however, enjoy a monopoly of Celtic Scholasticism in Paris. Cornwall was also well represented among these knights-errant[3] of science,

[1] Book ii, ch. 9.

[2] Cf. ii, 18-20. See Professor Ker's article in *An English Miscellany*, Oxford 1901, pp. 196-8, and S. Lee, *The French Renaissance*, p. 60. The whole of this fantastic discourse seems to be a sort of skit on the ideas of Bede's *De numeris et signis*.

[3] *E.g.*, Joannes Cornubiensis, Bulaeus, ii, p. 750; Gualterus, 741; Michael Blancpain, iii, 701; Godefridus, iv, 957; Gulielmus de Cornubia, iv, 957. Cf. Denifle's *Chartulaire de l' Université de Paris*, 1894, passim.

and Welshmen were not lacking to throw down or to take up the gauntlet. The rôle sustained by Giraldus Cambrensis in these dialectical disputations has been described by himself. Predestined apparently to a literary career, this showy master of rhetoric and colloquial sword-play took a dilettante interest in Scholastic philosophy, and went through a course of study at Gloucester,[1] preliminary to more ambitious undertakings. Paris, a universal court of taste, a focus collecting and transmitting the new light, was, at the time, drawing to its bosom youth from all quarters of Christendom. No teacher of any pretensions to eminence could regard his equipment complete until he had sat at the feet of the philosophers of Paris. Thither, accordingly, Gerald repaired in 1177. From the very outset he met with signal success (Gerald himself is our warrant for saying so), and his lectures on Gratian earned golden opinions in this metropolis of knowledge. He intended prosecuting his studies at Bologna, the mother of all universities and famous for its doctors of Canon law.[2]

Of the various "Wallenses" who belonged to the intellectual élite of the Middle Ages, such as Laurentius, Philippus, David, Wallensis, and Johannes Went, men of note at this period, it is impossible to speak at length. But special mention should be made of two Welsh masters of scientific exposition or polemical defence, representatives of two rival schools, the Franciscan and the Dominican, one in the thirteenth century and the other in the fourteenth. John Wallensis was Regent master of the Franciscan schools at Oxford before 1260, and his writings specially illustrated the practical side of the Francis-

[1] Book iv, ch. 10.

[2] Book i, ch. 28 and 45. Gerald's name appears in the Cartularium. Cf. i, ch. 4, 32 and 48.

can teaching.[1] He next appears in Paris, where he won for himself the title of "Arbor Vitae". He is, doubtless, identical with the Friar John Wallensis, who, in 1282, was sent by Archbishop Peckham to negotiate with the insurgent Welsh.[2] In 1283, he was again in Paris, having been deputed, with four other doctors, to examine the tenets of Peter John Olivi.[3] That he enjoyed a high reputation is shown both by contemporary evidence and by the popularity of his treatises. Paris, Evreux, Louvain, Basel, Cologne, Augsburg, Lyons, Venice, Ulm, are a few, but not all, of the places where his works were printed; and the numerous manuscripts that are reposing on the shelves of libraries in various parts of Europe attest the influence that he wielded in his time.

The personality of the next Schoolman bearing the epithet Wallensis possesses a marked human interest; this was Thomas the Dominican, a prominent figure in the fourteenth century, who fought and suffered on the battlefield of thought. It may, indeed, be said that few controversialists of the Middle Ages, except Scotus Erigena and Abelard, created wider interest or stirred the public mind to such a degree. On January 4th, 1333, he asserted, before the Cardinals then residing with the exiled Pope John XXII, the doctrine of the Saints' Immediate Vision of God. The Pope had previously pronounced against the innovation. Thomas was arraigned on a charge of heresy at the instigation of the members of the Franciscan fraternity, and the hereditary foes of the Dominican Order. He was consigned to the custody of the Inquisitors, and later was transferred to the prison attached to the Papal residence. The correspondence be-

[1] Little, *Grey friars at Oxford*, p. 143.
[2] *Peckham's Register*, ii, 421, 2.
[3] *Hist. Litt. de France*, t. xxv, p. 178.

tween the Pope, Philip VI, and the University of Paris concerning him affords an insight into the theological debates of the Middle Ages.[1] In the Calendar of Papal petitions he describes himself as old, paralysed, and destitute, and he appeals for the parish church of Bishopston in Wiltshire, on behalf of his friend Lambert of Houlsholt, who will maintain him.[2]

The citizenship of mind between thinkers throughout Europe lasted for several centuries; then came the French wars and other ruinous commotions, and adieu to familiar intercourse between the members of the republic of letters and the commonwealth of science!

§ 2.

A close connection existed between the pilgrim movement and dramatic exhibitions; for, just as religious gatherings have in all ages,[3] Pagan and Christian, either given occasion or communicated an impetus to dramatic literature, it was to pilgrimages that the miracle play was directly due. The Church is itself the most sacred and august of poets. It is a channel through which emotion finds expression, and that a safe and well-regulated expression. But, further, fully aware of the unquenchable desire that burns in the human breast, not only to express emotion in words, but to express it dramatically, she offered the people a purified dramatic poetry, instead of the licentiousness of pagan dramatic art, and blessed with indulgences those who took part in these popular pageants.

Our natural impulse is to try and link the religious drama to the Greek and Roman theatre. The truth is, however, that between the mediæval miracle play and the

[1] *Denifle*, i, 414-442.

[2] Bliss, *Papal Registers*, i, 146; A.D. 1349.

[3] See p. 508, n. 1.

classical drama there is a great gulf fixed. The Roman stage, ministering in its decadence to the mere lust and ferocity of a degraded populace,[1] had died a natural death before these performances, enjoying the sanction and patronage of Holy Church, made their appearance. *Christos Paschōn*, which depicted the Passion of Jesus and the Sorrows of Mary, has often been ascribed to Gregory Nazianzen, but was almost certainly composed six hundred years later.[2] The source of the miracle or mystery play[3] must be sought not in vapid imitations of classic models, but in the dramatic instinct which the Church seized upon, as a vehicle to the vivid realization of the great facts of Christ's life and of the stately epic of the Christian Year. Of these simple ceremonies we have already seen one instance in the "Officium Peregrinorum", conducted on the eve of a pilgrim's departure for some distant shrine. But this is only one of many dramatic touches which the Church imparted to the services for impressing profound truths on the hearts and imagination

[1] Cf. St. Aug., *De Civ.*, i, ch. 31 ; ii, ch. 8.

[2] See J. G. Brambs, *Tragoedia Christiana Gregorio Nazianzeno falso attributa*, Lipsiae, 1885. This play is based on Greek models, and the author has incorporated several hundred lines of Euripides, many of which are not extant in any other form. If the play belonged to the tenth century it was contemporary with the Latin plays of Hroswitha, a nun of Gandersheim, which are imitations of Terence.

[3] The following broad distinction may be laid down between the Mystery and Miracle Play. "Mysteries deal with Gospel events only, their object being primarily to set forth by means of an illustration of the prophetic history of the Old Testament, and more particularly of the fulfilling history in the New, the central mystery of the Redemption of the world as accomplished by the Nativity, the Passion and the Resurrection. Miracle Plays, on the other hand, are concerned with incidents derived from the legends of the saints of the Church". Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, vol. i, p. 23.

of its children. A more direct derivation of plays from pilgrimages has been suggested. It has been urged[1] that pilgrims returning from the Holy Land adopted this means of reproducing, for the benefit of their stay-at-home countrymen,[2] the sights that they had witnessed, composing cantiques on the subjects of their travels and interweaving with them in rude fashion the accounts of the Life and Death of Christ, the Last Judgment, Visions and Apparitions :—

> "Chez nos dévots ayeux le théâtre abhorré
> Fut longtemps dans la France un plaisir ignoré.
> De pèlerins, dit on, une troupe grossière
> En public à Paris y montra la première,
> Et sottement zelée en la simplicité
> Joua les Saints, la Vierge, et Dieu par pieté."[3]

But the connection with pilgrimage is probably to be looked for in another direction. It was for the benefit of pilgrims that the Church provided such dramatic representations, to stimulate devotion, on Festivals, at Christmas and Whitsuntide, but especially Easter. St. Francis of Assisi represented the Christmas Crib in forest glades with the aid of a real child, real men and women. There are reasons for thinking that the first forms of the Easter Play were the solemn burial of the Host and Crucifix on Good Friday and their disinterment on Easter Day, a practice common to the Sarum and other mediæval Uses, and the placing of the Blessed Sacrament in the "Altar of Repose" (*capella sepulchri*) on Maundy Thursday until Good Friday. A still more direct association between the religious drama and pilgrimages exists. It was on these

[1] Menestrier, *Des représentations en musique*, p. 152.

[2] Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xxxviii, p. 764, ed. Migne.

[3] *L'Art Poétique*, Chant troisième. Boileau is right in what he says about the Saints, the Virgin and God being the subjects of these primitive plays, but the actors were not pilgrims but towns-people connected with some religious body, like the Confrères de la Passion.

occasions that the scenes of the Saint's life or martyrdom, for example, that of St. Catherine (a very popular subject) were presented for the delectation of the pious faithful. In the early stages of the development of the play the parish church afforded a suitable theatre; at a later period owing to the desire for greater stage effects the play was transferred to the churchyard, and finally to "stations", namely streets or open spaces, where it was performed on fixed or moveable platforms.[1] An abbot or bishop or parish priest pointed the moral, as in the Play of *Abraham and Isaac* at Brome Hall in Suffolk, while the brethren from the monastery or pupils from the monastic school sustained the several rôles. By the fourteenth century these plays had become so general that there was hardly a place in the whole of Central or Western Europe which did not possess its special Mystery. So far as Britain is concerned, it may be looked upon as certain that the drama was not introduced before the Norman Conquest; but it struck root and spread so rapidly that Miracle Plays were enacted in almost every part of England. The Miracle Play fostered a love of acting and prepared the ground from which the Shakespearian harvest was to spring in all its abundance.[2]

[1] This was the primary meaning of the word "Pageant". The transference of the plays from the shrine to the streets was the beginning of a severance between the Church and the Play or Drama. Trade guilds gradually entered into competition with the clergy, and when the salutary influence of the Church was withdrawn, various evils arose which created a prejudice and prompted denunciations from the pulpit. See a Wycliffite sermon on the subject in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii, p. 45. John Trilleck, bishop of Hereford in the fourteenth century, prohibited the continuance in the Churches of all plays and interludes "by which the hearts of the faithful are drawn aside to vanities". Havergal, *Fasti Herefordienses*, p. 21.

[2] The Chester plays were acted till the end of the sixteenth century and the Beverley Plays were still being performed when

Antecedently, it might be conjectured that so attractive a method of presenting sacred subjects would appeal to the Celtic mind with its natural keen sensibility and its fondness for the concrete. The Celt transports himself into any scene or situation that may be portrayed and enters into the sentiments of others without difficulty. He takes naturally to lively or passionate declamation. The expression "a chynnal pob chwareuon hud a lledrith, a phob arddangos" in reference to a feast given by Gruffydd ap Rhys in 1135, has been regarded as evidence that some entertainment of a dramatic nature was known in Wales in the twelfth century. But the argument rests on rather a precarious basis. "Arddangos" might mean a pageant of some kind, but does not necessarily imply a dramatic performance. Unless corroborated the date 1135 is early for a drama.[1]

The term Miragl, frequently met with in the Celtic languages, probably refers to a scenic representation of some kind. "Gwary-meer", and "Gwary-mirkl", or "Gwary" only, were the Cornish words for the scriptural and other religious plays. The place-name "Plan-an-gwary" or "Plaingwarry" occurs in Redruth, St. Hilary, Ruan Major, Ruan Minor, St. Just, and elsewhere. In the last the "plain of the play" is an amphitheatre 136 feet in diameter. Another amphitheatre called "Perran Round" in Perran Zabuloe parish is still in very good preservation, but at the other places nothing is left.[2]

Shakespeare's life was drawing to a close. The "Miracles" finally died with the death of Elizabeth.

[1] Cf. "Composed by Meredydd ab Rhosser, to the miracle composed by Sir Walter, at Brynbuga (Usk, see p. 318), which miracle is in Welsh called 'Hud a lledrith'." See Williams's *Colyn Dolphyn*, p. 126. But *Hud a lledrith* may mean no more than conjuring tricks.

[2] For miracle plays in Cornwall generally, see *Celtic Review*,

The following are extracts from Cornish Mystery Plays preserved in the Bodleian and a copy in the National Library of Wales :—

i. Hic incipit ordinale de origine mundi :

lemmen pan yu nef thyn gwrys
ha lenwys a eleth splan . . . . .
ha the welas an passyon
a jhesus hep gorholeth
a worthevys crys[t] ragon
avorow deug a dermyn
hag eus pub dre
a barth an tas menstrels a ras

pebough whare.

i. Here begins the ordinal concerning the origin of the world :

Now when is heaven to us made
and filled with angels bright . . .
And to see the Passion
of Jesus without delay,
which suffered Christ for us,
to-morrow come in time.
And go all home.
On the part of the Father,
minstrels, of grace
Pipe at once.

ii. Hic incipit passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi :

Thyugh lavara[1] ow dyskyblyon
pyseygh toyth da ol kescolon
. . . .
ha deug avar
avorow my agas pys
the welas fetel sevys
Cryst mes an beth cler ha
war.

ii. Here begins the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ :

To you I speak, my disciples,
Pray ye at once, all with one
heart . . . .
and come early
To-morrow I you pray
To see how arose
Christ from the grave bright
and gentle.

iii. Hic incipit ordinale de resurrectione Domini nostri Jesu :

Jesus a fue anclethyys
hag yn beth a ven gorrys . . . .
may hyllyn mos the thonssye.[2]

iii. Here begins the ordinal concerning the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ :

Jesus who was buried,
and in grave of stone put . . . .[3]
That we may be able to go and
dance.

April and July 1907. In Cornwall these plays went on until the seventeenth century; the latest is dated 1611. Richard Carew, writing in 1602, speaks of their being commonly acted in his day.

[1] For lavaraf.

[2] The MS. is a copy of the "Ordinalia" (a MS. in the Bodleian Library, of the fifteenth century) made for Edward Lhuyd. There is a stanza in the Oxford MS. before the passage quoted here as the beginning of the first play.

[3] The spelling in these dramas is very unsettled. *a veu* would mean "was (put)".

But we are not dependent on surmises for evidence of the popularity of these dramatic representations in mediæval Wales. Lewis Hopkin, the eminent Glamorganshire poet who died in 1770 at the age of 70, alludes to a manuscript of Miracle Plays which he saw as a boy in the parish of Coychurch.[1] Fragments of such plays are still extant, for example, the following[2] :—

Llyma beth o Bassiwn . . . Jesy Grist.
Dramatis personae: Syr pilat: sarsiant:[3] y ii iddew: Jesy: y iiii marchog:[4] Mair: Jeuan fengyliwr: Loinsys:[5] sioseb: nikodemws: syr kaeffas:[6] anias:[7] enaid krist: lyssyffer: dd:[8] broffwyd: mair fadlen.

Tewch ach siarad a gwrandewch
am ych dadl mawr meddyliwch
dwedwch wrth y ddisgiblon
ac y beder[9] geir ych bron, &c.

Rymadroddion y fy[10] rwng y tri Brenin o Gwlen[11] a herod ac fel yr aeth yr Arglwyddes fair ay mab Josseb y fethlem ac fel ac y kowsont y Tayr anreg.[12]

Y KENADWR YN DECHRE.

Tewch ach siarad a gwrandewch . . .
Yrwran Rwi[13] yn dal herod
yn barod yni ansiawns.[14]

The Passion was the favourite subject:—[15]

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[1] *Hopkiniaid Morganwg*, p. 92.

[2] See Havod MS. 22, f. 686. The above miracle play consists of 852 lines, but the end is lost. [3] Sergeant.

[4] Often mentioned in Welsh poems. [5] See p. 179, n. 3.

[6] Caiaphas. [7] Annas. [8] David. Cf. 475, n 2. [9] Peter.

[10] Yr . . . a fu. [11] Cologne, see p. 308, n. 6.

[12] Gold, frankincense and myrrh. *St. Matth.*, ii, 11. [13] Yr wyf fi.

[14] Mischance, mishap, ill-luck. Peniarth MS. 65, f. 146.

[15] The "Passion" at Oberammergau, started at the monastery of Ettal, is the most notable survival of sixty centres in Bavaria, where the Mediæval Passion Play was performed.

Cf. Peniarth MS. 73, f. 177. See Dr. J. G. Evans's *Report*, p. 491.

PASSION PLAY.—DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.[1]

Mihangel	Centurion	Lüsipher.
Adda	Nicodemus	Sattan
D.[2] brophwyd	Yr Jddewon	yr Escobion
J. Euangylwr	Annas	y ddau Leidr
Siosseb	Peilat	y kenhadwr
Mair	Herod	y kythrael
Yr Angel	Y Marchogion	y tri Brenin
Jessü	y Porthor	y Vrenhines
Seimon	Gwas y Porthor	y Doctor[3]

Y kenadwr : Tewch a son a gwrandewch
am y chwedyl mawr meddyliwch
y chware eich gwydd a welwch
Süddas vradwr ynn llawen guerthodd Jessü . . . .

Y kythrael : Ha ha mi af i chware dawns
ac i neidio ynn y mrigawns[4]
yr owran ir wy yn dal Herod
ynn barod ynn i vengiawns

Of all the centres where the mystery plays were enacted none was more popular than Chester, and the Chester Mysteries, performed at Whitsuntide, combined with the fame of Y Grog o Gaer,[5] offered no ordinary inducement to the pilgrim ; but other incentives in the shape of indulgences[6] were held out to quicken zeal. In short, Chester

[1] Llanwrin MS., 1, f. 41. The following entries in the Bailiff's accounts of the Shrewsbury Corporation are interesting in this connection (Owen and Blakeway, *History of Shrewsbury*, 1825) :—

1409. Players of the Lord Powis.
1437. Duobus ministralibus d'ni de Powys.
1503. In regardo dato ij Walicis histrionibus domini Regis.
1540. Data in regardo quibusdam interlusoribus de Wrexam ludentibus coram ballivis et comparibus suis in vino tunc expendito.

[2] David is often styled *Propheta* or *Rex et Propheta* in Mediæval writings (προφητάναξ in the Greek rite). Cf. *Psalm* xxii, esp., 1, 17, 18.

[3] The "Doctor" or "Expositor", to whom the didactic speeches were assigned.

[4] Brigynau, "andirons'. Cf. Ag a neidia yn fy mrigawns. *Iolo Goch*, lxii, 200 (ed. Ashton).

[5] See pp. 294-299.

[6] The Proclamation for Whitsune playes made by William Newall, Clarke of the Pentice, 24, Henry VIII, ran: "Sir Henry Frances,

became a kind of dramatic metropolis, for the north as far as Preston and Kendal, for Wales and Dublin.[1] Originally composed, as it is said, by Randall Higgenett,[2] a monk of Chester Abbey,[3] but doubtless elaborated and augmented in course of time, these plays illustrate several characteristics of the mediæval mystery.

The following passage from *Noah's Flood*[4] describing his

somtyme moonck of this monastery dissolved who obtained and gat of Clemant, then Bishop of Rome, a 1000 days of p'don and of the bishop of Chester at that time 40 dayes of pardon, graunted from thenceforth to every person resorting in peaceable manner with good devotion to heare ye said playes from tyme to tyme . . . . " *Harl. MS.* 2,013.

[1] Hengwrt MS. 229 contains one of the plays mentioned in the Cycle, namely, xxiv ("Antichrist") only. This was probably a prompter's copy, as some one has "doubled it up and carried it about in his pocket, used it with hot hands, and faded its ink".

[2] Rashly identified with Ralph Higden, the Chronicler. The verses of a Ranald of Chester are mentioned rather irreverently in Piers Plowman, where the following couplet is placed in the mouth of Sloth:—

"I cannot perfitly my Paternoster, as the priest it singeth,
But I can rhymes of Robin Hood and Ranald of Chester."

[3] End of the Banes (or proclamation) of the Chester plays, sixteenth century. But see Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, xxi and xxx. The Chester Plays present parallels to the French *Mystère du Viel Testament*, and contain many shreds and fragments of the French language, which, it may be observed, are put into the mouth of magnates like Herod, Octavian, Herod, Pilate, and the Three Kings (see p. 308, n. 6), perhaps because they were thought appropriate to princes and lordlings. It is possible that the earliest performances were actually in Anglo-Norman. For a discussion of the sources of the whole Cycle see H. Ungemacht, *Die Quellen der fünf ersten Chester Plays*.

In the Pre-Reformation Banns there are 26 plays. After Wyt Sonday is inserted the play "of our Lady thassumpcon to be brought forth by the worshipfull wyves of this towne." The play of the Assumption was given in 1477, and as a separate performance in 1488, 1497, and 1515. It was probably dropped, as at York, when Protestantism was in the ascendant.

[4] A modern Breton play on St. Gwenolé and submergence of the city of Is, is quite in the style of the Mediæval Miracle Play.

wife's reluctance to enter the Ark, gives an idea of the humour with which the tension of serious feeling was relieved :—[1]

Noyes Wiffe: Yea, sir, sette up youer saile,
And rowe fourth with evill haile,
For withouten (anye) faile
I will not oute of this towne ;
But I have my gossippes everyechone,
One foote further I will not gone :
The shall not drowne, by Sante John!
And I may save ther life.
The loven me full well, by Christe!
But[2] thou lett them into thy cheiste,
Elles rowe nowe wher thee leiste,
And gette thee a newe wiffe.

Noye: Seme,[3] sonne, loe! thy mother is wrawe:[4]
Forsooth, such another I doe not knowe.

Sem: Father, I shall fetch her in, I trowe,
Withoutten anye fayle.
Mother, my father after thee sende,
And byddes thee into yeinder shippe wende.
Loke up and see the wynde,
For we bene readye to sayle.

Noyes Wiffe: Seme, goe againe to hym, I saie ;
I will not come theirin to daye.

Noye: Come in, wiffe, in twentye devilles waye!
Or elles stand there without.

Cam: Shall we all feche her in ?

Noye: Yea, sonnes, in Christe blessinge and myne!
I woulde you hied you be-tyme,
For of this flude I am in doubte.

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[1] There is less in the Chester Plays to jar on modern feelings than in the York Plays. The Jews often furnish the comic element, *e.g.*, in the York Plays the despair of Judas is followed by a scene in which a Squire is cheated of his title-deeds to Calvary Locus. In the *Prodigal Son* acted at Lasneven, Brittany, in 1903, the two sporting Jews, friends of the elder brother, whose costumes were reminiscent of pictures of Assyrian sculpture, supplied the inevitable comic relief to the fine pathos of the Prodigal and his father.

[2] Unless ; Elles (else) is redundant.

[3] Shem. [4] Angry.

THE GOOD GOSSIPPE'S SONG.

The flude comes fleetinge[1] in full faste,
One every syde that spreades full ferre;
For feare of drowninge I am agaste,
Good gossippes, lett us drawe nere
And lett us drinke or we departe,
For ofte tymes we have done soe;
For att a draughte thou drinkes a quarte,
And soe will I do or I goe.
Heare is a pottill[2] full of Malmsine,[3] good and strong;
It will rejoyce bouth harte and tonge;
Though Noye thinke us never so longe,
Heare we will drinke alike.[4]

The mediæval plays have disappeared, leaving behind them traces in such ceremonies as Mari Lwyd ("Holy Mary"), and marionettes (a diminutive of Maria), but they gave birth to another movement which rapidly developed in Wales. The "moralities" were the immediate precursors of the "interludes", which enjoyed a lease of fame until a crabbed rigour and sour pietism frowned upon the art.[5] The Gospel of Nicodemus, which, as has been already seen, had a wide popularity, in its entirety or in a fragmentary

[1] Floating. [2] Pottle, flask. [3] Malmsey wine.

[4] Pollard, *Engl. Miracle Plays*, 1898, p. 14.

[5] Three stages may be traced in the growth of the religious drama; (1) the Mystery based on Biblical scenes; (2) the Miracle Play, dealing with legendary subjects; (3) Moralities, allegorical personifications of the Virtues and Vices. The Mystery and the Miracle had vividly portrayed the historical scenes of the Bible and the Lives of Saints; but there still remained the question hitherto only implied and incidental, "What must I do to be saved?". The Morality supplied the full answer by its emphasis on the moral and sacramental teaching of the Church. The Moralities displayed more art and invention than the Mysteries; they often contained a kind of plot. For some time, dramatic pieces were called moralities and interludes indifferently. Both contained a mixture of allegory and reality, but the interludes display more of everyday life than the moralities, and more closely approximated to modern plays. Cf. p. 469, n. 3. On Welsh Interludes see a paper by the late Mr. I. Foulkes in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1903-1904.

form, supplied the Welsh playwright with themes. An interesting fragment of a Breton version survives, preserved in an old print of 1530, and entitled *Aman ez dezrou an Passion ha goude Resurrection.*[1]

The city of Chester in Whitsun week must have presented a vivid spectacle to eye and ear,

"Each change of many coloured life,"

a multifarious hubbub, a veritable mosaic of racial and social elements, laymen and ecclesiastics, squires and serfs. Here a wrinkled, weather-beaten palmer is offering medals for sale; there a bystander wears an expression of ecstatic devotion. A mirror of Chivalry is present in full accoutrements, but is prohibited by law from bearing offensive weapons on the occasion within the city walls.[2] He is taking Chester on the way to a tournament. Here Brother Seraphinus, of the Friars Minors, is sending round his bag for pence on behalf of souls in purgatory. Yonder is a ploughman, who has asserted his right to a holiday, shielding himself under the ægis of Holy Church and the authority of his parish priest. Welshmen have come from

[1] "Here begins the Passion, and afterwards the Resurrection". This has been edited by Villemarqué, under the title of *Grand Mystère de Jésus passion et resurrection.* In modern Breton the title would run: Aman é teraon ar Basion . . . ar Resurrection. (*Dezrou*= Welsh *dechreu*; *ez*=Welsh *yd* in *ydwyf*, and is always é before a consonant, which, if it is d, is hardened to t, a mutation which does not exist in Welsh: *goude*=(g)wedi).

[2] Proclamacio ludi corporis cristi facienda in vigilia corporis cristi. (The Feast of Corpus Christi).

Oiez, &c. We comand of ye Kynges behalue and ye Mair and ye Shirefs of yis Citee yat no mann go armed in yis Citee with swerdes ne with Carlill-axes, ne none othir defences in distorbaunce of ye Kingis pees and ye play, or hynderyng of ye processioun of Corpore Christi, and yat yai leue yare hernas in yare Ines, saufand knyghtes and sqwyers of wirship yat awe haue swerdes borne eftir yame, of payne of forfaiture of yaire wapen and inprisonment of yaire bodys. (*The York Play*).

Anglesey and Lleyn speaking the rude, or as it sounds to Norman ears, barbarous jargon. Here are Welshmen from Shropshire with their effeminate dialect, Norman knights from Morganwg, descendants of the Geraldines from Striguil, yet others from distant Cornwall, and two picturesquely clad Bretons. A native of Tobermory, two monks from Iona, and a third from Melrose make up the Scotch contingent. But no part of the kingdom is more numerously represented than Ireland. From Cork and from Dublin, Irishmen pour into the city. Some of these sons of Erin are making Chester the goal of their pilgrimage; others intend proceeding to pray at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; yet others will not rest till they have kissed the foot of St. Peter. The masterpieces of the pageant, the Resurrection and Doom's Day, are reserved for the *finale* in the evening.

CHAPTER XXII.

Effects.—Science.

It may not be supposed that Celtic pilgrims were entirely taken up with discussions on Nominalism and Realism, or with hairsplitting subtleties like the question (jocularly stated) over which many of the *Cymini sectores*[1] of the Scholastic world crossed swords: "How many angels could dance together on the point of a needle?"[2] or in spinning out other laborious webs of learning. For others among the intellectual aristocracy of that age a subject closely allied to Scholasticism possessed a fearful fascination.

[1] Carvers of cummin, the least of all seeds.

[2] Namely, are spiritual beings subject to the laws of space? Granted the existence of angels, what is their relation to space and time, the limitations of material beings? Again, do angels in going from one place to another pass through the intermediate space?

§ 1.

The power of the Black Arts was reinforced by Pilgrimages, Scholasticism, and the Crusades. An acquaintance with primitive witchcraft was doubtless as old as the Celtic race, or inherited from the population which had preceded them on British soil. But some forms of magic that flourished in Britain during the Middle Ages appear to have been exotics. The East has from time immemorial been notorious for its achievements in sorcery.[1] The Greeks also were much addicted to these pursuits.[2] Ephesus was renowned for the practice of the Black Arts or Ἐφέσια γράμματα. In the early stages of the Church, the use of mystic words and symbols passed over to the Manichaeans. The days had gone by when the Church sternly forbade indulgence in such speculations, and owners of magical books at Ephesus burned them at the preaching of a St. Paul,[3] or when a Saint Augustine condemned the thaumaturgic element which Porphyry, for all his clear scientific intellect, had held in honour. Unscrupulous practitioners seized with avidity upon all such lore, and wielded a sinister, often a terrifying, influence upon the minds of the multitude.

An examination of some of the stories which gained currency after the Crusades, and lingered for centuries at chimney-corners, reveals traces of their Oriental source. The story of the Magic Mirror in *Saith Doethion Rhufain*, falls under this category[4] and illustrates the

[1] See, for example, the *Fayûm MSS.*, one of which goes back as far as B.C. 1210.

[2] Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, v. 8. Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, p. 94, Berlin, 1843.

[3] *Acts of the Apostles*, xix, 19.

[4] The idea of a "Magic Mirror" has survived in modern Welsh folklore.

distortion of history and serene disregard of anachronisms in the mediæval mind :—

SALVATIO ROMÆ OR VIRGIL'S TOWER.

"A magician[1] placed a pillar in the heart of Rome, and on the top of the pillar, a mirror[2] of the art of necromancy.[3] And in the mirror the senators of Rome could see that, whatever kingdom they sought, no one could withstand them; and then at once they would attack any kingdom they liked, and subject it to their yoke. And the pillar and

---

[1] Namely, Fferyll, "Fferyll fardd", Virgil. The word came to mean metallurgist or any craftsman. Cf. Os mynni wybod ardymmheru tir a'i diwyllodraeth, dysg lyfr Pheryll, yrhwn a elwir Virgil. *Cato Cymraeg.* Drychau o ffeiriau fferyll. *Dafydd ap Gwilym.* Fferylltiaid oedd yn trigo yn Rhydychen cyn gwneuthur o Alfred ysgol ynddi. *Dr. Thomas ap William of Trefriw.*

"Duke Virgil of Mantua" was often represented as a sort of black priest or magician in the Middle Ages. See A. Graff, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, p. 196. Virgil had left behind him books of magic: by sticking a pin into one of them the line it pointed to was an infallible omen. (*Sortes Virgilianæ.*) In some versions of this story Merlin takes the place of the poet.

In *Dolopathos*, Virgil's rôle is remarkably varied; he figures as teacher, sorcerer, and astrologer. Lines 1,343-1,346; 1453-56; 11,386-91.

[2] A statue is in some versions substituted for the pillar, and images, representing the several provinces of the Roman dominions, for the magic mirror.

This story is mentioned by several Arabic authors. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveller in the twelfth century, gives a similar description of the Pharos or Lighthouse (=Arabic "Minar") of Alexandria. A glass mirror placed on the summit detected all hostile vessels at fifty days' distance. A skipper named Theodorus, however, succeeded in outwitting its guardians. Arriving with presents for the King of Egypt, he rode at anchor in view of the mirror. Then, worming himself into the good graces of the keeper, he plied the attendants with wine, seized the opportunity of breaking the mirror, and sailed away under cover of night. From that time forth, the Christians were able to visit Alexandria with impunity, and seized Crete and Cyprus; hence the Egyptians were always powerless to withstand the Greeks.

[3] "Igmars", in the Welsh text, is evidently a corruption of *nigromawns*, necromancy.

mirror made every kingdom fear the men of Rome, more than before. And then the King of Poland[1] offered boundless riches to anyone who would take upon him to uproot the pillar and break the mirror.

"And then rose up two brothers born of one mother, and spake thus: O Lord the king, said they, if we had two things we would uproot the pillar. What mean ye? said he. Our elevation to dignity, and still higher honour, and our present needs now. What are they? quoth he. Two barrels full of gold, said they, for Gracian is the greediest man in the world. That ye shall have, said the king. And gold was ordered them; and they betook them with the gold towards Rome, and they buried the two barrels at night near the town by a high road. And next day they came to the palace, and greeted the Emperor, and offered themselves as his men. What good service, what art do ye know, if I take you as my servants? We know, said they, what gold and silver is hidden in thy kingdom, and we will cause thee to get it all. Go to-night, said he, after taking your food, to your lodging, and look by to-morrow what gold is concealed in my possessions, and if there is any, inform me, and if I get it, verily I will take you into my love. And they went away to their lodging. And next day the younger came before the Emperor, and said that he had found by his divination that a barrelful was hidden near the city gate. Then at once the Emperor ordered it to be fetched. And after it was gotten and brought to him he took him into his love. And next day the other youth came, and said that he too had learnt in a dream that a barrelful of gold was hidden in the other city gate. And after proving this, the servants were believed and beloved from henceforth and taken to his love. And they said that there was gold under the pillar that guarded the kingdom for ever. And then the senators of Rome said that if the pillar were uprooted, Rome would not be as strong thereafter as afore. And the thirst for gold and silver suffered not the Emperor to abide by the counsel of these men; he ordered the pillar to be uprooted, and thus broke the mirror. And the senators of Rome bore it ill; and they quickly fell upon him, and caught him, and bound him, and forced him to drink molten gold, addressing him thus: 'Gold thou didst desire, gold thou shalt drink'."[2]

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[1] Pwyl. [2] The climax is taken from the story of Crassus and the Parthian King Orodes.

This wide-spread belief in sorcery, at a time when the popular imagination ran on unknown influences and intelligences, invested unprincipled magic-mongers with malign influence. Indeed, high attainments, especially the knowledge of natural secrets, were in some cases positive disadvantages, through their arousing a suspicion of dealing in unlawful arts, until advance in knowledge by disclosing the cause dispelled the fear.[1]

§ 2.

The spurious science of alchemy probably took its rise in Egypt, but clear proof of Arabian influence survives to this day in the prefix to the word alchemy, that is, "the chemistry of chemistries". Associated as it was from the first with magical arts, a passion for the pursuit seized speculative minds. The Church countenanced the study; crowds of books on the subject appeared, bearing famous names of antiquity, such as Democritus, Pythagoras, and Hermes; the authors availing themselves of a recognised licence to air their views under the sanction of a great name. Alchemy soon became entangled with the fantastic subtleties that grew out of the Scholastic philosophy.[2]

Celtic Britain furnished many heroes of the alembic and other black furniture of the forge, who, owing their notoriety to a deeper insight into Nature's laboratory than their fellows possessed, were popularly supposed by magic

[1] This was called in Welsh *llymmanta*.

[2] Alchemy probably began with the Neo-Platonists. There is a great difficulty in distinguishing between true alchemy, which had for its aim the Philosopher's stone, the Elixir of Life and the transmutation of baser metals into gold, and mystical alchemy, which wrapped up moral (platitudinarian) teaching in figurative language borrowed from the science of chemistry. Probably Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism (of both of which Alexandria was the headquarters) are behind them both.

formulæ to conjure up or commune with the powers of Hell. Of these, none was fraught with a more awful influence than Michael Scotus. He "feared neither God nor man", was in league with devils, and addicted to judicial astrology, alchemy, and necromancy. He published many works, but his most lasting achievement was a translation of the Arabic Aristotle into Latin together with the commentaries of Averrhoes. He undertook this task in Spain, and was much indebted for help to the Saracens.[1]

Roger Bacon (1214-1284), prince of the whole school of alchemists, enjoyed great fame in Wales; his authority was cited, and his oracular utterances quoted with reverential fear. While condemning necromancy, talismans, and such gear, Bacon initiated strange illusory ideas, and claimed the discovery of the Elixir of Life.[2]

[1] For Michael Scotus, see the author's article on *Italian Influence on Celtic Culture*, in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1905-6, p. 128.

[2] Following Gebir and the Arabian polypharmacists in regarding potable gold as a means of renewing youth, he urged it on the attention of Pope Nicholas IV. In support, he quoted the case of an old man, who, finding a phial of this golden liquid while ploughing, drank it off, and was transformed into a hale, robust, and accomplished youth. It would be well, *apropos* of magic and alchemy and the popular idea of rudimentary "scientists" as sorcerers, to consider how far these men thought they were dealing with Satan and the Black Art, and how far, knowing quite well that they produced effects by purely natural means, they encouraged the popular belief in their supernatural powers. To some extent they may have gained an experimental knowledge of natural processes or forces, which they did not understand, electricity, for example, and honestly believed that they were dealing in the supernatural. In other cases, as in the very simple one of the luminous properties of phosphorus, they may have used natural phenomena to impress the vulgar with their powers. Roger Bacon was certainly a good deal more than an alchemist. He was one of the most "all-round" learned men of his day, a Greek scholar (he wrote a Greek grammar), a theologian, and a pious Franciscan. He did not dabble in Black Magic or any

The mediæval temper was not exorcised in the sixteenth century, as Dr. John Du, or Dee (1527-1608), discovered to his cost. Ecclesiastic, philosopher, and magician in one, he found himself involved in all the inconveniences attending a scientific career.[1] While studying at Cambridge he gave tokens of his sinister skill by contriving novel machinery for the performance of Aristophanes's *Pax*, enabling the Scarabaeus in the play to fly with a man and a basket of victuals on his back. This stage effect gained Dee the evil reputation of a wizard. He was supposed to hold shadowy communication with spirits, to possess an insight into futurity, to employ language of mystic import, and to murmur heathen orisons. His consultations with astronomers and other men of light and leading on the Continent deepened yet further the mystery in which he was shrouded. Louvain number him amongst its alumni. Paris offered him the Regius Professorship of Mathematics, which he refused. Meric Casaubon was a believer in many of these wonders and thought them worthy of publication. The book was bought up rapidly.[2] During the reign of Mary, Dee's attainments almost brought him to the scaffold. Accused

diabolical proceedings, but belonged to the other side. The legend of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay and the Brazen Head is a late invention.

[1] Though born in London, according to his own account, on July 13th, 1527, his Welsh origin is established by Lily's *Memoirs* and Pennant's *Tours*. John David Rhys states that he was descended from the Dees of Nantygroes, Radnorshire, *Cambrobrytannicæ Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones*, 1592, p. 60. Dee himself traced his descent to Roderick the Great, Prince of Wales. His cousin, William Aubrey, a native of Breconshire, buried in St. Paul's, addressed Dee in a letter entitled *Penarglwyddiaeth y moroedd*. Wood, *Fasti*.

[2] A copy covered with manuscript notes by a contemporary possessor exists in the British Museum.

of making an attempt on the Queen's life, by poison or magic, he refuted the charge and came out of the ordeal unscathed; nor did his imprisonment embitter his mind or damp his ardour. Soon afterwards he mooted a project, which might have redounded to the benefit of the cause of learning, namely, the collection of manuscripts which had been scattered at the Dissolution, and himself undertook to obtain copies of famous manuscripts in the Vatican and other celebrated libraries. Unhappily the scheme came to nothing. The accession of Elizabeth augured favourably for the Welsh divine. Introduced to Court by the Earl of Pembroke, Dee received promises of assistance, but his hopes were blighted, and he sought consolation in Antwerp, Germany, and Holland. The year 1563 saw him at Presburg bestowing a copy of his work, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, on the Emperor Maximilian. He next appears in Lorraine. After his return the Queen showed an interest in his pursuits, and conferred upon him a mark of the royal favour. Her life was supposed to be in peril. The comet of 1577 had thrown the Court into transports of alarm, and Dee was commanded to Windsor. About the same time a waxen image was found in Lincoln's Inn Fields with a pin stuck in its breast, and supposed to point to a plot against Her Majesty's life. His services were again requisitioned to forestall the diabolical design. Unwearied still he travelled to Frankfort on the Oder. On coming back to England he was directed to make calculations for the adoption of Pope Gregory XIII's Calendar. The rest of his movements attest equally the extent of his travels, the versatility of his genius, the range of his interests, and the sentiments of the age. From this point onwards he threw himself with enthusiasm into alchemical experiments, and did not disdain the credit of communing (by aid of a crystal globe) with spirits of evil. A victim to

the gold hunger, he next addressed himself to a search for the Philosopher's stone, and paid the usual penalty of being in advance of his time. In Holland he nearly fell a victim to mob-fury. At Cracow and Prague he was summarily ordered to quit the Emperor's dominions. The irony of the situation was, that in spite of his vigorous protestations, the opprobrious term conjuror, brought upon him by his strange scrolls and midnight vigils, clung to him throughout life, and finally plunged him in poverty. Shunning and shunned by all, his life ended in storm.

While Warden of Manchester he quarrelled with his colleagues for refusing to exorcise certain demons, and in 1608 died destitute.[1] The science which Dee pursued in all seriousness lent itself to grave abuse. A crop of imitators arose whose imagination ran riot in the visionary side of the older alchemy. By deliberate imposture they brought into discredit the pursuit, which, with all its pretensions, now appears to have contained an element of truth.

§ 3.

The enterprise of the cosmopolitan Celts derived a fresh impulse from the pilgrim movement; for while the achievements of explorers like St. Brendan and Prince Madoc belong to the realms of myth, the roaming propensity of the race, attested by sober history, found scope in the periodical pilgrimages to which the Church invited the devout, and responded to the alluring glamour of distant lands. The

[1] The reader will find in the *Dictionary of Natural Biography* a long list of works by Dee. The "holy stone" and cakes of wax used in his mystical ceremonies are in the British Museum. There was a "skew stone" or "speculum" of Dr. Dee in the Tudor Exhibition at the New Gallery in 1890. It was described as one "into which he used to call his spirits, asserting that it was given to him by an angel". There was also "Dr. Dee's Divining Crystal", lent by Mr. G. Milner Gibson Cullum.

taste of the age ran on the marvellous. A pilgrim on his return brought back electrifying accounts of foreign countries. To hear from his own lips, the "moving accidents" to one who had ventured across the Bay of Biscay to Santiago or had gazed on the Tombs of the Martyrs, of one who had run the risk of capture by the insolent foe of the Cross, and had actually set foot in the Holy City; to have seen a Crusader who had buckled on his armour in defence of the Holy Sepulchre, or had even been carried captive to Babylon, marked an epoch in the history of towns in the West.

The impetus contributed to commercial and scientific progress was one of the conspicuous results of the Crusades. Islam was checked in the East and permanently repulsed in Spain; the irruptions of Turco-Tartar hordes into Europe were postponed; foreign travel was rendered feasible, and this, in its turn, served to spread civilization. So the Spirit of adventure beckoned on. By throwing Europeans on a wide and distant scene pilgrimages excited a thirst for knowledge. It was the fashion of writing day by day descriptions of the countries visited by pilgrims and the interest awakened by vague information from foreign merchants that first imparted an impulse to geographical discovery, and laid the foundations of geographical science. Jerusalem, the earliest and most famous of pilgrim resorts, was believed to be the central point of the habitable world. Mediæval writers refer to an inscription in Greek, from the Psalms, placed near the scene of the Crucifixion :—

Ὁ Θεὸς Βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰώνων εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.[1]

It is highly probable that this passage suggested the

[1] "God, our King before the world, wrought salvation in the midst of the earth," *Psalm* lxxiv, 12 (Septuagint Version).

idea that the locality of the Crucifixion was the centre of the earth.

St. Jerome, the oracle of the Celtic Church, had communicated a powerful stimulus to the movement in the direction of Palestine, and his language lent countenance to this theory about the Holy City.[1] But his words were unduly pressed. They need not imply anything more than that Judea occupied a central position relatively to the surrounding countries. It was left for Moses of Chorene, a geographer of the middle of the fifth century, to assert its mathematical centrality.[2] Isidorus Hispalensis, Bishop of Seville, who died in 636, but was regarded as the leading authority on the subject in the Middle Ages, adopted this theory and described Jerusalem as "umbilicus regionis totius".[3] In the fourteenth century, Marino Sanuto applied to Jerusalem the term "central point of the circumference". This prevalent idea is reflected in mediæval cartography. Jerusalem was always regarded as the centre of the earth; other places of ecclesiastical importance, especially pilgrim resorts, are prominently marked in mediæval maps; for this reason Compostela is assigned a conspicuous place in them. Several of these features are embodied in the *mappa mundi* at Hereford,[4] from which most of the Welsh

[1] *Ezekiel*, v, 5, and *Psalm* lxxiv, 12. "Operatus est salutem medio terræ."

[2] *Geog.*, § 17.

[3] *Orig.*, xiv, 3, § 21. Cf. Rabanus Maurus (9th c.), *De Um.*, xii, 4. The Mediæval theory finds expresssion in Mandeville's words: "That land He chose before all other lands . . . for it is the heart and middle of all the world; by witness of the philosopher who said thus: 'Virtus rerum in medio consistit'". Prologue.

[4] Hereford was at one time subject to St. David's. It was a common resort for Welsh pilgrims. Girald., iii, 145. The chief attractions to the pilgrims were the tombs. *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, ii; Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, f. 136;

pilgrims who crowded to shrines of King Athelbert and Thomas de Cantelupe derived what knowledge they possessed of the configuration of the great world without.[1] Richard de Bello, or de la Battayle, a prebend of Hereford,[2] executed this triumph of geographical science probably between 1300 and 1384. Still the cartographer was not in advance of his age; here too Jerusalem is the hub of the earth.

The truth is that the functions of cartography in the Middle Ages differed widely from those of the present day. A map was an illustrated romance or, to borrow a term used by Richard de la Battayle, an estoire, rather than a scientific instrument. Hence his production was largely devoted to descriptions of mythical animals and similar monstrosities :—

> Of antres vast and deserts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks and hills whose heads touch heaven,
> The Anthropophagi and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders.[3]

Roger De Wendover, *Flores*. Gerald speaks of the miracles at the king's tomb, iii, 422, and the translation of his remains, *ibid.*, Cf. iii, 408, and iii, 423, where he describes the votive offerings. St. Athelbert's Well enjoyed a wide reputation for its healing qualities. But Hereford possessed other claims on the devotion of Churchmen in St. Thomas de Cantelupe's tomb (died 1232), where a great number of offerings were made; the shrine was not entirely removed at the Reformation.

[1] Cartography did not, like historical science, keep pace with other branches of knowledge: for example, the "Alexandrian Romance", a poem which enjoyed a wide circulation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was based on the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Giraldus mentions a Latin version.

[2] Havergal, *Fasti Hereford.*, p. 165. Bevan and Phillott, p. 5.

[3] The marvels were largely borrowed from Pliny and Solinus. One of the regulations framed by William of Wykeham for the students of New College, Oxford, ran: "When in the winter, on the occasion of any holiday, a fire is lighted for the Fellows in the Great Hall, the Fellows and Scholars may, after their dinner or their

Such was the state of knowledge at the end of the thirteenth century.[1] It was not until a considerable time after the adventures of Marco Polo that progress could be chronicled. His discoveries, as well as those of Carpini and Rubruquis, filtered in slowly and were not fully recognised before the middle of the fifteenth century, when Fra Mauro, with his celebrated map revolutionised the commonly accepted view. Now for the first time, in consequence of the revelations of Polo and other travellers, the centre was shifted eastward to find room for the enlargement of Asia.

The direct services rendered to geographical knowledge by pilgrims are indisputable. The experiences of St. Willibald, the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim to the Holy Land, form one of the earliest extant works on European travel in the East. The *Book of Roger* (of Sicily) or *The Delight of whoso loves to make the Circuit of the world*, was compiled in 1154 from the evidence of pilgrims and merchants who appeared before a select committee of Arabs. *The Wonders of Scripture*, a work by Augustine, an itinerant Irish monk of the seventh century, reveals a wide knowledge of foreign countries. He refers, for example, to the annual overflow of the Nile, and his tone evinces a personal acquaintance with it.[2] A century has elapsed since Letronne found, in the National Library at Paris, two Irish copies of a treatise on geography written about A.D. 825 by a certain Dicuil, another Irish monk, which shows a knowledge of the conformation of the earth possessed by the schools of Ireland. The title runs, *Liber*

supper, amuse themselves in a suitable manner with singing or reciting poetry or with the chronicles of different kingdoms and the wonders of the world".

[1] Roger Bacon appeared before the close of the thirteenth century, but his views were in advance of his time.

[2] Book i, 6.

de mensura orbis terrae. Letronne connected the author with the school of Clonard or Armagh.[1] The work displays a remarkable accuracy for the time in which it was composed, for instance, observations regarding Northern and Southern latitudes as far as Iceland to the North and Egypt to the South. Dicuil resided, and probably taught, at the Carolingian Court at the same time as Dungal.[2] A grammarian, metrician, astronomer, and geographer in one, he had attained an advanced age when he produced his treatise on geography. For some facts he drew upon Pliny the Elder and contemporary travellers ; but those relating to Hadrian's Canal, which connected Suez with the Nile, he derived from Fidelis, an inmate of one of the Irish Schools who joined a party of pilgrims to the East. Letronne was struck at finding in this Irish writer measurements of the Pyramids which corresponded with those taken by himself. The significance of the *Liber* lies in the circumstance that Dicuil was the first to furnish authentic information concerning the Faroe Islands, which Irish anchorites had visited more than a century before, but had abandoned on account of the descents of the Norsemen. The Irish took flight in sailing vessels. For his interesting information with regard to Iceland he was indebted to Irish priests, who remained there for three months.[3]

Thus did Irish monks hold a unique position in the "saeculum obscurum" ; as they led the van in theological thought, so, in some quarters of the globe, they took the lead in exploration.

With regard to the Welsh, no record exists of any extended expedition in the Middle Ages that can compare with those of the Irish just mentioned,[4] but travellers'

[1] Others associate him with Clonmacnois.

[2] See p. 429, n. 2.

[3] Cf. p. 62, n. 1.

[4] The legend of the discovery of America by Madoc ab Owain

adventures in the Far East left a deep impression on the Welsh mind. Ralph Higden (d. 1363), author of the *Polychronicon* (the first book which contains a tolerably full description of the world), was a monk of Chester, which, as we have seen, was frequented by Welshmen. No little store was also set upon the exploits of the monk Oderic.[1] The record of his travels was rendered into Welsh by Sir Davydd Vychan, of Glamorgan, under the title of "Taith y Brawd Odrig yn yr India". Mandeville's adventures in the fourteenth century do not fall quite within the same category, but they sated the most voracious appetite for the marvellous, and the popularity enjoyed by "the Book of Sir John Mandeville" in Wales and Ireland is attested by the translations still existing in manuscript.[2]

Gwynedd is very late, probably of the sixteenth century. Even in the not very early triad of the "Tri difancoll Ynys Prydain" it is only said "y trydydd Madawg ab Owain Gwynedd a aeth i'r mor a thri channyn gydag ef meun deg llong, ac ni wyddys i ba le ydd aethant" (*Myv. Arch.*, ed. 1870, p. 401). It was probably an Elizabethan invention to help to claim a prior right of discovery. William of Worcester mentions that in 1480 "Thlyde (Lhuyd), the cunning mariner of all England, navigated a Bristol ship in search of the fabulous isle of Brasylle in the west part of Ireland, and wandered for about nine months, but found no island". *Itinerarium.*

The *Imago Mundi*, a popular work on geography, was translated into Welsh with the title *Delw'r byd.* The Welsh distinguished themselves in the sixteenth and later centuries by their services to the cause of navigation, as witness William Barlow, William Vaughan, Sir Richard Buckley, and Sir Thomas Herbert.

[1] *Odorici de Foro Julii Liber de Terra Sancta.* He describes himself as Brother Odoricus of the Order of Fratres Minores. At the command of Frater Guidocus, provincial of St. Anthony, he described what he had seen with his own eyes. Frater Guilielmus de Bologna wrote down the account from Odoricus' lips, May 1330, at Padua. Odoric died on January 14th, 1330. See Tiraboschi, tom. v, pp. 121-126. Ramusius ii, 245; *Acta SS.*, Jam. i, xiv, pp. 984-992; *Elogio del B. Odorico*, Venetiis, 1761.

[2] The history of Prester John, very popular with Welsh poets of

The Mediæval fancy, as we have seen more than once, incurious of historic accuracy, and devoid of critical acumen, revelled in marvels. Accounts of birds and beasts of strange aspect, griffins, wiverns, lakes of wondrous properties, plants with magic qualities, were the favourite diversions of the Middle Ages, and these were drawn from miscellaneous sources, Biblical, classical, legendary and contemporaneous. However unscientific or even ludicrous such medleys may now appear, they were productive of good, inasmuch as they communicated a stimulus to scientific achievement and geographical research. But a new era was at hand, which veritably stunned the imagination. The idea of piercing the dark continents looming in the East, of pushing back the frontiers of knowledge into regions which were but dimly descried, nay, rather, whose existence was in preceding centuries utterly unsuspected, must have appeared like

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is connected with the Crusades. This mysterious monarch was said to live beyond Persia and Armenia; his military genius matched his resources, for he was confidently reported to have broken the power of the Moslemah, to have crowned these exploits by capturing Ecbatana, and to have meditated freeing the oppressed Church of Jerusalem from the Mussalman yoke. See G. Manacorda, *La leggenda del Prete Gianni in Abissinia*; Graff, *Roma nelle memorie e nella imaginazione del M.E.* Torino, 1883, vol. ii, p. 547; Fumagalli, *Bibliografia Abissinia,* Milano 1891.

The tradition connecting St. Thomas with India resembles the romance of Prester John, in its widespread popularity, in the evidence that it affords of an awakened interest in geographical discovery; in the rumours of a great Christian personality who exercised sway in the Far East; in the probability, almost amounting to certainty, that these reports were echoes of Nestorian activity in that quarter of the globe, and the testimony borne by the Eastern tradition to the truth of the European belief. See the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus à Voragine, who connects St. Thomas with a king in North-West India, called Gondiporus. There was a Gandipur who reigned about the same time as St. Thomas, and coins of his are known.

exploring a supernatural world ; and the reappearance of a Marco Polo or a Mandeville little less marvellous than a return from the moon. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was due partly to the desire manifested by Portugal of opening communications with Prester John.[1] The crowning wonder came when a pilgrim of the fourteenth century on returning home could tell of events which truly heralded the transition from the Middle Age to the New—of the nautical triumph of the Portuguese mariners who had circumnavigated Africa, of the bold enterprise of Columbus, who, like the Portuguese, had started in search of a new route to India, the chief objective of the commercial world. The whole globe appeared changed. A new Nature opened to view. The veil which for thousands of years had concealed a part of the universe was lifted. The country of the sun was revealed, the place whence he daily came forth like a bridegroom or a giant, *tanquam sponsus, ut gigas.* Western nations came face to face with the wise and brilliant East, whose mysterious history was mingled with the travels of Pythagoras and the conquests of Alexander ; whose perfumes were conveyed across the seas of Greece and the plains of Araby.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Effects on Literature.—Mediaeval.

The question by what means literature was diffused in the Middle Ages is interesting but intricate ; for the parts borne by the several agents in its spread defy discrimination. But if the literary indebtedness of Europe to the pilgrim movement cannot be accurately measured, its existence is indisputable. This assertion rests on several

[1] J. Ludolf, *Hist. Aethiopica.* ii, c. 1, 2.

grounds; for example, the armies of pilgrims who wandered to and fro throughout the British Islands, especially at seasons of fast and festival, or ventured across the Bay of Biscay or scaled the Alps and essayed the Mediterranean, included men endowed with high intellectual gifts and intellectual enthusiasm. The very fact of their embarking on the laborious enterprise argued an inquisitive temper, while the desire of acquiring artistic treasures was not seldom the sole, or determining motive.[1]

§ 1.

The services done were readily reciprocated. As the Continent in Roman times had laid the Celtic races under a lasting obligation, so it turned to them for help in the evil hour. The merciless rule of barbarism was death to Continental culture. In the sixth century ruin and desolation had overtaken most civilized countries. What refuge was there for learning when chased away by the barbarian invader? Whither were its professors to flee from the ravages of the sword, if they were not utterly to perish? Not to Antioch, once the seat of a brilliant civilisation, for there too the enemy was at the gates. Not to hostile Byzantium, whither the Emperor Constantine had transferred the administration. Not to Alexandria, prosperous hitherto, but soon to fall. But learning did find an asylum in the two sister islands, Ireland and Britain. The Welsh schools threw open their doors to the votaries of learning, for Welshmen were no strangers to the wave of humanist enthusiasm. Many Irish students had sought instruction in the schools of Wales: many Welsh saints had sat at the feet of the scholars of Ireland. Virgil was studied; for example, he was St. Cadoc's favourite author. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* stood on library-shelves in Wales as in Ireland, and fed the

[1] Cf. p. 504, n. 2.

imagination of Welsh youth. At the Bodleian a Welsh manuscript exists of the same age as the oldest Irish one, that is to say, dating from the end of the eighth century, or the beginning of the ninth, which contains portions of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* with glosses upon the text.[1] These two poets maintained their hold uninterruptedly on the mediæval mind.

Whitherne again had become a luminous centre radiating literary and historical culture, as well as a training-ground for intrepid missionaries. Bleak, wind-swept Iona had, before the Whitby Conference at the beginning of 664, inspired Christian teachers throughout the whole of England, except Kent, East Anglia, Wessex and Sussex. At that time Ireland was the wonder of all people by reason of its treasures of knowledge, sacred and profane. In the great schools of Bangor, Durrow and Armagh, learning had enjoyed an immunity from the ravages wrought upon it on the Continent and had continued to flourish. The reverence for classical antiquity had descended to these schools without interruption from the Ambroses, Jeromes, and Augustines of the early Church. There the fugitive Muses were accorded an asylum. There the tradition of culture was perpetuated, and what haughty Alaric or fierce Attila had driven out from the Continent, meditative men in British and Irish cloisters collected, housed and made to live again.

The Celtic monks thus bridged over the abyss, but

[1] The study of the Latin Poets in schools produced a curious effect. Virgil, Ovid and Horace ranked as men of learning or of science rather than poets. A Latin story relates how two scholars with a thirst for knowledge repaired to Ovid's tomb, as they would to a shrine, hoping for his ghostly aid in increasing their stock of knowledge "because he had been a wise man" ("ut ibi quicquam addiscerent quod sapiens fuerat"). Horace is renowned for his scientific attainments. For Virgil, see p. 482, n. 1.

their services to culture did not terminate there. The mission of the two islands came to an end, the halcyon peace that they had hitherto enjoyed was not fated to last for ever, and at length misfortune overtook them also. Down swept Ragnor Ladbrog, not once nor twice only, on the British and Irish coasts, bloodshed marking his footsteps. Neither learning nor holiness afforded security. Libraries and schools were consigned to the flames, yet not before the two islands had bequeathed their literary system, traditions and professors to an imposing personality, destined afterwards by the fruits of his policy to exert so wide-spread and so beneficent an influence on European culture, that is, Charlemagne.

The position of Irish Celts as flame-bearers in the march of mind was unique, and it would be mere affectation to claim for their compatriots, Celtic or Saxon, such an apostolate of culture. The signal success of the Irish at the heyday of their activity on the Continent, in the first instance as pilgrims, and afterwards as missionaries, affords ample evidence of the reputation borne by teachers from the claustral schools of Ireland. "In ancient times," said Alcuin, writing at the beginning of the eighth century,[1] "the most learned instructors of Britain, Gaul, and upper Italy, were from Ireland". To Ireland Franks repaired in pursuit of knowledge. When Charlemagne looked for teachers to second his efforts for the elevation of his subjects in the scale of humanity, a phalanx of Irish teachers hastened to his aid, and inscribed their names in the world's roll of honour. In 787, for example, an anonymous Irishman figured among the ornaments of his palace. In the same year, an "Hibernian exile" was credited with the authorship of an epic, celebrating Charles's victory over Thassilo, Duke of Bavaria. In the

[1] Mabillon, 3d. edition.

year 790, a certain Joseph, who lived on bad terms with Theodulf, Angilbert, and Einhard at Charlemagne's Court, was dubbed with the opprobrious name of Sottus, with a play upon his origin, Scottus. Meanwhile, Irish scholars were handing on the torch of enlightenment to the Eastern Franks, the Bavarians, and Alemanni. Virgil, who, at the recommendation of Pepin, had been appointed Bishop of Salzburg by Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, and held the office from 743 to 784, is, in Irish Annals, styled the Geometrician. His advanced views brought him into conflict with ecclesiastical authority; and the Papal Legate Boniface (Winfrid) the Devonian,[1] denounced him at Rome for maintaining that the sun and moon passed underneath the earth, and for asserting the existence of an antipodes. He was probably acquainted with the writings of Eudoxius and Eratosthenes.

A contemporary of John Scotus Erigena, Sedulius Scotus by name, mentions in one of his poems[2] that "he reached the cathedral chapter house at Liège through deep snow-drifts, exhausted by hunger and fatigue", and was warmly welcomed for his classical attainments. There he remained from 840 to 860, but died at Milan.[3]

To Columbanus, directly and indirectly, France and Germany stood deeply indebted. The Monastery of St. Gallen, founded by one of his disciples,[4] Gallus, after whom it was called, developed into the most celebrated nurse of culture

[1] Made Papal legate by Gregory III (731-741), and Archbishop of Maintz by Zachary in 745.

[2] *Sedulii Scotti carmina*, ex codice Bruxellensi, ed. E. Dümmler.

[3] The name is identified with Siadhal, which in modern Irish is the family name Sheal, Shiel. Hepidanus, a monk of St. Gall, speaks of Sedulius as a distinguished author. See Labbe in Baronius, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, pp. 149-152. Caius Coelius Sedulius, author of "A solis ortus cardine", and many other hymns, was also a Scot.

[4] See p. 434.

in the whole Germanic Kingdom. This house also owed its fame largely to the close connection that it maintained with Ireland. The following anecdote affords an incidental glimpse both of Irish influence abroad in the first part of the ninth century, and its relation to the pilgrim movement.[1] An Irish Bishop named Marcus arrived at the monastery accompanied by his nephew Moengal, on his way back from Rome. Profoundly impressed by the youth's erudition, the inmates endeavoured to prevail upon the Bishop and his kinsman to stay with them. Ultimately, convinced of a Divine call, they assented to the proposal and dismissed their fellow pilgrims, laden with gifts, but reserved the manuscripts that they had brought with them for the future use of St. Gall's. Their decision redounded to the benefit of the establishment. Moengal enhanced its glory and reared many scholars of no mean repute.[2] At a later period, the monks changed their attitude towards Irish scholars, and came to look with contempt, possibly tinged with jealousy, on scholars from the homeland. Consequently, the accounts that they furnish of Irish teachers who worked in the Carolingian Kingdom towards the end of the eighth and ninth centuries are not so favourable as those which we glean from other sources. Bobbio, the renowned monastery established

[1] Walafrid Strabo's revision of Gozbert's account of the miracles of St. Gall.

[2] Scheffel, in his admirable historical novel "Ekkehard", the scene of which is laid in the neighbourhood of St. Gallen in the tenth century, introduces a very amusing character—this very Moengal. The novelist represents him as doing great execution on the Huns with "Cambutta", his trusty shilelah, in a battle where the monks fought bravely. Afterwards he leaves St. Gallen, becomes parish priest of Radolfszell, on the Unter See of Constance, drops all his studies, reverts to the type of Irish sportsman and resumes his Irish names. Scheffel took the foundation of his story from Rutpert and Ekkehard the younger from Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniæ.*

by Columbanus in one of the valleys of the Apennines, fulfilled in Italy a function similar to that of St. Gall in Germany. Those two institutions may without exaggeration be called the true representatives of Irish culture in Europe,[1] and the obligation of the Continent to Ireland can best be described in the words of a German writer on the Carolingian period: "they laid the corner-stone of Western culture on the Continent, the rich results of which Germany shares and enjoys to day in common with all other civilised nations".[2]

§ 2.

The religious Orders which invaded Britain under the Norman ægis maintained the traditions of the Celtic monasteries as standard-bearers of culture. A pilgrimage to one of the great houses (a matter of daily occurrence), would live in the recollection of the pilgrim all his life long; the concourse of worshippers from every nationality, the splendour of the architecture, the poetry of ceremonial, rich in symbol and imagery, expressing poignant feeling or deep emotion, full of music to soothe the melancholy or to subdue the wayward—all these conspired to enchant the imagination of the multitude and to refine the mind of the boor. Such were the scenes presented to view, for example, by Strata Florida, originally founded by Rhys ap Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, a rallying point of Welsh liberties, the burial-place of Welsh chieftains. Its chief claim on popular gratitude was its espousal of the

[1] The Codex Boernerianus, at Dresden, contains the Epistles of St. Paul in Greek, with an interlinear Latin version of the ninth century. For the Irish MSS. in Switzerland, see Keller, and for Irish MSS. on the Continent generally, Whitley Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 1901-10.

[2] Dümmler in *Deutsche Biographie*, sub v. Alkuin.

ideals and aspirations of the race.[1] It was here that Prince Llewelyn summoned his council to take measures for the safety of his dominion. The monks' sympathy cost them dear, their Abbey being burnt to the ground. But the monastery in its day rendered another patriotic service. It was the repository of ancient documents and genealogies; for as with the Benedictines so with the Cistercians; one of their many-sided activities consisted in the preservation of records, and in the composition of artless chronicles. Again, for aspirants after knowledge, the *scriptorium* of a great monastery produced manuscripts

[1] Though not exclusively Welsh, the proportion of Welshmen in these religious establishments in Wales must have been large. So we may conclude from the following facts. Owain, son of Hywel Dda, razed the college of Llanilltud in Gorwennydd to the ground because there were found in it "gentlemen scholars who were Saxons". *Annales Cambriæ*. The evident bias in favour of the Welsh cause displayed in Welsh Chronicles points in the same direction. The influence of St. Illtud and of his followers and pupils in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany was very great. He figures prominently in Lives of Breton Saints. It seems almost "common form" to say that a sixth century saint was educated at St. Illtud's school. A Life of St. Paul of Léon, in Breton, says a good deal about him, *e.g.*, "e savas eur gouent e Pir war ribl ar mor, tost da hini Lan-Karvan. Er gouent-se, Ildud a zigoras eur skol vras, evel ouz ar brasa skolachou a weler brema". (" He erected a convent in Pir, on the shore of the sea, near to that of Llancarvan. In this convent Illtud opened a great school, like the greatest schools that are seen nowadays"). The locality of Pir is doubtful. The biographer can hardly mean the Irish monastery of Birra (now Parsonstown) founded by a St Brendan. "Ynys Pyr" is Caldey Island, but that is off Tenby, and nowhere near Llancarvan. The accuracy of topographical detail in a popular Breton Life does not much matter. The interest lies in the survival in Brittany of a clear tradition of a Welsh saint, apparently independent of modern Welsh sources. There is a Laniltud (the *u* is sounded as in French, and nearly as in North Welsh) in Brittany, on the west coast of Finistère, facing the Sound of Ouessant (Ushant). It is on an estuary called "Aberiltud". The "Buez Sant Paol" says that it is called after St. Illtud.

of the Classics or the Fathers; for humbler applicants simple transcripts sufficed; while highly-embellished copies found ready purchasers in the wealthy and well-to-do among the pilgrims who thronged the gates at ecclesiastical solemnities. There Learning trimmed her lamp; there Contemplation preened her wings; there the traditions of Art were kept alive from age to age.[1] The *Religio loci* still broods over the time-hallowed ruins.

The Conventual Orders abroad were no less diligent than their Celtic compeers in supplying the tastes of the learned classes. It was by this avenue doubtless that many manuscripts and books found their way to Britain. It should be borne in mind that ecclesiastics, pre-eminently the *gwŷr llen*, the literateurs, the teachers, of their age, were also amongst the most frequent visitors to foreign countries. Bishops returned from periodical visits *ad limina* or councils on the Continent, laden[2] with "spiritual

[1] The piety and munificence of some of the abbots of Neath Abbey have been celebrated by the poets: *e.g.*, in the poem addressed to Leision by Lewis Morganwg. To Neath were sent the sons of the highest nobility. Courtly chroniclers styled it the lamp of France e.g. (Lewis Morganwg) and of Ireland—an indication at once of the range of its intellectual influence and of the cosmopolitan character of the brotherhood of Letters in the Middle Ages.

Margam was also rich in cloister literature. The *Annales Margamenses* shed light on the political events of the period. The Abbot, like his confrères at Nedd and Strata Florida, countenanced the bards.

[2] The common practice of bringing back literary and artistic treasures from their travels may be paralleled abundantly from the case of the Saxon leaders of thought, *e.g.*, Benedict Biscop, one of the founders of Wearmouth. During his second visit in 605 at Rome, he spent some months taking delight "in the deep draughts of healthful doctrine". In 671, he was again in Rome; "his long intercourse with learned veterans had filled him with a thirst for knowledge". The chief purpose of this third pilgrimage was to acquire books. Some he collected in the city, others were bought on his behalf or presented to him. On his way to England he received another consignment at Vienne. The year 678 saw him set his face Romeward,

wares" (to borrow Bede's expression), and candidates negotiating for benefices, were all, consciously or unconsciously, promoters of literary cultivation. To these must be added students passing from monastery to monastery, from university to university, persons who belonged partly to the Church, and partly to the World.

The bards, who frequently appeared among the crowds of pilgrims at the great monasteries at various seasons, festive and solemn, and shared the good cheer at my Lord Abbot's table, also drank deep at this source of inspiration. Giraldus has shown that the bards of the twelfth century were not mere minstrels, but likewise writers, or, as Leland has called them, "cantores historici."[1] The best of them were on good terms with the inmates of the religious houses. That the monks did not disdain the poetic art is shown by Edward's decree prohibiting monks from being rhymers and raconteurs.[2] It is true that the relations between the monks and bards were not always of so cordial a character, and that they could hurl anathema for anathema, gibe for gibe. Lewis Glyn Cothi might satirize the ignorance of the clergy as

once more in Ceolfrith's company. Twelve months later, he returned laden with a fresh supply of treasures—relics "to hallow Churches", pictures, manuscripts, and a course of psalmody. Insatiable to the last, in 684 he was in Rome for the fifth time and carried away more manuscripts. The well-known Lindisfarne (or St. Cuthbert) Gospels, an eighth century MS. in the British Museum, have been shown to have been copied in Northumbria from a Book of the Gospels of a South Italian use. The fact has important bearings on the distribution of MSS.

[1] *Assertio Arthuri*, p. 52.

[2] These happy relations between the bards and the monks are also exemplified from Ireland. St. Columba, himself a poet and probably a member of the Bardic Fraternity, once interceded on behalf of the bards to good effect. King Aedh had issued an edict of banishment against the bards, but Dallan Forgail tells us that the Saint "stayed" them, and saved from extinction this national institution.

caustically as any Piers Plowman, but he could criticise the bards as impartially, and is found addressing odes to the abbots of Welsh houses. Blithe Dafydd ap Gwilym might make merry at the expense of cloistered pedants poring over "sheep skins":—

"Brodyr a wyr brydiaith
Llwydion a wyr Lladin iaith
O ran mydr o ramadeg.

"Cyd caro rai sancteiddrwydd,
Eraill a gar ganghaneddrwydd;
Anaml a wyr gywydd per
A phawb a wyr ei bader."[1]

But Dafydd can hardly be regarded as qualified to sit in judgment on a question of morals. He betrays the fact that he was not insensible to the spell of such sights as were to be witnessed at pilgrim resorts. Although in his life-time he had chafed against artificial restraints, he recanted his errors in his declining days, and testified to his belief in the cardinal principles of the Catholic Faith. Thus, if the poet's genius burst its bonds, he carried a few links of the old chains after the spring into liberty. The best evidence that the bardic and the monkish fraternities were on friendly terms is to be seen in the circumstance that many of the abbots in the Welsh religious houses were Welsh scholars, admirers of Welsh genius, and benefactors of learning. The "Praises of Margam", sung by Twm Ieuan Prys, conclusively prove the sympathy of some of the bards with the monasteries:—

I Blas Margam.

"Duw nad ti gam, byth ar vargam
plas dan rhodiad, haul a llaüad
vel dyma r lle, i bü nechre
ag yma i bo, niwedd etto
mae arnai chwant, kanu moliant
lle lluno j medd, ar vy niwedd
lle sainwyd plas, gwych o ürddas
mam jesü wyn, wyr Siohasyn[2]

[1] Cf. *The Juvenile Ornaments* of (the Pseudo) Taliesin. Skene, i, 42; and ii, 182.

[2] Joachim, the husband of St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary.

kraig o wydyr,[1] kor krevyddwyr[2]
kroestai[3] krist maith, paradwyswaith
kor i vaibon, krist ai waison
kaer gywrain vydd, korfrig koedydd
pais ywchel[4] bris, plastar paris
plwm plygiau llenn, am i cheven
twr arfys main, krisial myrain
krysau kal chwydd, marau mynydd
kaer loew[5] val, ar main barbal
kewch weled honn, ar waith avion
jn principio, erat sermo[6]
ar ysbryd glan, ywr ymddiddan
dau beth a sy, ych tebygy
ail nef a llys, abad lewys[7]
tri pheth a sy, ych kyvanheddy
organ a chlych, a chan menych
ny bu bais wenn, am dau berchen[8]
lanach dan gred, wedy bened[9]
nag mor yddyf, yny grevydd
wedy kybi, abad a chwi[10]
gwenfair ach gwnaeth, ych abadaeth
gwneled dŭw chwi, n esgob dewi."[11]

Thomas ap Jeuan ap Rys ai Kant.

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[1] Cf. p. 227, n. 3. [2] *Crefydd* was the calling of a religious, and *crefyddwyr* "clergy". See p. 229, n. 4. [3] Probably cruciform buildings. [4] Uchel. Cf. p. 320, n. 2. [5] Gloucester.

[6] "In principio erat sermo." Except for the fact that the Vulgate reading is *verbum* not *sermo*, this is the beginning of the Gospel of St. John. The passage, *St. John*, i, 1-14, is the Gospel of the Third Mass of Christmas Day. From the fifteenth century onward it has been the practice for the Priest to say it at the end of every Mass after the "Ite, missa est" and the Blessing, except on those Sundays when the occurrence of feasts of a certain rank eclipses the office of the Sunday. On such days the Gospel of the Sunday is read instead of it. But in the earlier Middle Ages much use was made of these verses. A virtue approaching a magical effect was popularly attributed to them. A council at Seligstadt, near Mainz, in 1022, forbade their daily use because of the superstitions connected with them. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of them as a safeguard against ghosts. An indulgence of one year and forty days was at one time attached to their recitation. The friars used to say them (possibly for a fee) in private houses. (See "On the Usage of a Second Gospel at Mass", by E. G. C. Atchley, in Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, vol. iv. Also Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, "So plesaunt was his In Principio"—said of the "Frere".) The reading *sermo* deserves some notice. Perhaps it is the "Itala" reading. There are some peculiar readings in Gildas which are neither Itala nor Vulgate, and seem to indicate a special British Latin version.

[7] The last Abbot. See Dr. de Gray Birch, *Hist. of Margam Abbey*, p. 359. [8] Probably the white habit of the Cistercians.
[9] St. Bennet. [10] Cybi. [11] Bishop of St. David's.

On the whole, the respectable sort of poet was a man of deep piety, saturated with liturgical lore. It is known that eisteddfodau were sometimes held within the precincts of monasteries and churches, and several poems were composed for such literary tournaments.[1] Llangynwyd Church was probably the scene of similar gatherings, at which Lewis Morganwg, Twm Ieuan Prys, and others recited their compositions in front of the famous Crucifix. In short, the true poetic spirit resided in the cloister. Holy Church possessed no more devoted sons than some of the bards, and when the doomed houses fell, none mourned their downfall more than the bardic brotherhood.

§ 3.

The Crusades proved another potent factor in the spread of literature. By exciting the spiritual emotions,

[1] The Welsh were obeying a natural human instinct in combining religion and culture. At these periodical gatherings not only Mystery Plays (p. 472) were performed. It is clear from poems like those of William Egwad in honour of Dafydd ap Owen, Abbot of Strata Marcella, that at the high festivals of the Church, Abbots kept open house, entertaining each class of visitors suitably to their rank. The morning was devoted to a round of religious duties, in which, judging from the allusions to the eloquence and learning of the Abbots, preaching formed an important part. These solemnities were followed in the afternoon by music and amusements, at which bards and minstrels recited their compositions. These meetings recall, on a small scale, the vast religious assemblies in the East and eastern Europe. A great fair called 'Okâd'h was held at Mecca, at which poetic contests were conducted; the seven Arabian poems, known as the Moallakât, and described as "the brilliant Pleiades in the poetic firmament of the Arabs", were awarded the crown at this festival, written in golden letters, and hung up in the Kaaba at Mecca. By such means also fragments of the Koran were transmitted long before they were collected together in one volume. Among the Israelites (*Jer.*, xxxvi, 6; *Baruch*, iv), the books of the Prophets and other writings were publicly recited. Most important of all, from the standpoint of culture, were the Hellenic Festivals, at which an Herodotus read his history, a Pindar his odes, and an Aeschylus his dramas.

by widening the mental vision, by captivating the imagination, they lent wings to poetry. The same remark is applicable to their offshoots, the Military Orders. The conception of the Templars in particular, which showed the world how chivalry could be consecrated to the loftiest Christian purposes and adorned by the noblest self-devotion, furnished a wide field for the exercise of the poetic art. A new species of literature sprang up at once, abounding in poetic gems. The Crusaders' *ultreia* or rallying-cry woke the gallant music of the troubadour. Legions of gleemen and minnesingers embarked with the crusading hosts. "Joueurs de Guiterne du pays d'Escosse, qui vont par pais portans nouvelles de la destruction des Turcs",[1] like John Fary, "menstrel dy roy nostre sire",[2] wandered across the face of Europe, ministering to the popular passion for hearing exploits of crusaders or knights (which certainly lost none of their colouring in transmission) or accounts of mythical races and rulers inhabiting the far East. These compositions took the form of a mixture of Catholic truth and wild romance, overstrained and fanciful notions. Even men of the lower ranks of the nobility, who could not find a competence or congenial occupation in other walks of life, embraced this calling. Though the character of many of this itinerant tuneful tribe was irretrievably irregular, that defect did not render them less welcome comrades for files of pilgrims anxious to beguile the toils of travel. Moreover, the knightly orders maintained a constant intercourse with Europe. Tales of chivalric adventure formed the staple of instruction and the chief mode of entertainment in the

[1] *Louis et Charles d'Orléans,* par A. Champollion-Figeac, Paris, 1884, part a, p. 381.

[2] *Les Miracles de Madame Sainte Katherine de Fierboys.* J. J. Bourasse, Tours, 1446, p. 98.

feudal castles. As the nobility lived during the greater part of the year in the towns, spending only the summer at their country seats, and so contracted an intimacy with the industrial classes, the latter also, in process of time, participated in the rich repository of legend imported from Eastern lands.

The change of literary fashion and popular taste is significant in this connection. The influence of Britain on the literary cultivation of Europe is readily recognisable in various fields. An old Irish poem hits off the traits of the different nations, as follows:—

> For acuteness and valour—the Greeks;
> For excessive pride—the Romans;
> For dulness—the creeping Saxons;
> For beauty and amorousness—the Gaedhils.

The Celtic quality, which Renan describes as the "infinie délicatesse de sentiment qui caracterise la race Celtique", is discernible amid the steadiness of the German genius, for there too we find traces of the searching intellect, the bright imagination, and the idealism of the Celtic race. The voice of the native Muse of Wales, its imaginative range and lyric versatility, had gained the ear of the Continent before the eleventh century. Britain possessed one romance which was to swell the world's poetic wealth, namely, the Arthurian Cycle. For Henry II, by dissipating the Welsh dream of a risen, triumphant Arthur,[1] succeeded in dissolving the local habitation of the legend and fondly hoped to blot out the memory of the hero, but in the event made both the property of Europe and ensured their immortality. Thus, hitherto the achievements of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table had practically monopolized the attention of the romancer. But now men's thoughts were diverted Eastwards. The

[1] See p 277.

change marked a momentous epoch. When the Carolingian Cycle first assumed literary form, Christendom was standing on the defensive; in the period of the Crusades it boldly took the offensive. The situation was fraught with important consequences to literature; new scenes and personages rise upon the mental horizon. Viziers, Soldans, and Caliphs of Trebizond strut upon the stage. Further, this habituation to new ideas led to an increase of mutual toleration, regard, and admiration.[1] The *Chanson de Roland* breathes hate and defiance. Langland represents the milder feeling which succeeded on better acquaintance between the combatants. A new ideal of Chivalry also came into being; for the call to the Crusades was addressed to the individual conscience, and allowed more scope for individual initiative. Again, while the bestowal of the rights of feudal inheritance on women, at the beginning of the twelfth century, enhanced their status, the crusading movement contributed in no small measure to this improvement. The stories of these prolonged campaigns show how, while the lord was away fighting the Paynim, the care of his estate and other responsibilities devolved upon his consort. This transference of power to the wives imparted a new tone to literary endeavour, and, indeed, gave rise to a new species of literature, the patronage of which was conferred on the female sex.

§ 4.

The innovations in social ideals are reflected in the mode of story-telling. The East, with its native luxuriance and fabulous fecundity, its wealth of bird and plant life, its exuberance of fancy, imagery, and floridity gave birth to marvellous accounts of speaking animals and trees, sorcerers' castles, potent talismans, and good and bad

[1] Cf. pp. 438-440.

spirits. When monarchic forms of government arose, as they did at an early period in Eastern states, kings and queens, ministers and courtiers, stalked across the stage and played the chief rôles in Oriental legends.[1] This rich material Christianity remoulded and leavened with its own spirit. Knights-errant, as they roamed in search of adventure, posed as divinely appointed champions of distressed maidens against Eastern giants and Sorcerers, as avengers of widows and orphans, punishers of robbers and banditti, each picturing himself a Lancelot, a Meliadus, a Charlemagne or an Arthur. The rise of a burgher class led to a fresh development of the stories, which henceforward turn largely upon the adventures of merchants, or the tricks of crafty artisans.

These successive phases are mirrored in the collection of stories entitled *The Seven Wise Men of Rome.*[2] The stages of their passage to Europe from the East (their original habitat), may be in some cases distinctly traced. First appears the Oriental germ, afterwards a change of setting. The fount of this literary agglomerate is to be sought in India (the Eldorado of story-tellers, and the sources of wondrous, monstrous legends) in the Sanskrit *Seven Sages.* The earliest form has not been discovered, but the Arabian historian Masudi refers to the group and ascribes the authorship to Sandabar, an Indian sage. Even after it had gathered into itself extraneous elements and had, in the course of centuries, taken a European complexion, the Eastern originals were distinctly discernible.

[1] The national pride of the Romans created the *Aeneid* and Livy's *History.* The pious sense and noble feeling of the Greeks ascribed mighty exploits to their gods and heroes. When the race was subjugated and began to degenerate, it took to the form of insipid and exaggerated "Mylesian" tales, romances, or the novels of a Heliodorus, or a Chariton.

[2] See also p. 481.

The argument turns upon the attempt made by a queen, a second Phaedra, on the virtue of her step-son. Unable to convince her consort of the crown-prince's guilt, the step-mother poisons his mind and plays upon his weakness by warnings of worse evils to come, if he turns a deaf ear. To this end she speaks in parable and adduces instances of treachery, insisting upon the fatal consequences of cunning on the one hand and of credulity on the other. To frustrate her designs, the lad's seven tutors reply in turn, each with a story of the very opposite tenour. The pendulum swings from side to side. The irresolute king is distracted; for as soon as his trusty counsellors have left his presence, his wife, by a strange coincidence, enters, and the king's resolution vanishes. One day he vows "To-morrow he shall die". When to-morrow dawns, he pleads "Indeed, I cannot doom him".

The endowment of animals with powers of speech is a thoroughly Eastern characteristic, as appears from Buddhism, the highest form of Eastern religion, or, more correctly speaking, philosophy.[1] An Oriental trait is again visible in the use of the dramatic dialogue,

[1] When Buddha walked this earth (so ran the legend), a dragon secured admission into a monastery, where his vagaries occasioned distress and searchings of heart among the brethren. (Foe-Koue Ki. c. 17, p. 162.) When Saint Gandhya's work, consisting of 700,000 slokas, failed to captivate a dull-witted public, and to conciliate human critics, he turned, like another St. Anthony, to the brute creation, and seating himself on a noble mountain summit, delivered readings to a select circle of stags, buffaloes and boars. Deeply stirred and bathed in tears, the auditors neglected their food; and their flesh lost its savour, to the despair of hunters and cooks. This looks like a variant of the Orpheus myth. Its diffusion and influence on other religions has been largely discussed of late by Albrecht Dieterich, Salomon Reinach, Otto Gruppe, Ernst Maass, Robert Eisler and others. There is no doubt that the early Christians did use the figure of Orpheus charming the wild beasts by his playing as an emblem of Christ, but only in quite the early period.

because in India, the primeval source of wisdom, that mode of entertainment was in great request.

The Gelert story affords an instance of the transmission and adaptation to an European environment :—

> "There was once at Rome a knight, and his palace was by the side of the city. And one day there was a tournament and a contest between the knights. Now the Empress and her family went to the top of the city wall to witness the contest, leaving no one in the palace save the knight's only son, sleeping in a cradle, with his greyhound lying near him. And by reason of the neighing of the horses, and the din of the lances clashing against the gold-spangled shields, a serpent was aroused from the wall of the castle, and it started for the hall of the knight, and espying the child in the cradle, made a rush at him. But before it reached him, the fleet and active greyhound leaped upon him, and by the fighting and the struggling of both of them, the cradle was overturned with its face downwards, the child being inside ; and the fleet, active, noble hound slew the serpent and left it in small pieces near the cradle.
>
> Now when the lady came in and saw the dog and the cradle all bloody, she came towards the knight, calling and shrieking the while, to complain of the dog that had killed his only son. And the knight in his wrath slew the hound, and to comfort his wife he came to see his child ; but when he came, the child was safe and sound under the cradle, and the serpent in pieces hard by. And then the knight was troubled that he had slain so good a hound, at the word and instance of his wife. Even so it will happen to thee, by slaying thy son at the accusation and instigation of thy wife. And then the Emperor swore his son should not be put to death that day".[1]

The presence of Eastern elements in this well-known story of Prince Llewelyn and his trusty hound is unmistakable. In matter of fact, the original is to be found in the Indian *Pantchatantra*. But in the East and in Egypt the aggressor is a snake; in Italy it is a snake also; but

[1] There are other Welsh versions : Llanstephan MS. 117, f. 303 ; 171, f. 76 ; Jesus College, *Red Book of Hergest*, col. 527 to 555. See also Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's Report, vol. ii, part i (p. 3).

when the story reached Wales, the form was changed to suit the new surroundings, and since Wales is not a land infested with cobras the aggressor was transformed into a wolf.[1]

The following is also borrowed :—

> "And that night, after finishing their meal, the Empress asked whether the son had been put to death. No, said the Emperor. It will befall thee, through believing the Wise Men of Rome, even as it once befell a man whose son cut off his head. How was that? quoth he. I will not tell thee, unless thou wilt pledge thy faith to put thy son to death to-morrow. There, I give thee my word; he shall be put to death. 'I have heard that there was once an Emperor in Rome, and he was the most covetous man of all wordly goods on earth. And when he had gathered and amassed a towerful of gold and silver and right precious jewels, he placed a miser, timid and wealthy, as guardian over his goods. Now, there was in the city a man somewhat poor, but courageous. And he had a young man, his son, lusty and nimble. And the man and his son came during the night on the top of the tower, and broke through, and took of the goods as much as they listed. And next day, when the guardian came to look at the tower, a quantity beyond measure had been stolen. Thereupon the guardian subtilly and craftily bethought him, and placed a tub of warm glue before the tower, where it was broken through, if haply he might catch the robbers, to show them to the Emperor, to prevent his doubting him. And the robbers, after spending those goods and their booty on estates and lands and mansions, and at their pleasure, came again towards the tower. And when they were coming out with their booty, the father was not at all aware, until he was up to his girdle in the tubful of glue. So then he asked

[1] The Gelert story has some features in common with that of "Saint" Gwenifortis. A 13th century Dominican was preaching a mission (as it would be called) somewhere in central France, and found the people at a certain place paying great devotion to the grave of "Saint Gwenifortis". On enquiry it proved that Saint Gwenifortis was a dog, of whom a similar story to that of Gelert was told. This could not be tolerated, so the Dominican had the mound destroyed, and found dog's bones in it.

> counsel of his son. I know none, said the son, except to cut off thy head with a sword and hide it in a secret place; for if they come upon thee with thy life in thee, thou wilt be afflicted and tortured, until thou wilt confess the goods, and then wilt thou disclose who thou art. O my lord and son, said he, not so wouldst thou do to me. The Emperor is the most merciful man in the world, and the goods are ready, and I shall have my life back again. By Him on whom I believe, said the son, I shall not adventure these three things, rather than cut off thy head from thee. What three things are they? said the father. The present goods I have, and my own life, and the land and chattels that thou hast bought. And savagely and barbarously he cut off his father's head. Even so will thy son cause thee to be slain, from a desire for thy kingdom, which is better than the treasure.' By my faith, said he, his soul shall not remain in him later than to-morrow. And next day, when he saw the daylight, he betook him to the judgment-hall and commanded to put his son to death."

This story is evidently based on *Herodotus*, ii, ch. 121, with which, in some European adaptations, vi, ch. 68, 69, are combined. Boccaccio's version betrays the influence of the Greek myth of Zeus and Alcmene.[1]

The concluding story is told by the victim of the plot and appeared originally in the Cento Novelle of Sansovino.[2]

[1] So also Giovanni Ser Cambi (1347-1424), Nov. 10.

[2] *Giorn.*, viii, Nov. 4. The story of the faithless wife who is locked out by her husband, then pretends to drown herself, and locks him out in his turn, appears in Dolopathos, the Disciplina Clericalis, Galanos, and Boccaccio. The trial of a husband's patience is reproduced with certain variations in the following:—*Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Th. Grässe, i, p, 175; the Turkish tales of the Forty Viziers, Habicht and Hagen, *Tausendundeine Nacht*, xiv, p. 70; a Syrian legend quoted by Prym and Socin, *Der neu-aramäische Dialekt des Tur Abdin*, 1881, No. 78, p. 330; a German poem entitled *Weiberlist*, Hagen, ii, No 38, p. 266; Boccaccio, viith day, No. 9; Marie de France, *Dou vilain qui vit un autre hom od sa fame*, *Poesies*, ii, 206; Passano, *Catalogo dei novellieri italiani in prosa*, Livorno, 187. No. 22; Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*; Gorin's fabliau, *Du prestre ki abevete*; Montaiglon, *Recueil général des fabliaux des* xiii *et* xiv *siècles*. "The

The change of venue from India to Italy is a noticeable feature in the migration and transformation of these Eastern stories. The reason is not obscure. The influence of wandering and wondering among the ruins of ancient magnificence, or of tracing in stone the history of the Church in Rome, must have been profound, and we can enter into the feelings of the Welsh poet, who asked :

"A oes bryd mor ysprydawl
A bod ar ffordd Bedr a Phawl
Tuedd cymmyredd mawr,
Trev Ruvain tyrva ryvawr ?"

The vague memories of the Empire, the atmosphere of genius which had from time immemorial hung over the city, and the oral traditions of taste maintained there, haunted the imagination of the British ever since the days of the Roman conquest of Britain, and, as time went on, other causes contributed to enhance its prestige. Then a curious psychological effect ensued. A far-off Asiatic country now seemed an unsuitable theatre for the scenes depicted. The stage must be laid somewhere nearer home, in a kingdom of majesty and renown. There was one which fulfilled these conditions—unique, unrivalled, unapproachable ; that place was Rome. The fortunes of the Eternal City were one of the three themes particularly fitted to awake the poet's lyre :—

"Ne sont que trois matières, a nul home entendant ;
De France, et de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant."

Did any other kingdom summon up such glorious associations ? Where else were the perils encompassing an heir to the throne, like the prince in the Seven Wise Masters, more strikingly exhibited ?

king and his seneschal's wife" appears in Hitopadesa, Müller's ed., p. 52 ; Sindibad Nameh, *Asiatic Journal*, xxxvi, p. 13. "The unexpected meeting of husband and wife" comes from Nachschebi (Brockhaus's edition, viith night, 2nd story) ; the Forty Viziers ; Sandabar ; and Syntipas.

There was another consideration that lent importance to Rome, namely, the energetic animosity of the Latins against the Greeks. "The Greeks", said a pilgrim of the fifteenth century, "love not the Christians of the Roman persuasion, and the submission which they have since made to this Church was more through self-interest than sincerity."[1] Then again, the pretension of the Celtic races of Britain to a descent, on the lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*, from Brutus (a genealogy which appears in Nennius) gained fresh lustre in the twelfth century, with the renewal of interest in classic lore, and the grotesque, inharmonious and anomalous interpretation of classical antiquity. It was a courtly chronicler of the Franks who created this legend of so ancient, so august an origin,[2] by means of an interpolation in *Dares Phrygius*. Whatever were the grounds for the claim, the pseudo-historical fiction was nowhere embraced with livelier enthusiasm than in Celtic Britain, where it was woven into the texture of national traditions. Least of all could Ireland, one would imagine, arrogate to itself this illustrious descent. Britain could with more reason justify its pretensions; Britain, had fallen within the sphere of Roman influence two or three centuries before Roman civilisation had sensibly affected Ireland. The British had fought for their national existence, and had thus acquired a partial cohesion, a racial unity, which the Irish lacked. Arthur, their King, embodied in his person, or symbolized, the resistance offered by Romano-British civilisation against the inroads of Teutonic heathendom. But Ireland insisted on asserting a right to the same lofty lineage.

[1] There were several attempts made to unite the Eastern and Western Churches – in 1098, 1274, 1438-9, 1439-1444.

[2] Cf. Rydberg, *Undersökningar i germanisk mythologi*, 1891, p. 22; and Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, 1893, p. 32, f.

To Rome, therefore, the Oriental scenes from the *Seven Wise Masters* and similar stories in this new vein of literature were, with all their paraphernalia, bodily transferred.[1]

CHAPTER XXIV.

Literature *(Continued)*. The Renaissance: Celtic Influence Abroad.

The pilgrim movement, itself an influential factor in literary intercourse and enrichment, led to another momentous advance in the human intellect, namely, the revival of learning. The Renaissance may be defined, in its broadest aspect, as "a strenuous effort on the part of Western Europe to eliminate barbarism and rusticity from the field of man's thoughts and to substitute humanism and liberal culture of infinite scope; a regeneration of human sentiment, a new birth of intellectual and æsthetic aspiration".[2] A work of preparation, conscious or unconscious, had gone on silently long before this gigantic upheaval of the intellect occurred, and ecclesiastics, as yet unsuspicious of lurking heresy, had borne a

[1] This amalgam of Classical, Oriental, and European lore, not only shows us how Eastern Legends brought by individual pilgrims and Crusaders percolated through Europe, but also how classical elements were appropriated, cast into the crucible and remoulded. The end of the story entitled *Virgil's Tower*, or *Salvatio Romae* (see p. 482.), is an echo of the history of Crassus, whose head was cut off by the Parthians and treated with indignity. *The Boar and Shepherd* recalls the Greek legend of the Boar of Erymanthus. *The wife immured in a castle* bears a close resemblance to the plot of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. The Cæsars in these stories are travesties of the originals; they loom, as if darkly discerned through a looking-glass or on the surface of troubled water or in fantastic dream; often they wear a strange, uncouth aspect, and figure in singular and unexpected situations, behaving as capriciously as any Sultan in the Arabian Nights.

[2] S. Lee, *The French Renaissance.*

part in forwarding this happy consummation. A Patrick, a Ninian, a Gildas, a Gerald, transmitted and disseminated culture. But there were other phases of the pilgrim movement which lent an immediate impulse to the literary revival. The fateful millennial year, A.D. 1000, was believed to presage the dissolution of the universe.[1] While no clear evidence exists that the new intellectual birth of Europe dates from that year, it certainly marked, as the tenth century approached the fatal limit, a transition from the feeling of religious dread and religious pessimism that prevailed to a new hope and enthusiasm. The cloister student felt the thrill and monasticism entered upon a fresh lease of life. Architecture spread like a pageant; art followed its lead. A passion for enquiry gripped the public mind and the schools became once more thronged. Bacon's future motto, "Nam ipsa scientia potestas est", was the watchword of the rising generation.

The progress of this re-awakening to the value of Greek and Roman literature after the slumber of 500 years, as is the case with most great movements, was gradual, and its causes various. Greek as well as Saracenic influence was at work in the cultured Court of Frederick II of Sicily. The Eastern Empire never lost the Greek literary tradition. South Italy, Magna Graecia, and Sicily always contained a Greek element.[2] In the neighbourhood of Bari and Brindisi a dialect of Greek is, or was until recently, still spoken; and the communication between Italy and the Greek countries was maintained from the time of the old Empire.

[1] For its connection with the pilgrim movement, see p. 106.

[2] To this day there are churches of the Greek Rite (in union with Rome, and under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishops) in what was the kingdom of Naples, though these, as in Sicily, have been largely reinforced by colonies of refugees from Albania, and many of the Greeks, as they are called, speak Albanian.

The trend towards a renaissance was unmistakable in the twelfth century, if not earlier; it was a continuous advance and no sudden revelation.[1] But several important events concurred to intensify the movement of culture. The rise of the new studies was synchronous with the Crusades, which had thrown open the sluices to the current of imaginative endeavour and the wisdom of the East country. Whether the revival of letters was part of the same impulse and resulted from a common influence, or whether one produced the other, is not easy to determine. The probability is that it was a little of both. A distinct acceleration of pace followed in the fifteenth century, when a long-dreaded catastrophe befell. The Tartar Peril had been long hanging like a cloud on the horizon of Europe. Men's minds had been long haunted by the grim shadow of impending calamity of which they had spoken with bated breath; and now their worst fears were realised;[2] the Turk was at the gate of Constantinople, the Athens of the Middle Ages. The legacy of the literary tradition and treasures to Rome (as far as it went) had a large share in completing the Renaissance of Classical Art and Letters, which had begun nearly a century before the fall of Constantinople.[3] Thus, in the long run the disaster itself

[1] Except, perhaps, in the matter of art and architecture in northern countries, which received them ready-made from Italy.

[2] See pp. 109, 412.

[3] The transfer was by no means an unmixed advantage to the Papacy, since it went some way towards bringing about the Reformation. The subject of the Renaissance is complicated by the growth of vernacular literatures. Up to the twelfth century we find hardly anything of this description. Even "Beowulf" does not show much literary power, nor does the Edda, though both possess a high archæological interest. Hitherto, if anyone had anything of importance to say, he said it in Latin, and Latin went on side by side with the improving vernacular literatures long afterwards. In all mediæval literary movements one must realise the bilingual con-

tended to an intellectual advance, since it brought the Hellenic genius home to the intelligence of modern Europe, and first of all to that of Italy. The discovery of printing heightened the enthusiasm, not only by what it actually accomplished at the time, but also by the brilliant future which it opened on the imagination.

§ 1.

The priority of Italy in the movement needs no recondite explanation. To say that Italy was a teacher of the nations savours of a truism. Many causes combined to render her a metropolis of knowledge. Her geographical position, her situation on the Mediterranean (ever the seat of culture); her extent of seaboard, opening Italy to every foreigner, her constant communication with the mysterious East, and now her heirship to the masterpieces of Greek intellect—all these circumstances conspired to render her a starting-point from which the influence of the Renaissance radiated. Already in the fourteenth century subjects of the falling Byzantine Empire had carried across the Adriatic monuments of Greek intellectual triumph. Thus, when Constantinople fell, Italy was the first country to benefit. A troop of Greek scholars, carrying with them time-honoured canons of taste and a library of manuscripts, found a new home there. A boundless enthusiasm for ancient Hellas was immediately born. All that survived of Athenian culture was driven

dition of West Europe. Every educated man, cleric or laic, could read, write, and speak Latin, and education was not so rare a thing from 1100 onwards, as writers of a past generation seemed to think. This community of language, while it tended to a *unitas ecclesiæ*, probably retarded the growth of vernacular literatures in the West. Cf. P. Frédéricq, "Les conséquences de l' évangélization par Rome et par Byzance," *Bull. de l' Académie royale de Belgique*, 1903, n. 11, 738; and F. Cumont, "Pourquoi le latin fut la seule langue liturgique de l' occident," in *Mélanges Paul Frédéricq*, 1904, pp. 63-66.

westward in a flood; the whole range of Greek enlightenment burst upon the view; and the European atmosphere was charged with Greek civilisation. Under the auspices of the Medici, Italian youth flocked to lectures on the Greek language. The ruins of Pagan edifices were excavated. Marvels of Greek and Roman sculpture were disinterred. Hebrew, Arabic and Indian manuscripts were collected from the crumbling cloisters of the East. France appeared to be marked out by Providence for the rôle of interpreter. Martino da Canale and Brunetto Latini found that the French language *Cort parmi le monde et est la plus delitable à lire et à oir que nulle autre.* But in no country of Western Europe (however much developed in accordance with national idiosyncrasy) did the new light lose the Italian hue that it acquired at its first coming. Meanwhile, the fertilizing forces of the Renaissance, which quickened life in all its branches, recéived a new potentiality from epoch-making events outside. If the East had unlocked and yielded treasures long forgotten or hidden in its bosom, if Greece gave the initial incentive, the West had its own secrets to unfold. The discovery of another continent beyond the ocean, by shattering the fantastic theories of untested cosmography, and doubling the extent of the earth, readjusted the whole view of the relative place of Europe in the world; and by opening up a vista of possible developments in the future bred a novel and independent stimulus. Thus, the in-rushing tide of the new spirit came pouring along various channels, flooding, vivifying and enriching the land.

The Celtic population of Britain, so sensitive to imaginative suggestion, were not likely to remain outside the broad currents that were sweeping over Europe. Wales illustrates these cosmopolitan tendencies, and in its

literature, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we catch echoes of foreign voices, as, for example, in that giant in the rearguard of the advancing host of the Renaissance, Dafydd ap Gwilym.[1] It would be strange, indeed, if Welsh poets were unaffected by a movement which was operating far and wide. Chaucer's voice awoke no responsive chords in England, and this first burst of English song died suddenly and utterly away. The flourishing period of English Renaissance literature was indeed not only belated, but was of short duration, compared with that of France or Italy. But it so happened that Wales was well fitted for the reception of the new ideas. It had already shaped and moulded its language.[2] Welsh poets of genius had arisen, and the relation borne by Stabile, d'Astoli or da Pistoja to Petrarch and Boccaccio may be paralleled by the relation of Rhys Goch ap Rhiccert to Dafydd ap Gwilym. There is, therefore, a strong presumption in favour of connecting several of our poets with this widespread and many-sided move-

[1] See the author's article in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, session 1905-6, p. 130, *seq.*

[2] The Welsh of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was probably as capable of expressing any poetical ideas, however intricate, as Italian became under Dante and his circle. The English of the same period was a much more clumsy vehicle, and therefore (since the language was not ripe for it) Chaucer stood alone. It would be interesting to ascertain whether Dafydd ap Gwilym (and one may include many lesser poets before and after) was the result of a continuous development in Wales, or whether his work was only part of the general West European literary movement, combining, in Wales as elsewhere, local idiosyncrasies. It may possibly have been a little of both. The whole subject of the development of Welsh poetry is very difficult. There seems to be a continuity of development from the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen* onwards. How much earlier the poems called by the names of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen and the rest may be, we have no means of deciding positively.

ment, which, beginning in a tentative manner and gathering force for several centuries, passed out of the winter of the Middle Ages into the summer of the Renaissance.[1]

The capture of Calais and the firm grip maintained on it by Tudor England, which fervently hugged the ambition of becoming a continental power,[2] assumes significance in this connection. Calais was a symbol of the new light, a literary as well as a territorial link with France. The story of the relations between conquering Rome and conquered Greece was re-enacted here :—

Graecia capta ferum captorem cepit.

And Welshmen were there, in residence, or on their way to Continental shrines.[3]

[1] It might, perhaps, be possible to trace parallels between Dafydd and his Italian contemporaries, but it is certainly difficult to draw out the correspondence in detail. Thus, his escapade, which forms the subject of his poem *Y dyn dan y gerwyn*, may be an adaptation of a tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Giorn, vii, Nov. 2. It is extremely probable that the famous story of the secret rendezvous, which the poet arranged with a bevy of his lady-loves, of the irate maidens' discovery of him in a tree, and the ensuing fracas, is a mere reproduction of an Italian anecdote in one of the many dubious novels imported into England after the marriage of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III, with Violante, daughter of Galeazzo, Duke of Milan. The poets of the day, whether Italian improvisatore, Provençal troubadour, German minnesinger, or Celtic bard, laid under contribution folklore, legend, and tradition, the origins of which may have been various and are now obscure ; and each class of poet moulded them after its own fashion.

[2] Cf. the elation in France at its recapture, *e.g.*, Joachim Du Bellay's *Oeuvres*, 1597, 170, *Hymne au roy sur la prinse* (prise) *de Calais* (the poet rejoices that the body of France, mutilated by *le furieux Anglois* has now been made whole) ; Olivier de Magny's ode : Ce Calais inexpugnable, Ce vieil rampart des Angloys, Qu'on disoit tant imprenable, Est-il pris a ceste fois ?

[3] A proof of the multitude of pilgrims from Britain and Ireland who crossed the Channel at this point is seen in the establishment of a special burial-ground for them at Wissant about 1130. *Hist. de N. Dame de Boulogne*, Alphonse de Montfort, 1634, pp. 67, 68.

Robert Leiaf, who flourished between the year 1450 and 1490, in a poem addressed to the British garrison stationed at Calais, described the city in glowing colours, and had the joy of meeting there some of his Welsh countrymen. They seem to have formed at that day a considerable element of the population :—

"A gollo Kymro ple kais
Oni gweler yn y Galais?"

The writer waxes eloquent as he paints the glories and strength of the English fortress :—

"Ni all gwr ynnill a gais—
Bygylu[1] neb o Galais.
Gyrant hwy chwedl Geraint oedd,
wyr amrerodr ir moroedd."

The Welsh pilgrim can count upon a friendly reception and good cheer there :—

"Chwerddais pa ham na chwerddent
pan welais Galais o Gent.[2]
Gweled ym vuddygoliaeth,
Gweled trev yn gwilio traeth.
Ysda drev ystod Ruvain
Ysta wyr hwnt pyst yw rhain.
Pob gwr wrth y pibau gynt,
Pob dyn pawb adwenynt.
Prynwyd ir pererinion
Ossai 'n hael Kymry sy'n hon.
Prynwyd im perai nid oedd,
Win a bir yn aberoedd.
Ddydd gwaith gedwaist obaith Sais,
Dydd gwyl da oedd y Galais."

The period succeeding the Reformation lies almost altogether outside the scope of the present enquiry but the later developments of the Renaissance may be briefly indicated. The spiritual aspiration, which was another of the phenomena of the Renaissance, appealed strongly to the Fathers of the Welsh Reformation, but did not cool their ardour for scholarship. These patriarchs of our literature were clearly imbued with the classical spirit. Indeed, the full force of the Renaissance in Wales was not realised until the rise of its great religious Reformers, who,

[1] Threaten, frighten.
[2] Kent. [3] Brit. Mus. Add. 31,109, f. 105; 14,967, § 168.

if they eyed askance the frank delight in life and the senses avowed by the Renaissance, were fully alive to the appreciation of form. They were no sour fanatics, and theirs was no Philistine creed which anathematised art and letters.[1]

§ 2.

The day is past when the Celts could be supposed to borrow and contribute nothing in return ; rather, they laid Continental literature under a lasting obligation. The thoughts of the Middle Ages ran largely on theology, and Britain proved a veritable storehouse of legendary lore upon which writers of all countries could draw at will. Ariosto applied to Ireland the title " Hibernia Fabulosa". Already some of his countrymen had realized the richness of the floating traditions of Britain and had drunk inspiration at this source. To take one example, it has before appeared[2] that as a pilgrim resort Purdan Padric maintained its hold on the mind of Christendom for centuries. It also cast a spell upon European literature. The mediæval imagination ran riot in describing the unexplored Realm of Shades, and the " Adventures of the Knight" (Owain) had found its way into almost all lands. Not only were Latin prose versions widely circulated, but out of them sprang a crop of poetic adaptations in English, French, Provençal and Swedish. Marie de France turned the " Purgatory " into French. It was reserved for Dante, who wrote at a time when Italian literature had emerged from the gloom of the Dark Ages, to impress the story with the stamp of his genius, and to

[1] Another feature of the Renaissance is illustrated in Wales. Dialecticians of the time credited all goals of human effort with inherent unity ; they maintained that skill with the pen was the proper complement of skill with the sword.

[2] See pp. 47, 48.

ensure it imperishable renown. There can be little doubt that the panorama of lurid horrors with which readers of the Purdan were satiated, furnished Dante with some material for the *Divina Commedia*. Francesco Corazzini has indeed gone so far as to maintain that the whole of this masterpiece is of Irish origin. Dante's devotion to the memory and indebtedness to the writings of Bede is certain ;[1] and as the Vision of Fursey appears in Bede, the poet presumably was familiar with it.[2] Ugo Foscolo declared that Dante borrowed from an unnamed British monk, who was perhaps no other than Fursey.[3] Tundale, an imitator of Fursey, was another writer whom Dante laid under contribution. The arrangement of scenes in the *Divine Comedy* corresponds with that of Tundale's vision. Indeed, so striking is the resemblance that Mussafia had no hesitation in tracing the origin of the *Divine Comedy* to Tundale.[4] Andrea Patria of Florence introduced the

[1] He places Bede in the Paradiso, canto x, line 130.

[2] H. E., iii, c. 19. The lessons of the Second Nocturn for Jan. 19 in the Irish supplement of the modern Roman Breviary are taken from that chapter.

[3] Cf. Kopitsch, translation of Dante, 1842; Labitte, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1843 ; *La Divine Comédie avant Dante* ; Ozanam, *Sources poétiques de la Divine Comédie*. The resemblance between Dante and Fursey are to be seen in such passages as the following :— *Paradiso*, canto xxviii, 3 ; xxxii; *Inferno*, c. v, xv, xxv ; *Purgatorio*, c. xix, 115 and 121-124.

[4] There is certainly a strong resemblance. The Vision of Thurcill (an Essex man of Stisted, near Braintree), exhibits points of contact with Wales. The story, probably written about 1220, and attributed by the late Mr. H. L. D. Ward (in *Journal of the British Arch. Association*, 1876), to Ralph of Coggeshall, is only known in two MSS. (Reg. 13 D.V. c. 1250 and Julius D.V. 14th c.) in the British Museum. The preface mentions Owen (Audoenus), Tundale, the Monk of Eynsham (whom it dates 1196), a vision of a monk of "Streflur in Gualiis" (Strata Florida), and one of "Monachus Vaucellensis" (Vaucelles, near Cambray). Ralph de Coggeshall in his chronicle mentions, under 1202, the Strata Florida vision, but Mr. Ward could not identify the Vaucelles story.

Purdan into *Guerrino il meschino*, a wild romance placed in the age of Charlemagne, which had a wide vogue in the fifteenth century and in the earlier decades of the sixteenth. He represented his hero as falling into the hands of the Saracens, visiting the Land of Prester John, consulting the Sibyl and being sent by the Pope to Patrick's Purgatory. The invention of printing, when the Purgatory was at the height of its popularity, ensured it a long lease of life. For, although by the end of the fifteenth century the age of Visions had practically run its course, their influence affected certain classes of literature for centuries after. Spain, like Italy, paid its tribute to the Purdan, and Calderon, in the seventeenth century, introduced it into one of his religious dramas, El Purgatorio de San Patricio.

CHAPTER XXV.

Decline of the Pilgrim Movement.

The decrease of pilgrimages in Wales and Scotland practically coincides with the progress of the Reformation. Many forces had been at work secretly and internally, if not outwardly and visibly, undermining the institution. One was the Renaissance, which, in the heat of the moment, taking the form of an all-corroding, all-dissolving scepticism, or of a frank exultant paganism, shook veteran principles to the ground. These were the steady, silent changes which paved the way. Afterwards leaders of religious thought appeared on the scene who threw the weight of their influence into the scale against the dominion of mediævalism. Erasmus, the patriarch and prince of European learning, was himself neither a preacher nor an iconoclast; but the intellectual impulse which he imparted, his critical acumen, his alert and inspiring personality, his airy insight and playful sarcasm,

and his satire on the abuses of the pilgrimages, contributed to their abandonment. His visit to Canterbury with Colet, and the revulsion of feeling induced by this experience mark an epoch.[1] The scientific method of investigation, analysis, measurement, system, initiated by the Scholastic Philosophy was another influential factor. But open antagonism proceeded from yet another quarter.

The spread of Lollardy militated powerfully against the continuance of the practice: image-worship especially became a target for the Lollards' philippics.[2] In Herefordshire, the sectaries gathered round them a number of adherents, as witness a command sent to the Mayor and Sheriff of the city to arrest certain sons of perdition who were disseminating error in the diocese and neighbouring districts.[3] Acting upon this order, John, Bishop of Hereford, summoned the offenders to appear at the Translation of St. Thomas of Hereford, as a test of their loyalty to Church and State, but they obstinately refused. The public peace, however, had to be maintained at all costs, and the prelate received another message denouncing the "nefarious schism". This incident illustrates the guerilla attacks of the sect upon ecclesiastical institutions, and shows that the credit of the Catholic Church was fast fading. The impulsive temperament and stormy career of one Herefordshire Lollard, who figured prominently on the historic stage, live in literature; this was Sir John

[1] But see p. 292, n. 2.

[2] Cf. Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue on the Adoration of Images.* The sentiments of the Lollards on the subject of pilgrimages may be gathered from William Thorpe's evidence before Archbishop Arundel at Saltwood Castle, in 1407: "Such fond people waste blamefullie God's goodes in their vain pilgrimages, spending their goods on vitious hostelers". There is more in the same strain. Cf. Capgrave, *Chronicle of England*, p. 252 (Rolls edition).

[3] Courtenay, Bishop of Hereford, A.D. 1370, strongly opposed Wycliff and his followers. Havergal, *Fasti Heref.*, p. 23.

Oldcastle, the martyr of the Lollard cause and prototype of Falstaff. The feudal lords of Almeley, his predecessors, hailed from Wales proper. He himself was originally known as Sion Hendy o Went Iscoed. Through good and evil report he bent his energies to the circulation of Wycliff's Bible, and at the instance of Huss, caused numerous copies of his works to be translated and distributed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries.[1]

The Lollards' dirge was also heard in Wales, and Wycliff numbered several Welshmen among his open or secret followers. The most conspicuous name traditionally associated with Lollardism is that of Sion Kent, or John of Kentchurch. His poems certainly breathe a passion for reform, and he may have imbibed Lollard sentiments in Herefordshire where he had taken refuge from a farmer, by whom he had been ill-treated, and entered the service of a Scudamore. His patron sent him to Oxford. After leaving the University he served as parish priest at Newcastle Emlyn, and Kentchurch. Like his countryman John Du, Sion Kent experienced the inconveniences as well as the éclat of unusual erudition. Many stories of his wonder-working powers are still current in Monmouthshire. Dying at the age of 120, he outwitted his Satanic Majesty by being buried half within and half without the Church where he had ministered.[2] He has been wrongly identified with the pretended chaplain whose services at the house of the Lollard leader in Kent drew upon him the censure of Archbishop Arundel.[3] But that he had not broken with the Church appears from the following lines :—

[1] For Oldcastle's views upon pilgrimages, see *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 438.

[2] "As great as the Devil and John of Kent." (*Local proverb.*)

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 330.

"Y dydd kyflwybrys i daw
* * * *
Pwy ffordd i ddwy ffordd i dda
ai lle bu vrawd ir llwybr vry
ai yr llwybr arall obry
o da i nef rhaid yw yn wir
ffino dros y korff annwir
a thalu r ffydd gatholig
rhann y tan or enaid dig
* * * *"[1]

He alludes, however, to the death of Sir John Oldcastle; he satirizes the friars; and he may have sympathized with the aims of the party. On the whole, his actual adoption of Lollardism rests upon slender evidence. Less uncertainty overhangs the views of some other Welsh poets. Ieuan ap Rhys Brydydd who flourished in 1450, is one of these. A native of Llanharan in Morganwg, he had been brought up as a monk at Margam, but was expelled on embracing Lollardy. He married a nun who seems to have been ejected from some convent in the same county. Sir Matthew Cradog, a zealous Papist and Dystain Gwyr[2] from 1491 to 1497, threw himself with energy into the task of stamping out the rising heresy, and gave the real or suspected heretics short shrift. Such sentiments as "dying for the Faith" and appeals to Scripture, which frequently occur in these poetic effusions, show that the leaven of Wycliffism was active beneath the surface.[3]

[1] Llanstephan MS. 47, f. 79. The text is somewhat corrupt.

[2] See Iorwerth Vynglwyd's poem, Brit. Mus. Stowe MSS. 959, 148, and *Hen Gwndidau*, pp. 7-8.

[3] Sir Matthew, their prosecutor, was born at Cardiff in 1468, died in 1531, and lies buried at Swansea Church. Traherne, *Historical notices of Sir Matthew Cradock*; *Cambrian Quarterly Mag.*, vol. v, p. 95. Langland was also claimed as a Wycliffite. Whether this assertion was well grounded or not, his influence was thrown on the side of Reform. "The Morning star of the Reformation, belonging rather to the day than to the night", as he was called by Thomas Fuller in the following century, his poems frequently pass strictures

Besides the forces above-mentioned, political complications, especially the French and Civil Wars, hastened the decline of the movement. The peril of current tumults and racial animosities sufficed to quench the ardour of all but the most resolute hearts.

To the above extraneous causes must be added evils arising out of the pilgrimages themselves. The excesses or indiscretions of professing pilgrims lent colour to plausible cavils.[1] The very popularity of domestic shrines marked, as already observed, a milder form of asceticism. The easy terms on which indulgences were granted produced results which were the opposite of those intended; for churchmen now felt indisposed towards an enterprise which involved severe hardship or at least inconvenience. Ominous symptoms of a decline from the first fervour were not wanting. The substitution of pilgrimage by proxy and compositions for money; mock mortifications; the presence of a rabble rout of dissolute minstrels among the Crusaders and debtors buying liberty at the price of enlistment in the army of the Cross; the system of imposing pilgrimage as a punishment upon evildoers, some of them

upon pilgrims as well as prelates; for instance, he speaks with contempt of packs of "eremytes on an hep", pilgrims that run to St. James in Spain, to Rome, to Rocamadour in Guyenne, who have paid visits to every saint. But have they ever sought for St. Truth? B. V. 57. No, never! Will they ever know the real place where they might find St. James? Will they suspect that St. James should be sought where "poure syke lyggen in prisons and in poore cotes"? C. V. 122. They seek St. James in Spain yet St. James is at their own gate all the time; they elbow him each day, and they recognise him not.

[1] It is hardly necessary to mention that throughout this chapter the author is discussing the decay of the true pilgrim spirit in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that mainly in Wales and Scotland, not the essence of the pilgrim movement (see ch. ii), nor the single-minded pilgrims and well-regulated pilgrimages of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

cut-throats bearing the knife or dagger worked into their chains;[1] thefts even of relics committed on the journey,[2] all these considerations were sinister indications of the decay of the old pilgrim spirit. The dialogue between a disciple of Wycliff and Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, furnishes an insight into the condition of things in the reign of Henry IV :—

> "Also, Sir, I knowe well that when diverse men and women will go thus after their own willes, and findying out one pilgrimage, they will orden with them, both men and women, that can synge wanton songes[3]; and some other pilgremis will have with them baggepipes; so that every towne they come throwe, what with the noyse of their singing and with the sound of their pyping, and with the janglyng of their Canterbury bellis, and with barking out of doggis after them, that they make more noyse than if the Kinge came there awaye with all his clarions; and many other menstrells."

The Archbishop replies :

> "That pilgremys have with them both syngers and also pipers that when one of them that goeth barefoote striketh his too upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to blede, it is well done, that he or his fellowe begyn a songe, or else take unto to his bosome a baggepipe, for to drive awaye with soche myrthe the hurte of his felow. For with soche solace the travell and weariness of pylgremes is lightely and merily broughte forth".[4]

Usages of doubtful credit, which had flourished through politic toleration, were, rightly or wrongly, now dismissed as old wives' fables, or as illusions of spirits or badges of

[1] Cf. Du Cange, sub v. *circuli ferrei.*

[2] Hence watching galleries were erected from which the *custos feretri* could overlook the shrine. Structures of this kind are still to be seen at Christ Church, Oxford, Westminster Abbey, and St. Alban's Cathedral. Cf. Wall, *Shrines of British Saints*, p. 236.

[3] Du Cange, sub. *Amor.*

[4] *State Trials*, i, p. 27, ed. fol. 1730. *Harleian MS.*, No. 1,764, contains a treatise by Geoffroi de la Tour Landry on morals; the author warns his daughters against pilgrimages.

Antichrist. The pilgrim became the butt for literary satire and illiterate scurrility.[1]

It would be unjust, however, to suppose that such abuses were screened by ecclesiastical authority. No one was more alive to the moral dangers attending pilgrimages than the Church, which from an early period had sounded a note of warning. St. Jerome spoke with no uncertain voice, asserting, for example, that "the Celestial Court lay equally open to Jerusalem and Britain, for the Kingdom of God was within the pilgrims themselves". "Antony", he proceeds, "and all the hosts of monks of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia, had not seen Jerusalem, but the gate of Paradise lay open to them without that city. The Blessed Hilarion, though a native of Palestine and resident in that country, only saw Jerusalem for one day, that he might seem neither to despise the holy places, on account of vicinity, nor, on the other hand, to enclose God in a particular spot". Jerome adds that the environment of Jerusalem was far from conducive to devotion. Gregory of Nyssa expressed similar doubts. The danger was present to the mind of St. John Chrysostom, who considered pilgrimages needless, though, in another passage, he avowed a wish to see the relics of St. Paul. Neither is St. Augustine quite consistent on the matter. He expresses his hesitation in the following words :—"The Church condemns them, and daily strives to correct the abuse." Vigilantius speaks in a similar strain. Passing to a much later time, we find St. Boniface,

[1] By the *consuetudines* of Hereford Cathedral, supposed to have been drawn up ab. 1250, no Canon was allowed to make more than one pilgrimage across the sea in his life ; for a pilgrimage to St. Denis he was granted leave of absence for 7 weeks; to St. Edmund of Pontigny for 8; to Rome and Compostela for 16 ; to Jerusalem for 1 year. By the same ordinances he was allowed 3 weeks every year to go on pilgrimage in England.

the Saxon apostle to Germany, unable to conceal his apprehensions. He especially emphasises the dubious hospitality, the moral pitfalls of the cities through which they pass, and, in some cases, the lamentable laxity that ensues. Other writers within the pale of the Church speak of the disenchantment induced by such journeys. In the light of the fondness for pilgrimages displayed by Irishmen the following passage, in an ancient Irish manuscript, sounds strange, but indicates the disillusionment:—

> "A pilgrimage to Rome demands strenuous effort with but meagre advantage; if thou dost not find the Heavenly King that thou seekest in thine own country or carry Him with thee, thou wilt never find Him there (namely, in Rome). It is all folly, madness, delusion, frenzy; to go on pilgrimage to Rome is to court death and destruction, and to draw down upon thee the wrath of the Lord."

Eglurun, a Welsh translation of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius of Autun, on the body of Christian Theology,[1] copied by Sir Thomas Williams, the papist physician of Trefriw, contains the following dialogue which shows how the institution of pilgrimage degenerated. The treatise is thrown into the form of a Catechism:—

> Disciple: "What hope is there for merchants?"
>
> Master: "Little, for by deceit and perjury and usury and profit, they acquired almost all their hoards."
>
> D.: "Do they not go on pilgrimages? Do they not make offerings? Do they not give many alms?"
>
> M.: "Yes, to multiply goods for themselves and to keep their possession they do it all; and therefore they receive their reward here; of them it is said: They that put their trust in riches shall be placed like sheep in Hell, and death shall devour them."
>
> D.: "What do you say about pilgrims?"

[1] The full title reads *Elucidarium sive dialogus de summa totius Christianæ Theologiæ*. The Welsh version here quoted was taken from Peniarth MS. 227, c. 76.

> M.: "Do not publicly call them pilgrims, but scoffers of God, for they mock at God when they do evil, and that too in the worst things. When they slay men, they sing; when they perjure themselves, or when they steal, they exult; when they are doing their penance, they hunt for various gifts; they get drunk with various liquors; they indulge in excesses more than others; of them it is said: The Lord shall give their flesh to the worms and unquenchable fire."

Two other leaders of religious thought, in the Middle Ages, speak with qualified approval. St. Bernard calls attention to the essence of the institution of pilgrimage, saying, "Non enim locus homines sed homines locum sanctificant". Thomas à Kempis also has his misgivings.[1] Gower, the poet, swells the chorus.

The abuses associated with the system of wholesale pilgrimage powerfully stimulated the Reformers to take up the work where Wycliff and the Lollards had left off. Erasmus's repugnance at the incongruities of the scenes witnessed at Canterbury marked a turning-point in the history of the decline of the usage; by his mordant wit and caustic descriptions of Walsingham, in 1540, he sounded its death knell. A churchman of mind so regal as Sir Thomas More might raise his voice in defence of the custom,[2] but nothing could stave off the evil hour. Latimer denounced pilgrimages with characteristic vehemence. If the Church frowned on them, still less was civil authority disposed to look on them with favour.[3]

The mutterings of the coming storm were audible on various sides before the end of the fifteenth century.

[1] *De imit. Christi.*, iv, c. 1.

[2] Sir Thomas More, *A dialogue*, 1529. Cf. 530, n. 2.

[3] "Non sinantur vagari isti nudi cum ferro, qui dicunt se data paenitentia ire vagantes. Melius videtur, ut si aliquod inconsuetum et capitale crimen commiserint, in uno loco permaneant laborantes et servientes et poenitentiam agentes secundum quod canonice iis impositum sit." Du Cange, sub. v. *Peregrinatio.* Hence also enactments

Already in the time of Henry V, pilgrimages ceased as a general fashion. The Church trembled at the progress of heresy, and from the time of the Lollard outbreak became timid as a hunted deer. Gwervyl Mechain, the daughter of Hywel Vychan (1460-1490), expresses the gloomy forebodings of the orthodox at the innovations and irreverence that were creeping in:—

Ir Iesu.

Nid a ir nef gole a goelia—i ddim
Ond i Dduw gorucha
Pan ddel y farn gadarna
Mae'n ffei o ddim ond ffydd dda.

Fo fu dda coffa cyffes—a rhinwedd
A rheini a golles
Cae bawb oi fedd loywedd les
fyned a duw'n i fonwes.

Fo droid yr iaith ar gyfraith yn ddigariad
A llosgi'r llyfre gore a geirie'r haeldad
Del yn y man fal yn dymuniad
An gobaith ganwaith Duw dy gennad.

Yr allor a ddrylliwyd—ar gam
Ag ymaith i taflwyd
Ar lading a erlidiwyd
O gor y Llan y gwr llwyd.

Nid oes mewn cor nag allor na gwin nag afrllad[1]
Ni chair offeren gan un offeiriad
Ni edy'r cedyrn y sy fawr i codiad
Yn fawr yn fychan gwae nhw or farchnad.

Dwyn caregl[2] Iesu or Eglwysi
Heb les ond rhodres a gwir wrhydri
Gwilian etto i sumio ai llwyr siomi
Ai balchder a'i hyder a duw yn i hoydi.

---

like the following: "that no servant or labourer, whether man or woman, shall depart at the end of his term out of his hundred . . . to serve or dwell elsewhere under colour of going afar off in pilgrimage, unless he has letters patent". *Decem Scriptores*, 2,730.

[1] The wafer used in the Mass or Eucharist. Cf. *Numbers*, vi, 15.

[2] Cf. p. 303, n. 1, and 321, n. 6.

Bid siccir ir aberth yn berffaith—drwy'r byd
fal i bu'r hen Gyfraith
fa ddaw'r Lading ddi lediaith[1]
fal i bu'r ioed ben ar iaith.

Mae fy meddwl gwbwl am gobaith
Ar ddiwedd Da perffaith
Cae[l] cymyn[2] Duw gwyn yw'r gwaith
Ar olew[3] a gair eilwaith.

Cael f'enaid yn rhydd cyn y dydd diwedd
yn deilwng adolwg trugaredd
Ag arfau[4] Duw'n gorwedd
Gyda mi a geidw fy medd.[5]

The religious instincts of the old believers were outraged by the new spirit.

For a while a languid and intermittent interest in pilgrimages continued, but demur as men might, nothing could avert the coming change. The principles of the Reformation were at first, but faintly felt in Wales; and the rate of progress may be gathered from such facts as the following report. "As to the indisposition of the people of Wales", wrote Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador at the Court of Henry VIII, "I understand that they are very angry at the ill-treatment of the Queen (Catherine) and the princess (Mary), and also what is done against the Faith, for they have always been good Christians".[6] Thus, while England drifted into a state of apathy, Wales was saved by its old religious instinct which had so much impressed Giraldus: "Populus ipse praestantis cujusdam

[1] Cf. p. 361a, l. 13.

[2] Holy Communion.

[3] First in the Baptismal Chrism, and last in Extreme Unction. Cf. p. 312, n. 3.

[4] Cf. *Ephes.*, vi, 2, but the poetess probably means that she will be "fortified by the rites of Holy Church".

[5] B. Mus., 31, 106, f. 12. Gwervyl was the daughter of Hywel Vychan. She took the name Mechain from the river in Montgomeryshire, and is said to have been buried at Llanfihangel y gwynt.

[6] *State Papers*, Henry VIII, Nov. 3, 1543, vol. vii, No. 1,368.

naturae beneficio semper est ad audiendum promptus". "Viro cuilibet religioso, monacho vel clerico, vel cuicunque religionis habitum praeferenti, cum obviam veniunt, statim, cernuo capite benedictionem petunt."[1] Erasmus Saunders comments favourably on this characteristic in his "View of the state of religion in the diocese of St. David's", in 1722. "Nor indeed", says our author, "could it reasonably be expected in some cases that there should be any (principles or observances of revealed religion) but for the extraordinary disposition to religion which prevails among the people of this country." The sacrifices that the country population made to attend the parish church, the long journeys undertaken for this purpose, their patience in waiting for the itinerant curate to begin, their fondness for singing, wakes, festivals, and funerals, commanded his admiration. He proceeds to deplore the presence of survivals of Catholic ceremonies in the later ages, such as ejaculations to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints, "as if the people had hardly yet forgotten the use of praying to them". "Nay, in many parts of North Wales they continue in effect still to pay for obits, by giving oblations to their ministers at the burial of their friends, to pray them out of purgatory,[2] without which useful perquisites the poor curates would in many places be very hard put to it how to get their livelihood . . . If we have not yet quite unlearned the errors of our Popish ancestors, it is because the doctrines of the Reformation begun about 200 years ago in England have not effectually reached us".

But the work of suppression went on to its irreversible issue. Henry VIII's[3] task in Wales was facilitated, and

[1] *Descriptio Cambriæ*, I, c. 18.

[2] The custom survives in the form of "offerings".

[3] Bluff Harry had made several pilgrimages to Walsingham. On one of these expeditions he walked barefoot from Barsham, a distance of three miles.

the tension relieved, by Welshmen's pride in his line. Welsh Churchmen, as well as laymen, were in favour at Court; for example, Dafydd ap Iorwerth, Bishop of St. Asaph, and at one time Abbot of Valle Crucis. The Secretary of Edward VI's Council was a Welshman actively interested in the cause. The whole race of itinerants, friars and clerks, were eyed askance. A ban was placed on visits to Rome, for fear of intrigue or perversion; and passports were issued pointedly excluding Rome and St. Omer.[1] The accession of Mary gave the old régime a brief respite and a gleam of treacherous prosperity. The Queen restored the Mass, and Parliament decided by a formal vote to return to the obedience of the Papal See; but it is significant that when the fortunes of the Roman Church thus regained the ascendant, no attempt was made to revive pilgrimages in England. In the first year of Elizabeth's reign, the Duke of Feria wrote to his master, Philip of Spain, "The Welsh counties tell the Earl of Pembroke to send no preachers across the marches, or they will not return alive."[2]

The attitude of the several Celtic countries in Britain differed. Ireland remained true to the old system and pilgrimages still continue. Scotland threw off its allegiance and there Puritan bigotry knew no bounds. Wales, once a stronghold of Catholicism, which steadily resisted the encroachment of the new doctrines for sixty years after their adoption in England, Wales, in course of time, yielded to none in iconoclastic fervour. William Thomas, as has already appeared,[3] threw himself with energy into the work of reform. In the person of Williams, a Welsh-

[1] Cf. James Howell's *Letters*, ed. Jacobs, pp. 22, 327; *Harl. MS.* 286, f. 290; Mayor, *Life of Ferrar*, pp. 191-2.

[2] Simancas MSS.

[3] See p. 292.

man served as commissioner among these zealots. The fate of images may be taken as a typical instance of the wholesale destruction. Images were battered down as being an unscriptural novelty, while the cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary was stigmatized as idolatry.

The forces of transition are seen at work in the poems of several bards; one example from South Wales, another from the North, will suffice here[1] :—

YN ERBYN DELW ADDOLIAETH.

"Duw mawr ywch pob dim arall
Duw nerth i bob dyn a all
* * * *
Yn ol hyn ynial henwi
Yn iaith camsyniasom ni
Delwau a phob hudoliaeth
Dig iawn wedd a'n dyn yn waeth
Iawn Dduw a wnaethon yn ddig
A charu coed a cherrig
A delwau a swynau son
Afrwyddwaith rhai Efryddion
Drygwaith Saeri 'r ieithoedd
Di nerth a wnaethbwyd yn oedd
I rhain credason air hawdd
Hwyntau ollawl a'n twyllawdd
Yn iawn pam na wnawn yn ol
Iawn ddau orchymun dduwiol
Y cyntaf yn gwarafun
Ar ail yn ddiofer ynn
Yr ail a guddiwydd or iaith
Yn enwog ragon unwaith
Deall nerth y dull a wnair
Di angof fydd y dengair
Waithion ni wyddon audduw
Oedwn ni weddiwn Dduw
* * * *
Yrhain a rhai a enwyd
A gair yn rhybyddio i gyd
Rhag Delwau a swynau sydd
Rhag adar a rhyw goedydd
Delwau'n wir hudolion ynt
Diddim y[w] credu iddynt."

Dafydd Benwyn (1550-1600).[2]

A still more striking illustration of the religious revolution that was passing over Wales appears in the case of the squire-poet Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llewelyn Vychan's conversion to Protestant principles. It was he who sang the praises of St. Cynhafal and poured forth his soul before

[1] See Appendix.

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. 31,086, f. 180. A native of Glamorganshire and president of the Glamorgan Congress in 1580. The chief poets of Tir Iarll, with the exception of Llewelyn Sion of Llangewydd, accepted the Reformation.

the Rood of Rhuddlan. A ring of equal sincerity pervades the following poem :—

Llyma'r Dallter arferwyd
Delwau oedd well no Duw lwyd[1]
Mab Mair ei 'scl 'uso ymhob modd
Mawrhau Diawl mawr hudolodd
Rhoi urddoliant ar ddeulin
A ddylai Grist[2] i Ddelw grin
ffyniant Gwenfrewi ffynon[3]
ffiaidd a hyll fu'r ffydd hon
Elian[4] offrymwyd eilwaith
Ar Grog o Gaer[5] gorwag waith
felly mewn gwir grediniaeth
F'n hudid cwyn o fyd caeth
Gwelwn cymerwn Gwelydd[6]
Mor ffol yr aethom o'r ffydd
ffydd dduwiol y postolion
Hoffai Dduw kael y ffydd hon

Trown ninau i gyd Byd Bedydd
O ran a pharch i'r un ffydd
A rhown heibio tro trymddig
Ganhwyllau[7] a Delwau dig
Ar turs cwyr[8] ar llaswyrau
A gleiniau[9] o Bre[i]niau brau
Gadwn ein Defosiwn dig
Gyda'r Dwr bendigedig
Gwnaethom ormod pechodau
Galwn Help Duw in glanhau
Ni all Angel pen felyn
Na llu o saint ddim lles yn
Na Dyn byw wedi ei eni
Dan y Nef roi Dawn i ni
Na neb ond un ai Aberth
A roes i ni Ras a nerth.[10]

A similar movement was afoot beyond the Scottish Border. David Lindsay is trenchant and bitter :—

"Of Edinburgh the gret idolatrye
And manifest abominatioun,
On thare feist day, all creature may se,
Thay beir ane auld stock Image[11] throuch the toun.
With talbrone, troumpet, schalme, and clarioun,
Quhilk hes bene usit mony one ir byegone;
With preistis and freris in to processioun,
Sicklyke as Bell was borne throuch Babilone.[12]
Quhy thole[13] ye thame to ryn frome town to town,

---

[1] Holy. [2] Christ's due or right. [3] v.l., ffyddlon.
[4] St. Elian's Well. See p. 397, notes 3, 4.
[5] The Rood of Chester. See pp. 294-299.
[6] Cywilydd. [7] Cf. p. 295, n. 3; 339, n. 11. [8] Torch.
[9] Jewels, gems. Cf. "Heb glain Eglwys Dduw heb glych". Dafydd ap Gwilym.
[10] Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 14,896; 14,906; 14,979.
[11] Of St. Giles, the patron saint of Edinburgh. A graphic description of the last occasion on which the image was carried in procession is given by Knox, *Works*, vol. i, pp. 259, 558.
[12] *Ane dialog betuix experience and ane courteour*, l. 2,508.
[13] Suffer, allow.

In pylgramage, tyll ony imagereis,
Hopand[1] to gett thare sum saluatioun,
Prayand to thame devotlye on thare kneis?

This was the prettike[2] of sum pylgramage;
Quhen Folkis in to Fyfe, began to fon,[3]
With Joke and Thom than tuke thay thare voyage
In Angusse, tyll the feild chappel of Dron.[4]
Than Kyttoke thare, als cadye as ane con,[5]
Without regarde other to syn or schame,
Gaiff Lowrie leif at layser to loupe on;[6]
Far better had bene tyll haiff biddin at hame."

The preponderance of opinion was against images and similar emblems, and nothing could stay the sweeping decrees and tireless, relentless inquisition. Cromwell found willing agents among Welsh lawyers and clergy in carrying out his rigorous designs. It was but natural that Catholics should bewail the desolation that ensued and take a pessimistic view of the future. Still the hope of a revulsion in their favour had not entirely died down in the bosoms of their leaders. A poet of the seventeenth century did but express the hope cherished in their secret souls by many adherents of the old Faith, when he said :—

NI A GAWN EIN BYD YN WYN.

"Nid gwaith y ser[7] sy'n peri i'r byd
Ddwyn rhyfel ym mhob lle,
Ond i gospi pawb ar bryd
Fod wllys Duw o'r ne;
Gorthrwm bechod, gwaith gau ffydd,
Yw diffaith achos hyn,
Diflaswyr hedd yn peri sydd
Na chawn ni ein byd yn wyn.

Pan oedd yr Eglwys yn ei pharch,
A'r allor yn y chor,
Nid oedd na gelyn traed na march,
Nag ofn'r hyd tir na mor;
Pan wnaed o'r fynwes gyffes bur
Wrth 'ffeirad, er yn ddyn,
Maddeuant Duw drwy benyd cur
A wnaeth ein byd yn wyn.

[1] Hoping.
[2] Fr. *pratique*, practice.
[3] Fondle, play.
[4] Belonging to the abbey of Coupar-Angus in Perthshire.
[5] As merry as any squirrel.
[6] Leap.
[7] According to the astrologers.

Pan oedd y Seintie gynt ein plaid,
A'n gweddi atyn' nhwy,
Rhaglyddai'r[1] rheini wrth ein rhaid,
Gan Grist iachaid ein clwyf.
Pan oedd ein hyder ar wen Fair,
A pharch ei ddelwe fyn,
Ag anrhydedd mawr i'r crair,
Yr oedd ein byd yn wyn.

Fe ddaw eto'r ffydd i'n plith,
A'r pengrwn[2] aiff yn scwar ;[3]
Fe ddaw distryw mawr i'w rhith,
Er cym' int ydyw eu bar.
Pan del Brenin dan aur len,
Escobion gym' in' un,
I godi Aberth uwch ei ben,[4]
Ni a gawn ein byd yn wyn.

Pan fo'r T'wysog[5] ar y dwr,
A chanddo lawer cad,
A'r Cymry'n chwenych gida'r gwr
Gael dial cam ei dad ;
Pan fo, fel adar man mewn glyd,
Y Saeson oll ynglyn,
Pan fyddo'r cyngor dall yn fud,
Ni a gawn ein byd yn wyn.

Pan fo'r Ffydd Gatholig Lan,
A'r 'ffeir'ad yn ei wisg
Pan fon ni'n gwrando' fferen gan,
A phregeth gwr o ddysg,
Pan fo'r Eglwys yn ei braint,
A phawb yn gwellaf un,
Yno, trwy gymyn[6] mwyn y Saint,
Y cawn ni ein byd yn wyn."[7]

Gwilym Pugh ai cant., 1648.[8]

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[1] *Rhyglyddau*, merits.

[2] Roundhead. [3] Square. [4] Elevation of the Host.

[5] The Pretender. [6] Communion of Saints.

[7] Llanover MS., seventeenth century.

[8] William Pugh was the second son of Philip ap Robert ap Reinallt ap Hugh Llwyd, of Penrhyn, in Lleyn, and was bred a surgeon. He came to Monmouthshire in or before 1648, in which year he held a Captain's commission in the King's Army at Raglan. In 1660, he was professed as a monk in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Edmund, Paris, assuming, in religion, the name of Charles. The monastic archives describe him as Dom William (Charles) Philip, alias Pugh, a native of St. Asaph. He collected pieces in verse and prose, many of them composed by himself, in two volumes, which are still extant. *Mawl Penrhyn* gan William Pue, gives incidents in the life of his grandfather, Robert Pue, and relates how the said Robert, being hunted for by the pursuivants as a Papist recusant, took refuge in a cave on the mountains near the sea, at a place called Rhiwledyn, in company with other Catholics, one of whom was Dr. Griffith Roberts, Bishop of Cassandra, author of the "Drych Cristionogawl". Cf. Rhosier Smith's dedication of his Catechism (1611), and Griffith Roberts "Drych Cristionogawl" (1585).

Vain hope! Nothing could roll back the tide of reformation. Ruthless repression had done its work. The Test Act was only the first of a series of penal statutes which weighed upon English Catholics for two hundred years. Judicious bribery in the shape of church-lands reconciled the landed proprietors to the new regime; the dungeon and gallows had effectually quelled the spirit of revolt; and the exclusion of sympathisers with the old order from the legislature, all resulted in establishing "Crefydd y Saeson," (the name given to Protestantism) as a national religion. Literature caught the accent and drew its inspiration from the Court; playwrights and bards placed their talents at the service of the New Faith. The Papacy was declared to be "Antichrist", the Roman Church a "Sorceress" or the "Scarlet Woman", St. Peter's Vice-gerent

> Y Ddraig Bab arynnaig bobl,
> Oleu son, o liw sinobl.

So passed away the voices of the old religion and learning.

APPENDIX.

[Page 13, l. 12.]

Life of Colomb Cille.

"Now, three ways there are in which one leaves his fatherland when he goes into pilgrimage; and there is one of these for which no reward is gotten from God, and two for which it is gotten. For when one leaves his fatherland in body only, and his mind doth not sever from sins and vices, and yearneth not to practise virtues or good deeds, of the pilgrimage, then, that is made in that wise, there groweth neither fruit nor profit to the soul, but labour and motion of the body idly. For it little profiteth any one to leave his fatherland unless he do good away from it. For even unto Abraham himself on leaving his own country, and after separating from it in the body, the Lord gave this counsel, and said: *Exi de terra tua*, 'Take thy mind henceforward from thy country and thy land, and let not thy thoughts be turning to it again.' As if what God would clearly say to Abraham were: 'Shun both in body and soul henceforward in thy pilgrimage the sins and vices of the country wherein thou hast hitherto dwelt in the body; for it is the same to anyone, as if he were still dwelling in his fatherland, should he copy in his pilgrimage the custom of his fatherland. For it is not by path (of feet), not by motion of body that one draws nigh to God; but it is by practising virtues and good deeds.'

"Now, at another time, one leaveth his fatherland in desire of heart and in mind, though he leaveth not in body; as happens to the ordained, who spend their lives in their own countries until death, for laymen and clerics detain them in the lands wherein they dwell, because of their great profitableness to them. Since it is not for the sake of the body that they continue in their fatherland, their good will avails them with the Lord as a pilgrimage.

"At another time one leaves his fatherland completely in body and in soul even as the twelve apostles left, and those of the perfect pilgrimage, for whom the Lord foretold great good when He said in the Gospel: 'Take heed of this, for from a few to a multitude ye have forsaken for My sake your country, and your carnal kindred, your wealth and your worldly happiness, that ye may receive a hundredfold of good from Me here in the world and life everlasting yonder after the sentence of Doom'."*

Book of Lismore, Life of Colomb Cille, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. 169.

[p. 147, l. 25.]

The Stradling correspondence throws an interesting light on pilgrimages in South Wales.

[p. 222-227.]

The following poem also illustrates the Italian Pilgrimage :—

Marwnad Mr. Sion Gwyn Ifangc ar ymddiddan rhwng y bardd a phererin byrflin.

Y Bardd

Byrflin henafgwr barflwyd — ath ffeinffon gwiw linon gwlad
bathwisg diethr o beth wyd — ath gwrel ath egoriad

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*This is a paraphrase of the Latin, "Et omnes qui reliquerit domum vel fratres aut sorores, aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem, aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam aeternam possidebit." *St. Matt.*, xix, 29.

Y Pererin

Treiglwr ydwyf trwy oglais — pererin heb hir aros
Trwy ofal fy travael fais — prin ym dy tra pery nos

Y Bardd

Ba fan a rodiaisd ba fyd — gwnnodd y llaeswalld gennyd

Y Pererin

Mewn braw ir aethym mae n brîd — syweth yn eglwys Ievan
i Rufain drwy hir ofid — y dref lle mae r pendefig
y ffordd heb esgid na ffais — . . . . . [1] yn hetruria i trig
drwy r Idal draw a rodiais — gweiddi mae r ffrangcod gwiw-ddysg
Ag yn fynrhafel i gyd — am wr fy howddgar iw mysg
blinfawr ni by lawenfyd — nid oes bentref heb lefain
gan bawb i klown gŵyn heb wedd — ag awr gaeth o fewn lloegr gain
am wr enwog mawr rinwedd — accw n y kwrt mae kann kwyn
syn gorwedd mewn gloewfedd glân — amryw och a mawr achwyn

Bardd

Mae ynny drwy gymry gain — o drais i bawb dros y byd
mwy achos yma i ochain — Mil chwechant aml och iach oedd
am wr gwiwrym mawr gariad — a dau saith nid madws oedd
ban aeth gloes am benaeth gwlad — Pob kalon y meirionydd
Syr Sion ar union ir oedd — Yn ol Sion yn wylaw sydd
Wyn ifangc aeth ir nefoedd — A mawr gwyn ymro Gonwy
— Er moed ni chlowais air mwy
Mae penna mab he[2] . . y medd — Gwyddwn gan faint y gweiddi
ir unig wr o Wynedd — y sydd y ffordd y rhodiais i
Och flined tynged y tir — Golli unben gwall enbyd
Oeri o waed aer o Wedir — ne anhepkor bor or byd
i Dâd barwned ydyw — Ag yn wir rhyfedd gan i
Ag un uwch marchogion yw — i drafel ir fath drefi
Syr Sion klowais resynu — Anamser i bererin
o wnned i walld ŷw own dü — Amled trais ag ymlid trin
iw fam brudd fu mwy i braw — A maint brad nid rhad fy rhain
yn ol i mab gan wylaw — A fwriadwyd i frydain
iw arglwyddes oer gladdiad — Pab a brenhinoedd pybyr
ai eneth wenn ddwyn i thad — Pob gwaith a nerth pawb ai gwyr
iw bybyr frodyr oerfraint — lle i doe y gwyr lledwg ynt
iw chwiorydd a cheraint — Accw'n on ffydd i kynffyddynt
Gwae nhwy orig gann hiraeth — Perigl iwr Pab ai werin
a gwae rhawg am y gwr aeth — Parawd i gwneir difrawd dyn
I minau er nam enwir — Ni edir pan dreiglir draw
Gwae a chan gwae achwyn gwir — benn un heb i wenwynaw
ag aflwydd ddwyn mor gyflym — Rhoe wyr y Pab ar aberth
gwr da i fraint ai gariad ym — Wenwyn i wr yn i nerth
yn oedran krisd doe r tristyd

[1] The MS. is faded here.

[2] Heno (?).

Eisiau fod fal prindodwn
Dywyll i wisg y dull hwn
Tyb rhy arw taw bererin[1]
kwd y fall ffae kae dy fin
Ni wnaer fall yn i ally
Niwed iw fath laned fy
Trwy nerth i fentrio hwn aeth
Y byd o chwant gwybodaeth
heb ysdyried i gwledydd
a gwres pan fae des y dydd
Sion o gnawd sangwyn ydoedd
Dan yr Alp rhy dyner oedd
Nid wna hyn adweinir
Gwr teg ag awyr i tir
Kwrs hwn fal Ickarws oedd
Draw ai fwriad trwy foroedd
Hwn o hyd yn i hediad
Nid aeth fal Dedal i dad
Os aeth ddoe mae syweth ddig
Y karw ifangc oi ryfig
ir Idal beth i rodiaw
F' enaid trwch i fyned traw
Aeth parch dan y dywarchen
Aeth ir arch yn parch an pen
Aeth mwy rinwedd iw fedd fo
A dawn nag sydd hyd yno

ffoulk Prysse ai kant (1600-1640).
Cardiff MS., Ph. 14,962, fol. 626.

[p. 277, l. 19.]

During the Barons' wars, the Welsh were ever ready to seize an opportunity of invading the Marches, and the following song, composed by one of them, or the work of one of the English who took the opportunity of satirizing them, represents a memory of Arthur Gwledig as a sort of a war-cry :—

Trucidare Saxones soliti Cambrenses
Ad cognatos Britones et Cornubienses ;
Requirunt ut veniant per acutos enses,
Ad debellandos inimicos Saxonienses.

* * * *

Venite jam strenue loricis armati ;
Sunt pars magna Saxonum mutuo necati,
Erit pars residua per nos trucidati :—
Nunc documenta data qua sitis origine nati.

* * * *

Praedecessor validus rex noster Arturus
Si vixisset hodie, fuissem securus
Nullus ei Saxonum restitisset murus ;
Esset ei sicut meruerunt in prece durus.

* * * *

Hoc Arturi patruus velit impetrare,
Sanctus quidam maximus, Anglum ultra mare ;
Scimus festum Martis kalendis instare—
Ad natale solum Britones studeat revocare.

* * * *

MS. Vossius. No. 104, fol. 144, of the 13th century, in the Public Library of Leyden.

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[1] The Bard remonstrates.

[p. 294, l. 8.]

AWDL FOLIANT CAERLLEON GAWR.

Creawdwr Gor lliwiawdwr Caerlleon, ailiawdr
Croyw Sailiawdr Croes hoelion
Crist er ei frath croes drwy fron
Caed awch hir cadw uwch Aeron.
Cwmpaswlad ffyniad ffynnon, mel greigiau
Tai seigiau T'wysogion
Cwmpasglod y rhod ar hon
Cwymp sailiawdr cwmpas haelion.

Cwmpasfrig cirig Coron, Caer Audaf
Caer Edward yn Arfon
Croes deiroes curas dewrion
Crist a'th Groes Caer ystwyth gron

Brest wyth wlad bro ystwyth lun
Bro gynnau cerdd brigwyn can
Bid ar y Dref hyd Nef nen
Byd ar nawdd Bedr a Non.

Nawdd Non ar ei bron rhag brad, y Gelyn
Na golwg ddrwg lygad
Nawdd Cirig annedd cariad
Nawdd Dewi doeth nawdd Duw Dad

Nawdd y Tad ar loywlad lin
Nawdd y Mab un wedd Amen
Nawdd hefyd gloyw ysbryd glan
Nawdd trwy nef nawdd tri yn un.

Nawdd Nonn nawdd Caron nawdd Curas,
ei chaer—yn ei chylch o gwmpas
Ymhob arddelw ymhob urddas
Ymhob plwyf ag ymhob Plas

Ymhob Plas gloyw urddas glod
Ymhob man ar llan ar lled
Ymhob glyn a bryn rhag brad
Ymhob cam ymhob cwmmwd.

Rhag rhwd pob cwmmwd rhag cammau
Gwaywdwrfr—Rhag adwyth Planedau
Rhag rhyw gas rhwng cyd drasau
Rhag gwayw na haint rhag gwanhau

* * *

Pum erw win urddas pum rhan Iwerddon
Pum cymmod iraf pum cwmmwd Irion
Pum ynys a dal pum einioes y don
Pum canmol hylwybr pum canmil haelion
Pum einioes y Groes Gaer gron, gwir Greawdr
Pwys cwyr Carw llywiawdr pwys cor Caerlleon.

Brit. Mus. Add. 31,088, f. 536.

Stanzas 3, 5, and 7 are written in the metre known as *Cadwyngyrch*, where the vowel of each rhyme must be different.

[p. 299.]

CYWYDD I'R GROG, HERWYDD I'R AWDWR GANFOD EI LLUN YNGHAERLLEON GAWR.

Y gwr o Gaer, nid gair gau,
Lleon Gawr, o'r llun gorau,
Llarieidd dro llariedd eurdraed,
Llun gwr a'i gorph yn llawn gwaed!
Dodais i'm amcan didaer
Dal yn 'ngho' dy lun Ynghaer,
Ar y groes i wyr a gred
Duw o'th gur y daeth gwared
Bu yn dy fry ben dy fron
Frath gweli, friw ith galon!
Braenu wnaeth a Brenin wyd,
Bron yn waed, Brenin ydwyd.
Ar nef ag ar Uffern, Ion,
Ar ddaear, ar Iddewon;
A Drain Grist (dyro i'n gred)
Waith garw iawn, ith goroned!
Tyst yw'r cwyn, ond tost yw'r coel,
Taro a wnaethwyd y teir-hoel,
Un draw ymhob llaw llywydd
Un yn y traed, mae'n nod rhydd,
Daeth ar y Groes drwy loes drom
Dy waed ir Duw wyd erom
Maddau, er dy grau ar groes,
Ym ynfyd bum o einioes,
A wnaethum er pan fum fab
Yn dy erbyn Duw eur-bab.
Ffoi swydd! llymma nghyffes i
Mae yn wag i'w mynegi.
Fy mryd yw o'r byd i'r bedd,
Fy nuw Ior, fy anwiredd.
Son gynt drwy gusanau gwyl
Merched fy ngham orchwyl
Amledd y byd sydd amlaf
Son a rhai fis Mai yr Haf,
A geirie euog araith,
Gofyn, Medd gwyn, madde'r gwaith;
Dyfalu swrn difawl son
Digio testynio Dynion;
Diawg bum yr hawg a'm rhus
Ag anian genfigennus;
Glothineb, godineb dyn,
A llidio, nid gwell ydyn'
Caf ymwyn cof o amwynt
Cybyddiaeth yw gwaeth na gwynt,
Deuwedd yw balchedd a bod
Yn dwyn baich dyn o bechod,
Ni bu adwyth enbydach,
Na rhoi bryd ar y byd bach;
Duw, fi a edwyn dy fawl
Duw fy Ior, wyf difeiriawl;
Diweddi hwn y gwn gur
Duw ddwylaf am dy ddolur;
Dyrnod a roddaist arnaf
D'ofni wnai Duw fy naf,
Dwyn yddwyfi yn ddyfal
Dolur tost, dulio yr tal;
Gewyn im heb wyn ni bu,
Nag asgwrn, ni chaf gysgu;
I Gaer y daf, ein gwir Dad,
Lle nottwyf, lleon attad,
Gwared i'r enaid gwiwrym
A wnei, a chorph yn iach ym,
F' anwyl er a fo ennyd
Ini o boen yn y byd,
Y dydd y del fy elor
I lowio'r corph i lawr Cor,
Dwg at Saint, er dy fraint fru,
Fy enaid Duw i fynu.

Ifan Brydydd hir, 1450.
Brit. Mus. Add. 14,876, f. 77.

Crist Coron a bron lle braenwyd
Yn glaf-Croywaf braffaf Broffwyd
Croes Duw Ddelw Crist addolwyd
Cor llawn nerth Caerlleon wyd.

William Egwad, 1480.

[p. 299.]

OWDL VOLIANT IR GROC O GAER A THRAETHIAD AM DDIODDEFAINT IESSU.

Y groc erchwyniog
chwenaw or moroedd
yw r amerawder aelaw
y byd oll el i dwyllaw
a annai i lwyth yn i law
Alaeth brynniad lwyth brenin
y gorff ai drin i gorff draw
I waed ai gorff a da i gwnn
a in iachau o win a chann
wedi r brath waedv ar brenn
adwy ir vry ydyw r vronn

I vronn ir a vraenarwyd
ai boen dros i benn ai draed
Iessv n braff y sy n broffwyd
a garo i oes i Gaer aed.

I gaer y gwawn
y gwr a gawn
ac oi weled ef a galw dawn
e ddaw kof o Dduw kyfiawn

Duw mab da Mair : da air Duw hedd
doe o nefoedd Duw yn nofiwr

Oi roi n nofiwr ar un afonn
y doe r llywiawdr i dir Lleonn
or vordonn araf wirdad

Yn vab ysbryd dyd dodiad y bydoedd
bedyd a dyrchafiad
a da i vydoedd y dyfodiad
i gael Iessu y gwiw leissiad
yn oen ruddaur y ni n roddiad
a llew kadarn oll yw keidwad
yn wychaf haelaf gynnheiliad nefoedd
yn uvudd yn wastad
I hwylio i llewych i haul a lleuad
er diwall dayar or dull y dywad
i beri yw hadar o lwybr ehediad
i roi n y dyfredd rywiau nid afrad
er ffrwyth i dylwyth deiliad dan asgen

a gwae Addaf hen hynn goddef ai had
Gadai r Iessu : gydio r oesoedd
gwynn i hynoedd gwyn i huniad
Gradd Dduw gwraidd oedd
gwynnai gannoedd
gann a gwinoedd
gwnn i ganiad

Gwynn niferoedd
gann o foroedd
godi n graddoedd
gyda n gwreiddiad
Cof yw r gwr o vawr gariad
a yddolwn yw dwywlad
yn nef rwydd o naf roddiad
ar y ddayar aur i ddeuad
Yr roddwr anharweddiad
a thalwr o etholiad
yn bellaf at uchaf twng
yn deilwng yn i daliad
Awn i dolwc iawn ydeilad
i borth yn rydd aberth yn rad
elw vu alw i vodd ad dall ai tyllodd
e n breiniodd iawn brynniad

E gair i gaerau y gwyry gurad
ai dir ai dyrau oi dur doriad
e vynn i vannau vo n ofynniad
o ydifeirwch aed yw vwriad
ynghaer y mae r aer uriad nef ai stor
y groc ir dryssor graic aur drwssiad.

Davydd ap Howel ai kant, circa 1480.
Brit. Mus. Add. 14,971.

[p. 299.]

Ir Groes Ynghaerlleon.

Pum gweli n golchi amgylchion moroedd
Amherodr Caerlleon
Peilat yn pwyo hoelion
Pan waedai frath pèn dy fron

Pèn dy fron oedd don wrth dynnu
'r Israel—Nazareth wedi farnu
Pan agores enw'r Iesu
Be deuai 'r llaill bedair llu

Dau lu gwyn a du deau ac aswy
Gyda'n gosod ninnau
Dy draed oll daeth gwaed oth gau
Dwy law oedd dy weliau

Gwiliau nefoedd oedd oi fin, gwayw dur
Ar gwaed ir or brenin
I gadw'r Gwr ar gwaed or gwin
A gwraig y Gwr ai egin

Am egin a llin llawenog, a Mair
Am warr Powys fadog
Os rhifo'r graens rhof ar grog
Fal merched y pum Marchog

Er pumoes cyn y Groes ni bu undydd gwresog
Nag Ebriw yndo'n isel nag wybr yn wresog
Chweched oes arfan croes yn un crwysog gwaedlyd
Y troes Duw hefyd dy wres di'n hafog
Ar war y tir y gedaist bawb or rhai troediog
A rhoi dwr or awyr yn Rhydain iriog
Wybr Ser at hyder tawedog, pedwar defnydd

Ar yd yn edenydd yr edn adeiniog
Or blaenau yn ail ac yn awr cadwynog
Y rhoesti dygn yn rhestri rhedegog
Ar claf rhag anaf aur gemmog, ar gwyr
Er pob llaswyr ac er pibau lluosog

Y gwr y sy'n nhalwrn ar Groes yn hoeliog
Ynghaerlleon yna ynghwyr lluniog
Arfon ir deillion ac yn dyllog, ith ddeau
Ath hoelion ar waedau ath weliau yn wridiog

Eitha dwrn oedd dy fendith wenog
I eilio dynion o wlad enwog
Eli Crist Celi y ceiliog pan ganodd
Neu eli un a laddodd Elen luddog
Eigr o waed Eudaf ar waegau aur gwridog
Un o glwyf a rodded yn wan glaf orweiddiog
Oth ysbinus Tus un Tywysog, or weilgi
Oth weliau drosti aeth i wlad yr ystog

Ai llai yw i farged i llef ar y wirgrog
Yn llaes eroch beunydd na llais yr ych bannog
Llais Mair fadlen wen yn annog, ar Iesu
Roddi aur i fynu or ddaear finiog.
Gwaed da o ryw Owain oi goedtir rhywiog
Gwedi bwrw i chennedl hyd ar goed Brycheiniog
Gwaed heliarth gadarn yn goed deiliog, a wyr
Gwinwydd uwch filwyr Gwynedd a Chyfeiliog
Ir hwn a'th weddio yr hewaith oedd euog
Er ei Goron a rheini yn anrhugarog
Er curiau dy freichiau farchog, moredd diffaith
Er y gwaed a fu unwaith ar y gwr Enwog
Oni red dy wregys yn irwaed dragiog
Ni bu adain asgwrn neb wedi'n ysgog
Na thraed heb ir waed yn wlybrog oth fynwes
Ni bu ddwyles na byddai weliog.

Bedo Brwynllys, circa 1450.
Brit. Mus. Add. 31,094; 14,964, f. 154.

[p. 302, l. 6.]

CYWYDD IR GROG.

"Mi a garwn y gwrhyd
Ar llaw a vedd yr holl vyd
Y Prins ai war ar y pren
Biau'r oesoedd ar bresen
Y grog wyryv ar groyw garreg
Gown tan o Langynwyd teg.

Wyth wyr a gaid ith var gynt
Ac o waetha y gweithynt
Beth welair 'neb a thaliodd
Bieu dy var heb dy vodd
Ni chant elw gyrchu 'n dolwg
Onid dy ras ni ad drwg
Dy vaint ar y koed a vu,
Dros dyn wedi 'r estynu
Am dy orchwyl ath ddwylaw
Mae ebill oer ymhob llaw.
Y traed yn un hynt yr ais
Un hayernyn yn harnais.
Y lleidr oedd glav ath gavas,
Y lleidr oedd ail colli dy ras
Nid ar ysgwyrs mwy dros gov,
A dorres dy gnawd erov,
Er ystynnu 'r groes danad,
Y bu ddrain yn boddi 'r iad.
Dy gorff yn lluddedig wan
Ath holl waed o'i blith allan.

Gwae oi olwg a welas,
Edrych yr wyd nad eirch ras,
Dy ddelw di addolir,
Ar y dur noeth ar drain ir.
Dov wrth waed, a dwvr oth ais,
Ath aelodau oth lidiais,
Iesu grist ar draws y grog,
Y tri gweryd trugarog,
Nev vawr kyn d'eni a vu,
Wedi 'r oesoedd i dyrrysu,
Ba deiran y bu dioryd
Pren traws ar peiriant ar hyd.
Nid llen ond a amkenais
Ir adwy ir ar dy ais
Dayar grev dwvr a nevoedd,
Deunw'ch iaith dyvnach oedd.
Dolur ith vesur a vu,
Drwy boen wedi 'r ubanu.
Pum oes a droes yt yn drwm
Prynedigaeth pren degwm.

Na wrthod bobl dylodion,
A vu ar werth gar dy vron.
Dy bridwerth hyd baradwys
Deigr oth boen ai dwg wrth bwys.
Dy varw lle dov i orwedd,
Dy vyw ath gyvodi o vedd
Duw sul ath gyvodes yn,
O war addav ai wreiddyn
Dy nerth a roist yn wrth raid
Dy vynwes a geidw v' enaid."

Gwilym Tew[1] (1430-1470).

[p. 303, l. 7.]

KOWYDD I JESSU O ABERHODYNI.

"O gwiliwn duw a glan y dwr
awn garbron yn gwir brynwr
Aber a thir heb werth oedd
hodyni afon hyd y nefoedd
duw yn i ddwyd yny ddol
ond anafus vn duw nefol
yr vn gwr orhenw gorav
byth ag affawb ith goffav
oen gwar iawn yn goronog
Jessu or gras ar wir grog
kredwn vaint y kariad yn vu
kur a ffasiwn korff Jessu
noethiawn ievant ith nevadd
i kawn dylen kyn dy ladd
ave lan a folianwyd
ynes i lan Jessu lwyd
Un oed yna yny dinas
eurwaith len ar awr ith las
gwinevo hwyl a gwanhav
glasu i gyd gloes angae
ac ir koweth y gwr kyviawn
godylawd wyd a gwaedylyd iawn
y mae gwaiw alaeth im gweli
oes er nad haws arnati
dy rroi yma yn dy rwymav
ynoeth dros dyn ith dristav
dy boeni hwnt heb un hawl
a dwys driniad dros dyniliawl
a thrwy amarch i thrwymaw
ar vaen drud or ruven draw

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. 31,077, f. 77; 14,967, § 2.

oer ofyd ar yrawr vv
ath ufudded ith vaeddu
dy gynawd oll yn archollion
kyn dy vrath akw yn dy vron
dy iad evraid i dariaw
trwyddewe drain drwyddi draw
y chwjs oedd i chowsay
a wnar kyleifion oi klwyfav
ath ofid o waith efa
o boen ai dug i ben da
dyn a gedwi yn gadarn
da noddva wyd yn nydd farn
yno yn gwbl y mae yn gobaith
Jessu dy ras o dair iaith
kawn xij kyn dioddef
duw dy gnawd ai dvg i nef
i bwyd oedd heb ado vn
a diod oedd dy waed vddun
dan fu ydiw i ninae
un rrodd a hyn yni ryddhav
dy obaith val da beth fv
dy ras un duw ar Jessu
dy garu ith deg irwaed
dy ofyni gan y dafnav gwaed
dy alw i gyd wyl a gwaith
dy ddol bob duw eilwaith
dechrae ath rraddav athwes
i doeth venaid oth vynwes
vyniwedd vyd vynawdd vo
vyned atad venaid eto."[1]

Llyma Gywydd or Basiwn.

Y gwr a roes i wryd
ar bren kroes dros bumoes byd
lle da ydiw lle doded
ywch yn llaw ai vreichiav yn lled
ywch glastir wych eglwysty
hodni ai vraint hyd nef vry
lle mae yw gwarr y garreg
kroes duw yn dwyn krist yn deg
y modd i bv medd y byd
ar wener wedy r ynyd
au weliav yn loewon
duw nef au vrath dan i vron
o thair oel i merthyrwyd
dwy law a dwy troed duw lwyd
i ddvy droed a roed ar un
a gwaed restev a gad drostun
dioddef pan doedd da yddaw
droi dur llym drwy dorr y llaw
drwy ais a thrwy bais i bv
vn dall a gwaew ny dyllu
drwy wall i gyrwyd bob dri
ysbainys nes i boeni
kaisaw gwiliaw pob gweli
ar dduw nef ir oeddwn j
vn mann kyvan nys kevais
heb gael i waed a heb glais
pwy n ol a wnai r gwrolaeth
dan y nef er dyn a wnaeth
i galon au bump gweli
a droes am nef drosom ni
trown ninnav galonnav glan
ataw ag yddaw gweddan
yn pechod os gwrthodwn
yvyddhav a vaddav hwn
awn bob ddav or dym auog
i gael gras dduw gwyl y Grog
lle gwnaeth ef a hwy n llevain
wrthav rhwydd i nerthu r hain
rhoi synwyr yn llwyr ir llaill
o vairw i gwnae n vyw eraill
ychenaid am wrychionen
o vawr wyrth am pyrth'om penn
ynfyd nid wyf am anfon
i dduw hael y weddi honn
enaid y gwir olaini
santaidd vab santaiddia vi
korff y mab rhad sy gadarn
kadwed vi kaidwad y varn
y gwaed oi draed a redawdd
erom ni a rho yn nawdd
oi ystlys var wyllys vy
gael i chwys o gylch jesu
dav ddafn or dioddevain
dagrav hwnn a dwg or haint
gwir dduw dad yn anad neb
gwrando vi ym gwiriondeb
ar wyl i ddaf ir wledd wenn
berffaith heb drank heb orffen.

Huw Kae llwyd ai Kant[1] (1450-1480).

Llanstephan MS. 134, § 5, cf. MS. 6, f. 105., Cwrtmawr, 5f., 501, Brit. Mus. Add. 14,971, f. 60.

[1] Brit. Mus. 31,061, f. 42, in the margin the poem is ascribed to Sion Keri (1500-1530); Llanstephan MS. 117, f. 40; in 31,084 it is attributed to Ieuan Brydydd Hir (1440-1470).

[p. 306, l. 1.]

THE ROOD OF BRECON AND THE ROOD OF LLANFAES.

Credwn bob cwestiwn yn car an creawdr
an cyrchawdr on carchar
creawdr nef credir yn war
croewder duw creawdr daear
Ar lvniawdr pob creawdr cryf
ym hoes Rwym ymhwys a Rof
aber i ni a bair nef
hodni r wyl hed yno ir af
Awn i gyd y byd vn wybodav gwir
at vn gwr an piav
awn glaivon o wann glwyvau
a nychu oll yn iachav
dwyn iechyd gwryd ir gwirion, daifr wisg
dwfrwaed oi archollion
drain a gurwyd draw n goron
dur ar vrys a dorrai r vronn
Iawnfronn archollion vch allawr, vrainiawl
yn vrenin nef a llawr
yn dri enw yn drwy Ionawr
yn ddav am vn yn dduw mawr
Yn vawr nef a llawr ywn llu
yn ddeav vraint yn dduw vry
yn ddyn yny dyddyn da
yn iaith Roeg yn vn a thri
yn dri llvn yn vn yn iniawnwr, trin
yn brenin yn brynwr
yn varw nyd yn overwr
yn vara gwin yn vwyr gwr
yn vyw or bedd yn varw i bu
ar vn prenn er yn prynu
yn vrenin grawnwin ar grog
yn dwysog vn duw Iesu
Iesu vel i bu ai bwys
ar graig cyn myned ir groes
i lvn ai boen ai lan bais
vn llvn yw vo yn llann vaes
Y lvn yw ai ddelw a lan addoled
ai le sy gaerog ai lys agored
i bob ryw vaenor i bob rai vyned
o vewn i wedd i ovyn nodded
a holl vyd i gyd o ged govynion
ai vrthav i ddynion wrth i haiddvned
A geiso trevydd gwiw Iesu trwyved
am ddim a ddalier am dduw meddylied
a wnel yn othrwm yn ol vn weithred
am lawn gyff oesoedd ym lan gyffesed
am dal mwy ddial maddaued, bob dyll
er y gwr ai erchyll er i gwr arched.

* * *

yn aber hodni pob dvn gweddied
y mae lvn addwyn am i lonydded

Er awnaeth erom ar waew na thorred
yn vnion wrthav a ninnav nerthed
am wisgoedd gannoedd ai gwnned, gair bronn
a iachae r claivon ywch er i claved
ynfyd i synwyr iawn vywyd sonied
y mud i ddwedvd amod a ddoded
y byddar gloewaf i bydd ar glywed
y dall al olwg deallai weled
efryddion manion yn myned vel cairw
i vyw ir a mairw oi vawr ymwared
Archwn er i groes erchwyn ar gred
archav da teilwng erchi duw taled
am syr Rys einioes am sy wir sonied
ai vab ai wyron i vyw ai bured
er gloesoedd oesoedd Iased, dilyswaed
o asav cydwaed o Iesu cadwed
crist oesav graddol crist Iesu gwraidded
crist asav bronn waew crist Iesu brainied
crist iawn dal oesoedd crist wyn dilysed
crist iawn drwch evydd crist wynn drychaved
calon marchogion coeled, cur ffrydwaed
cyrff aswy cydwaed corff Iesu cadwed.

William Egwad ai cant, 1480.

Brit. Mus. 31,088, f. 568; Llanstephan MS. 47, f. 14.

[p. 320, l. 4]

LLYMA OWDWL YR IESU O GAERNARFON.

"kaernarfon koron kar euro peblig
kaer pabolon kymro
kaer dryssor kowir drosso
krysswen braff kaer iesu in bro

kroesso berchen bro berchwaed weliawg
Ail afon dros irdraed
kroessor pren ar krys prynwaed
kof frenin nef ka fron yn waed

krisd dy waed nyssaed ywch saint
trugaredd trigarog ddioddefaint
da fu dy friw duw dy fraint
daw erof edifeiriant

braint edifeiriaint mewn bron
am bechod a wna buchedd yn gyfion
gweddi o rad y tad at hon
Eithr ni chyll ith archollion

Dy archollion dyfnion dafnau dwr
a gwaed drwy gur dy weliau
yn prynwr yn oed gwr nid gau
o benyd mawr o boenau

O boenau drud ubain dreth
y pymoes a droes ar druth
o ffwrn oer ryn uffern roth
i oleuni bawb lywenydd byth

Dan dy fendith fyth fy unduw
y drindod a thri yn iowndad henw
tad a mab ysbryd ydiw
ai enwi yn dal yn un duw

Jesu yw yn duw sy yn don yr assen
Maen rassol i ddynion
gwelir i friw ai galon
ar y groes fry ar gras oi fron

Pand kyfion y fron frenhinwedd
ffyniant a ffynon trigaredd
afi un mab ef an medd
afi oen duw a fon diwedd

Drechreuwedd a diwedd dyn
or pridd i rroed prudd yw rran
Mewn bedd hir i bydd hwn
ir prudd ar gro prudda grwn

Or grwn i kodwn kadwed yn prynwr
frenin kreawdr rrwyddged
gelwir y korn yn gweled
olew krisd ar luoedd kred

Da i gred dy weled deulu dewissol
dywssog in prynu
dewissodd oi fodd fu
dewisswn dy ddeau iesu

Jesu gyredig Assen greudon
Jesu fu kynnyrch fessur kanon
Jesu yngolwg saint ai yngylion
Jesu dosdur wrth ffeils dysdion
Jesu rrag kythrel kethron uffernawl
Jesu ran gwrol Jesu roen gwirion

Jesu drwy holi ar dair o hoelion
Jesu grys dyfrwaed ar groes dirion
Jesu gwir bryd gwyr bron bryderu
ar grisd iesu oer gri endussion
bu fryd yr Jesu bu farw drosson
bu fyw yr eilwaith bu fawr ofalon
bu ddifie feddeuaint ar foddion hybarch
J nawdd a gyfarch ar nef gyfion

Bydd krisd ar enfis yn yrail person
ai holl ddioddefaint yn y braint i huon
bydd yno i deulu oi ddeau i delon
bydd fawr yn gofal bydd farn gyfion
bydd ofn gwrolaeth mor greulon goron
ar fyw arigor ar feirw reigion
er brad a noded bryd anudon
er dy rwym iesu drwy ymrysson
Er dy gerydd grisd er dy goron
dwg einioes gofys ith gyfion wyddfa
er dy grys goffa ar y groes a gwaywffon

Er dy ddwys gablyd ath ddisgyblon
er ymroi i dreisswyr a marw drosson
er dy ddwylo yn gleissiau dolur gloession
er dy dri syched drw achossion
dod iesu i deulu delon holl gred
i gwtwyf a gwared i glaf gwirion

Er y radd a roddaisd i wryddon
er y fan i deuthosd ar fendithion
er dy bumil oll o archollion
pedwarkant trugain pump ar gofion
kadw ni ith fryd er dy fron ferthyr
a thwr ag eryr a threr goron."

Sr Gruff ap lln eraill ai galwe
Sr gruff fain ai kant.

Cardiff MS., Ph. 23,453, f. 745.

[p. 342.]

IR VENDIGEDIG ARGLWYDDES VAIR VORWYN YMHEN'RYS.

"Gwyr y deml ae geiriau dig
A roedd ormodd o ddirmig
* * * *
Miragl waith ymrig y lan
Magu Iesu am gusan
pa ben' biau pob ynys
pen' i wyr hwn yw pen' rys
y mrig craig i mae eirw crych
yn iach un anaf ai chwenych

gwin gwyn drwy r rhywyn a rhed
gwyr lladd gwaewyr a lludded
llawer un ir llawr a aeth
a dynneist oe vudanaeth
heind y werin yn daros
or wylo n iach yr ail nos
vai gloch wrth vagl a charr
e hun i gannu n gynnar
o gyr pwys y gwaew or pen

iachau ereill or chwaren
dy wilio r is dan liw r od
a chael Aberth a chlybod
delw veir nid dilavurach
no mair o nef am roi'n iach
y marn Duw mair yn dy wart
o ben' rys derbyn risiart
vn pryd awr yn prydery
yn dy vreich mae'r un Duw vry
yr awr i myner air maith
vy mrenin vy marw unwaith
maer amser os pryderaf
mair yn nesav meir nos haf
man' av dynol mawn d wyneb
am vn a wnaeth mwy no neb
a man wylyd mae'n olef
am dy nerth ym dwyn i nef
dwywol rhwng Apostolion
i dda'r haul or ddaear hon."

* * * *

Risiart ap Rys ai Kant (1480-1520).
Llanstephan MS. 164, f. 157.

Mae nawnef mewn vn ynys
mae hynn o rad ym henn Rys
mae dynion yma dynnir
Mair oth wyrth hyd mor a thir
yna i dauthost vendithfawr
ir lle hwnn or nef ir llawr
dy ddelw bob dydd a welynt
yn vyw a gad o nef gynt
mawr yw rif mewn ysgryven
mwy rif dy wrthau Mair wenn
oes mam iesu ym vnair
oes mae merch Sioasym Mair
morwyn deg y marn digawdd
merch Anna wenn Mair ych nawdd

* * * *

llawer dyn lle'r wyd unair
o varw ae n vyw yn dy vronn vair
[ve] ddaw atoch yn llawen
[Ma]rw a'u wisg ywch Mair wenn
[ni ddaw] mud yth weddi Mair
[na ddywaid cyn penn] ddauair
o daw llef y dall yvydd
e wyl y dall olau dydd
o daw angall au dynged
e ddaw gras iddaw oi gred
o daw byddar at arall
e glyw llef o glwyf y llall
vae glaf ar vaglau ovwy
o gor Mair ny ddygir mwy
ych delw i jachau dolur
chwi a jachewch waew a chur
mawr yw maich Mair am jechyd
mwy na baich mwya ny byd
dyn a ddalwyd dan ddolur
vyn dwyn poen wyf yn dan pur
mawr yw m hoeni Mair ym hynys
mawr bown rydd Mair o benn rys
y bardd iach o brudd iechyd
a gano i vair gwyn i vyd
ny wyr un er i rinwedd
ar ba awr ir a ir bedd
af a cherdd i ovy ch urddas
a chwyr ywch lle harcha ras
Mair yth ras mwy wyrth yr hawg
mi a erchais un marchawg
oes hir a gras syr Gai'r Ward
Jesu roed i syr Edward.

Lewys Morganwg ai Kant (1500-1540).
Llanst. MS. 47, f. 109; 134, f. 26; Merthyr MS., f. 38.

[p. 342.]

Ode to Our Lady of Penrhys.

Ynys yw penn Rys yn Rwyn y phorest
bara offeren a dwr swyn
y penna rhoed enw penn Rys
ym hob llys ag ymhob llwyn
or llwynav gorav i gwydd
y wyry vair ai harferodd
y wenn weddw nef winwydden

brenin hen y brenhinedd
Hiledd brenhinedd o had y nawradd
yn eiriol dros bob gwlad
y byd a ddyg yni baich
ymhob braich mae r mab Rad
Y mab Rad yw fymader
am credo ef an credir
ar wyry vair ny nacair call
yw deall nef a daear.
a holl ddaear war a holl werin cred,
yn credy r bara ar gwin
yno i maent yn cael enw mair
a mab mair ai ymhob min
Y min y Riw mae delw ymhenn Rys
y verch wyry vair ych aros
am hoedl vy n nrem ai hadwaen
ywr maen sy ar i mynwes
yny mynwes, Iarll a borthes, aurllew barthyd,
oddiar y grog, i bu vaichog, heb aviechyd,
iaith gabriel dawel yw n diwyd annerch
am eni gwennferch i mae n gwynfyd.
ar dail ar y dwr, vamaeth Emprwr, vy maith ympryd
wrth lan gyffes, galw om hanes, gael ymhennyd
offrwm prif vn rif o eirw Rhyd graean,
o aur ag arian [ar i] gwryd.
honn yn dangos, yn gnawd effros, ag yn diffoyd
hollweddiaf, Iav a hynaf, o hynn o vyd
holl ras a gavas a gyvyd, glewder
[a] holl le iawnder a holl lendyd
i phaderav am y pwysav, a im pysyd,
ysgawnhae baich, oi llaw ai braich, nyd llai i bryd
a llaw i mab, yn pab, Rag ofn y pyd, drysom
yn cadw arnom yn cadernyd
Af i benn Rys, yn vy vn crys, Rag ofn y cryd
ag ar vynglin, oed parerin, dapr o wryd
y wenn vair a bair na bo hyd y penn
o nef coloven ynof glevyd
ny bydd claf anaf ddewiniaeth gan vair
vorwyn a sy vamaeth
y dyn a vwriwyd o nerth,
i Riw serth ymhenn Rys aeth.
ymhenn Rys arail mewn Ros irwydd
i di anevir pob dyn y vydd
o gailw oi galon, ve wyr merthyrion
agored llawfronn, gwr dall efrydd.
enwi priodas a wna prydydd,
i Barti vair bwriad da vydd
oi dwylaw n daliad, ir ais agoriad
i diolch wead odl a chywydd
ai llun yny phall, i wellae n phydd
i iachae Rannav oi charennydd
ai mab ar i dwrn, medd swrn a sydd
ymyl i hadain, mal ehedydd
Iawn ym om pader, ym laverydd

igainwaith baunoeth gannwaith baunydd
om credo credaf, hyd gwanwyn a haf
cynhaeaf gauaf, a thragywydd
eneidiav r saint ar vn duw sydd
a gan olaini gan lawenydd
vn i nef a ddel, ny ddaw o lle ddel
ag ny ddaw oerfel, ag ny dderfydd
Od a venaid yn hen val hydd
Ef allai varw vy llaferydd
Ar Iesu rasol ar vair mae vairiol
vyned yny Rol veneid yn Rydd
i vair i harchaf gadw syr Davydd
ai demel ai einoes o wlad maelienydd
i wella i allu, ar win ai rannav
ag oi vath ny bu, ag vyth ny bydd
ny bydd dial na malis
nyd ymaifl dim [ai] afles
ny ad Ranndir y drindod
dyrnod y Rod ar benn Rys.

Gwilim tew ai cant, 1460.[1]

Pan aeth at Fair ai ffynon ym Mhen Rhys
am Iachad o'r cryd a'r mwyth.

[p. 343.]

"Y vun deg a vendigwyd
vry o nef Mair vorwyn wyd ;
dy ddelw di [a] addolir
loew deg yn jlolev dir ;
dala wennfair dy lawnfaich
duw dy vab da yw dy vaich
dy vaich pan vjost vaichog
ywr gwr a vy ar y grog
vnbennes pan vy r jesu
ar dy vraich da vaich a vv
boed yt ddwyn gyr llaw dwyneb
gallv yn wir gwell na neb
duw nef a vegaist yn vau
duw vrenin ar dy vronnav
gwyddyd laisaw kyn goddef
lwli noeth lili o nef
kysgv a wnae jesu wynn
ythwylaw pan vy thilyn
ny wnai r vn wrth ddyhuno
a wnai dy vab ond evo
chwerthin arnad oi gadair
chwarav n vwyn ywch wirion
Vair
dy ateb lle i dwetyd
a wnai grist ban vu ny gryd
duw wyddiad kyn dioddef
i doi a ddoeth duw oedd ef
pan yth gad o lwyth adam
os da verch a gas dy vam
pan gad jesu ny gadair
os da vab a gevaist vair
pan ganer yr offeren
af a chwyr at [y] verch wenn
kwyr ar vy llun vy hunan
a chwyr yn dorch riain dan
lle bwyf i yn gweddiaw
gwelir kanwyll hir ym llaw
dan llef ir wy yn dwyn llin
yn olav ar vy naulin
archodd dy vam ym erchi
archau swrn a erchais j
mae dwy vawr arch ym duw vry
ym pader a phump wedy
ave i vrenhines nevoedd
Maria yn wir morwyn oedd
datgan ymddiddan i ddwyf
gredy r dauddeg ir ydwyf
dy vawr garv hv hoewrym
darllain dy bylgain i bym
a gwrando n graff pan gaffwyf

[1] B. Mus. Add. 34,077, f. 191 ; Llanover MS. 54, f. 147 ; Llanst. 47, f. 18.

dy fferen Vair wenn ir wyf
gosber kynnar a garaf
gweddi oi gwmpli a gaf
ar y gwydd baenydd heb au
yth ennwaf ym jaith jnnav
ny chaf yn ol dy voli
o Vair am vy llavar i
na byw yn orwag ny byd
na chyvoeth yn jach hevyd
[ond] jachav yn ol mabolaeth
enaid a chorff nyd ywch waeth.

Howel Swrdwal (1430-1460).[1]

[p. 343, l. 1.]

"Englynion a Wnaed i Domas Cromwel Arglwydd Siawnsler pann dorred i benn ef."

Tair // C // pedair // pedair // C // a bair son yn Lloegr
A llwgr, ar wirion :
A thair ffin, a bair ffynnon,
gwae di or // C // ac or son
Di rwydd ith naethbwyd, di rait,
dy farn a fu gadarn gynt :
ag yn niwedd dy feddiant
Adde r brad Iddew brwnt
Di rent ith naethbwyd di rwydd-doe gidwm
dy godiad yn arglwydd
a heno trymgo tramgwydd
Cromwel heb na sel na swydd.

Howel ap Gruff ap Ithel ai cant.

[p. 353, n. 1.]

Cowydd Moliant I Vordeyrn Sant Anrhydeddir yn Nantglyn.

"Y Sant nefol addolwn
y styr help y stor yw hwn
mordeyrn aur durn dad
Barwn hendir Brenhindad
Wyr wyt fry euraid dy frig
[da] wladwr Cynedda wledig
or un waed o ran ydoedd
Dewi a thi da waith oedd
Vn or tair llin Brenhinol
teyrn wyt tan air hwy' nol
dy waith ydoedd wasneuthu
Duw er yn fab dyran fu
pennaeth llawer oth geraint
ganmol swydd vgeinmil Saint
Trwyr mor heb gelu r helynt
yn lle gwir i enlli gynt
Cof ydyw y cyfodes
sarn oi blaen siwrnai bu les
gwedi cau cyngau fal cynt
mor oi hol mawr o helynt
[y] daethost ni buost bwl
duw fo wyddiad dy feddwl
ar dy farch euraid ei fwng
da ei wyllys fu dy ollwng
Benrhaith at dy gymdeithion
rhyd brig y dwfr dilwfr don
cloch wyd ni wnaeth gwlychu
carn dy farch er crynned fu
Da fab yn arwydd dy fod
y maer henw or mor hynod
buost ban ddaethost ieuthydd
blaencr a chonffessor ffydd
da fu dy gof [ath] ofeg
ymhlith dawn o Enlli deg
ith gartre dan y nefoedd
ac i ddyffryn Nantglyn oedd
lle maenol anianol nerth
ty gwiw gwbwl teg aberth
ath fedd [yn] lle ith ddi weddwyd
ac wrth fur o gwrthfawr wyd
ath lun ni bu waith lanach
o glwyf a wnai glaf yn iach
Mordeyrn hil Edeyrn lwyd
ymwaredwr mawr ydwyd
Dyn a ddelo dan ddolur
ith dy o fewn gwaith dy fur
pob efrydd claf ac afiach
o druan wedd a dry'n iach

[1] Llanstephan MS. 47, f. 151 ; Brit. Mus. Add. 14,971, f. 121 ; Merthyr, *Y Llyvyr Hir*, f. 31.

gwr wydi roi gwared rhydd
torri gwewyr tragowydd
byddair ni chlyw air na chlod
gloywbur a wnayd i glybod
Rhoi'r dall olwg ni phallai
rhoi'n ei bwyll yr hwn ni bai
Rhodd nid bychan ychwaneg
rhoi'r mud yn doydyd yn deg
mawr rasol ith ganmolwyd
meddig bendigedig wyd
A ddel oblegid ei dda
ith demel ath dy yma
ni ddwg haint da fraint yw fro
flwyddyn anifail iddo
llu a redant lle'r ydwyd
llawn ddawn ei llawenydd wyd
llawer rhodd fellu'r heuddi
o gwyr teg ac aur i ti
mur gwlad ai muragl ydwyd
mowr deyrn nerth Mordeyrn wyd
Cadw dy blwyf rhag clwyfau
cyfion a rhentolion tau
pan elom ni ddygom dda
bid amod or byd yma
dwg ni oll diogan wr
i dy dduw dy weddiwr."

Dafydd ap lln ap Madog (1400-1450) ai cant.[1]

[p. 353, n. 1.]

Kywydd Kawrda.

"Mab a Roed mwya brawdwr
i Degav gynt ag yw gwr
korff hir kywir offeren
kawrda kyff karadog hen
ny wnaeth hwn anoethineb
wyr Einon vrth orn i neb
Awdur kynheddfaledig
hyd y nef fry a duw n vrig
penn Raith ag or saithwyr
pennaf or saint pan vo r syrr
glân i Roed golaini rhain
glaw a thravael gwlith Ryvain
dwr a ddauth dros diroedd âr
dyddiav gweddiav daear
y dailwng broffwydoliaeth
or dwfr oer ar Gawrda vaeth
tri chrair a wnair ar i nod
a thri henw Athro hynod
kawrda penn gorseddfa r saint
kadfarch a Chynfarch vnfaint
gwilia i ddelw a goelian
gwiliwch i lyfr ai glôch lân
gwelwch bawb och amgeledd
a chwyr byth ewch ar y bedd
mae mann i gamv mwnai
i bawb ar hwn i bob Rai
gwelais hydd mewn glwysydd hir
maen mawrda y min mordir
gwelwch y vron yny gylch vry
ywch grwndwal ef ach gwrandy
pob kymro a glywo r glôch
o ddavty a ddaw atoch
a vynno help i vyw n hir
i berechwon ve bwrir
gorav nawdd-dir ar dir da
llen ag ardal llann Gawrda
gorau or holl gaurav yr hawg
yw kaer wydr mab karadawg
duw a Roddes dir yddaw
Daniel au wyr dan i law
mae Iesu yny kymiswn
mae gair y tair Mair at hwn
llyna blwyf llawen i blaid
lle brainiol llv barwniaid
Tythyn ny wna n erbyn neb
tir kawrda twr kywirdeb
teg yw anreg ty y gwr
wrth ddangos wrthav vngwr
bwrw a wnaf ir ffyrfaven
bwrw arch aur ir borth wen
troi enaid vn ir trwn da
twr y deml i troid yma
llawen yw nef wenn i vod
awdur vnduw ar drindod
llwyddodd a vynnodd y vo
llwyddiant ir tenant dano
lle da byth Rag llid a bar
llaw dduw dros i holl ddaear."

Howel ap Rainallt (1460-1490) ai kant.

Llanover MS., *circa* 1610, in the handwriting of Llewelyn Sion, of Llangewydd, Glamorgan; Cwrtmawr 12, f. 524; Llanstephan 47, f. 303; 134 § 92.

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[1] Cardiff Free Library MS., *circa* 1674. Llanstephan 167, f. 339.

[p. 354, l. 12.] CYWYDH EINION VRENHIN SANT.

Y crevydhwr cryf adhwyn
aur yw dy vedh er dy vwyn
Einion vawr vnion vreiniol
vrenin ath werin yth ol
dawnus vab owein danwyn
dywysog llaweurog llyn
wyr awn a chwyr yn iachau
Einion yrth yn vn wrthiau
wyr Cunedda araf wyd
Elidir rinwedhawl ydwyd
mae it eglwys vawr yn llawr llyn
mwy yw 'r adail ymrydyn
Sanctuar Einion Sant riniaw
sy'n y bar dros Hwmbar draw
mawr anrheg yth anrhegwyd
wrth vor rudh mor wyrthvawr wyd
Gwnaethost mewn dwy wlad adail
gorwedh ar Wynedh yw'r ail
mae Tudwal yn dardal di
ath winllan wrth borth Enlli
gorphenaist gaer y fynon
a thir rhydh y wneuthur hon
deugain saer yth dy gwyn sydh
deri a main, o dri mynydh
dy aur lle r wyd yn gorwedh
a roed o Fon ar dy vedh
dynion sy'n cael daioni
dydh tal yw pob dydh y ti
pob Christion gwirion a gwâr
ti au cyrchyt or carchar
dy Eglwys y gynhwys gwan
dy gor yw doi ag arian
dy lvn a dalai wynedh
iechyd y vil vwch dy vedh
ar aur or blaen ag or ol
ar dy grys wr da grasol
bychan gyda'r darian dav
gan allor yn ganwyllau
Holl wragedh Gwynedh ai gwyr
yth barth gydath aberthwyr
ath nawdh dir ath neuadhdai
y bawb y rhoir y rhai
ath blwyf urdhasol ath blas
ath ardhwyr cant vyth vrdhas
ath oror ath dhauerydh
or mor i Soch tir mawr sydh
mordir a phlasau morwrdeg
meibion merchet tirion teg
gwylia d'orsedh galw deir sir
a chadw hwynt mewn iechyt gwir
dy dhelw di adholant
ag yn y cyrph ugein cant
dy goron deg a eurwyd
ath glog mor drugarog wyd
dy rad gydath wlad ath lu
Dy ras gerbron duw r Jesu.

Howel Rinalld (1460-1490).

Peniarth MSS. 225, f. 142, 97, f. 187; Llanstephan MS. 47, f. 298, 133, § 1,211; Cwrtmawr MS. 12, f. 504; Merthyr, f. 109.

[p. 538, l. 6.]

Heb lyswyr heb gwyr heb gweirio-y marw
Heb ymorol am sensio
Heb ganu clul heb gwyno
Heb anrrydedd ar i fedd fo

Heb gyffes heb les heb ylusen—gweiniaid
Heb geiniog yfferen
Heb ragorieth gwaeth i gweithen
rrwng geirie llyg a gwyr llen.

Heb ludw heb ddelw heb yddoli—heb groes
Heb na gwres na goleini
Heb flodau gwydd dydd difri
Heb Rawys in Eglwys ni

Heb organ heb gan heb gist—heb olew
Heb gelu bod yn anghrist
Heb aberth iawn ddawn ddidrist
Heb ffydd heb grevydd heb Grist

Heb eglwys heb gynnwys gweiniaid—heb dda
Heb weddi heb enaid
ai on kof eilwaith in kaid
awn i fal anifeiliaid

Heb gyffes na lles mewn llan—na devod
heb ddwyfol ymddiddan
gwn ffiaidd ddull gan ffydd wan
fynd Tuw oll on Tai allan.

Ni wn i pwy ai cant.[1]

[p. 451, n. 1.]

Mr. G. G. T. Treherne has at my request kindly furnished me with suggestions of a possible pilgrim's track from Llanfihangel Abercowin (see p. 372) via Llanddowror to Tavernspite (or Whitland) and so on to St. David's. (The numbers and spellings of the field-names are taken from the Tithe Apportionment.)

Immediately to the south of Trefenty Farm House (an ancient settlement with earthworks and traditions and hard by the "Pilgrims' Church") is a ferry (formerly a ford) across the river Taf to a roadway on the south bank of the river. This road leads up the hill in a south-westerly direction and crosses the High Road from Laugharne to St. Clears, at about half a mile from the ferry and close to the modern public house "The Smiths Arms". Immediately after crossing the High Road, it passes on the south a field (No. 544), "Park Vellin Gwint," and adjoining this field on the west side of it is a field (543), "Park y Groes". The road then enters on the farm "Grazeland"[2] (Crossland on the O.S. map) with the farm Cresswell on the right (or N.). A field on Cresswell Farm and immediately to the N. of the homestead (307-11) is called "Park Main Isaf". In about three-quarters of a mile the track passes to the south of a field (357) on Maesgwrda Farm called "Park Fynnon Saint," and in near proximity on the N. are three fields called respectively (363) "Park y groes," (377) "Park y crwys" and (362) "Park Meini Llwydion". On the adjacent farm of Maes y grove (N.) are fields called respectively (149) "Parc cerrig Llwydion," (150) "Y lan hwnt Uchaf," (151) "Y Lan hwnt," (152) "Park Yett y groes," and (153) "Park fron main". Retracing our steps from the field (357) "Park Fynnon Saint," we come (at a place called "Brynbanc" on the O.S. map) to a parting of the ways and find a trackway leading N. and N.W. *via* Bwlchnewydd and Tadil to four cross roads (N. of Maesgwrda homestead) and enter Maesllan Farm. One of the four roads, viz., that leading N.N.E. from the junction, forms the boundary between Laugharne and Llanddowror parishes, and south of the junction leads to the road along which we had retraced our steps. The field (152) "Park yett y groes" occupies the N.E. corner of the crossing (from which it may derive its name?). After traversing Maes Llan Farm the roadway leads in about three-quarters of a mile to Llanddowror village, crossing the farm Plas y Bestran and passing immediately to the S. of the Rectory House towards the Church. Just before reaching the Rectory, it meets on the right or north the Old Road from St. Clears to Llanddowror, and shortly afterwards (in about 150 yards) is interrupted by the modern high road from Carmarthen to Hobbs Point. On resuming its course it leads down to an old ford across the brook Hirwaun (a tributary of the Tâf River). On the left, just before reaching the Ford, it bounds a field to the immediate

[1] The author published his poem anonymously—for a very good reason.

[2] In a Deed of 1746 "Grazeland" appears as "Craisland". "Craseland" is given in Rice Rees' "Essays" as an extinct ruined Chapel under Laugharne.

west of the Churchyard in which are the two so-called "Pilgrims' stones". After crossing the Ford it appears to have traversed the field (44)[1] "Parc y Castell" (its course is still clearly traceable), and leaving the earthwork or mound (which gives the field its name) on its immediate right, joins the existing old road from Llanddowror to Tavernspite. This old road, which locally is variously known as "The Roman Road" or "The Old Road," crosses the high ground called Brandy Hill to Tavernspite,[2] and for two miles forms a straight boundary line between the parishes of Cyffig on the N. and that of Eglwys Cymin on the S. At Tavernspite the so-called Roman Road joins the road coming from Laugharne and district via Parc y cerrig Sanctaidd (23 Llansadurnin) and Eglwys Cymin, which suggests another Pilgrims' Track. The "Holy Stones" in the field to which they give their name consist (in part) of a large menhir (broken in twain) with two wheeled crosses inscribed, and a circular stone with cup or socket, which suggests the base or pedestal of a mediæval cross. In and around the circular and encamped churchyard of Eglwys Cymin a grass-grown pathway is traceable which is known traditionally as "The Pilgrims' Path". Where it leaves the Churchyard on the western side (the side towards Tavernspite) is a spring (now dry in summer) at the foot of a thorn tree to which tradition ascribes sacred uses.

There is an old trackway leading out of the Llanddowror Tavernspite Road in a north-westerly direction immediately after passing "Parc y Castell" which suggests a direct track *via* the Pale Farms (at Great Pale is a traditional ruined Chapel) to Whitland Abbey. This track or a portion of it has been described to me by an old inhabitant as "The Frenchman's Road".

The Rev. W. Davies, Vicar of the Pilgrims' Church, writes :—

"With regard to the old road to St. David's no doubt there was a landing place just opposite the old church. This theory is supported by tradition as well as by traces of the old track, though the road from the church to the river has now disappeared altogether. The old Parish map shews that a road led from the old church to meet a direct road from Trafenty to the landing place."

[p 489, l. 12.]

The influence of religious centres and gatherings on the growth of material civilisation and culture is a marked feature in the history of the East. Caravan routes in Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, Phoenicia and North Africa were closely connected with the worship of Ammon. Babylon, the emporium of the Indo-Asiatic trade, fostered the cults of Baal and Mylitta. Bactra, the meeting-point of the trade routes from Eastern and Inner Asia, was a centre of the old Persian religion. To this day Mecca, Mesched and Rum, are the points on which pilgrims and caravans converge. Tyre, the mart for three continents, was associated with the worship of Melcarth and Astarte. The form of devotion mostly favoured in the case of each of these deities was a personal presentation of offerings. Herodotus speaks of six yearly national festivals in Egypt, fulfilling the two-fold purpose of trade and religion. The roads leading to them were, at important points, adorned with images and shrines, while on the sea coast temples were erected at which the pilgrim and merchant might make offerings. If Religion fostered Commerce, Commerce was not unmindful of the obligation, and raised shrines and temples at commercial centres. The founders of the "world-religions" emphasised this close relation between civilisation and religion. The Jewish law-giver enjoined pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Mohammed to Mecca. Hindus flocked to

[1] This No. 44 is in Llanddowror Parish, all the other numbers are in Laugharne Parish, with the exception of "23 Llansadurnin".

[2] Tavernspite was an Hospitium of the Cistercian Abbey of Whitland, situated in the Taf valley three miles to the N.E. of Tavernspite.

Benares and Ellora, and Tartars to Owrga. The Pythian, Nemean, Isthmian and Olympic games of Greece not only conduced to trade but made for peace and the comity of nations; the Eleusinian Mysteries, celebrated twice a year, were occasions for interchange of courtesies between Greek states. Turning to Italy, we find the Temple of Voltumna at once a rendezvous and a market for the twelve tribes of Etruria, and the shrine of Ferona on Mount Soracte a rallying-point for Etruscans, Sabellians and Latins. The union between trade and religion in heathen and Christian lands is attested by survivals in language of several expressions derived from Asia, e.g., in the Hungarian *vasárnap*, Sunday is "market day". The German word, *Messe*, also by its double meaning, mass and fair, reminds us to this day that these meetings were held *in choro et foro*.

The unifying influence of pilgrimages in the East cannot be over-estimated. They also transplanted the seeds of Brahmanism and Buddhism to foreign soil. Through the medium of Persia they brought old-world creeds face to face with Christianity.

NOTES.

[p. 48.]

Foreign pilgrims to St. Patrick's Purgatory travelled from Lombardy, Florence, Lucca, Rimini, Hungary, France, Spain and Holland, 1400-1600. Gilbert, *Viceroys of Ireland*, 212-13; Bellesheim, *Gesch. der Katholischen Kirche in Schottland*, i, 581; Hollinshed, *Chronicle*, vi, 36; *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 1239 n, 1335; *Cambrensis Eversus*, i, 150, 153-4. German noblemen and merchants came to visit the Purgatory. *Calendar of State Papers*, A.D. 1572, 479; 1579, liv, lv, 169-71.

[p. 52, l. 10.]

A certain Irishman named Kilbride who went to the East on pilgrimage, having been tempest-tossed for three months, composed a song on his experiences: "Let us take a hardy course: these clouds are from the north-east; let us then leave the foothills of the stormy peaks of Greece, and strive to make Damietta. Dark are these clouds out of the East, that from Acras (Acre?) come in our teeth. Come, O Mary Magdalen, and altogether clear the sky!" O'Grady, *Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum*, 336.

[p. 61, l. 9.]

Bristol is described by Hakluyt, i, 315, as "a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course . . . from Ireland." Irishmen flocked to Bristol; in 1437 an order was issued that no Irishman "born within the country of Ireland should in future be admitted to the Common Council." Little, *Red Book of Bristol*, i, 86.

[p. 64, l. 16.]

For the communications between Ireland and Gaul in the earliest part of the Christian era see Zimmer's paper in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xv. *über direkte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland.*

The chief harbours of Ireland did not front England, but the Atlantic.

[p. 117, n. 3.]

Henry I on Welsh bravery. A Venetian envoy to the English Court reports that the Welshman is "poor, sturdy, adapted to arms and sociable (conversevole)". *Venetian State Papers,* 1531.

[p. 129, l. 20.]

The following permit illustrates the style affected by prelates in Wales, while on pilgrimage: "A.D. 1431. John, Bishop of Bangor, 7 persons, 8 horses and harness, to visit the Holy Sepulchre in performance of a vow".

[p. 223.]

The vessels engaged in the pilgrim traffic were variously named, *bargæ, craieræ, balingeræ,* and *naves.*

[p. 230, l. 4.]

"Tadhg the black, son of Brian Mac Gilla Coisgle, died . . . a man of great consideration in Ireland and in Italy; for it is he that exacted the eric of Cuchulain from the Connacians in Rome." *Annals of Ulster,* iii, 217.

A hospital for the Irish existed in Genoa before the English settled in Ireland. Schultze, *Geschichte Mittelalterlichen Handels,* 85.

[p. 232, l. 8.]

For the flight of Irish recusants, *see* Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing.* Ch. xii.

[p. 232-3.]

These efforts on the part of Welsh exiles to further the knowledge of Welsh remind us that a banished Irish scholar printed an Irish Grammar in Rome. O'Grady, *Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum,* 52.

[p. 233, l. 20.]

For Irish scholars in Rome, *see* Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland,* 244-5.

[p. 233, l. 20.]

It was through Rome that the Irish heard of the English disasters in the French wars. *Annals of the Four Masters,* p. 971, n. (1450?).

[p. 251.]

The Constable of the Tower of London had the right to levy a toll of six pence on pilgrims to Compostela.

In the Middle Ages a pilgrimage to Compostela was imposed on those who assumed an inheritance.

Photograph. Ferdinand and Isabella probably devoted a portion of the treasure accruing from the Spanish discoveries in the New World to the erection of the Hospicio de los Reyes (or Pilgrims' Hospice), just as Columbus expended the first fruits of his exploration on the Duomo at Pisa.

[p. 251, l. 16.]

The Franciscan de Rubruquis, when sent by Louis IX to Christianize the Mongols of Siberia, found among the Tartars a Nestorian monk, who contemplated a pilgrimage to Compostela. F. Molina in his *Description del Reyno de Galicia,* A.D. 1550, speaks of the Slav pilgrims to the shrine.

There are frequent allusions to disastrous panics at Santiago. The Confraternity of Money-changers there was famous. *See* Villa-Amil, *Mobilario Liturgico,* 1907.

The Way from the Lond of Engelond to Sent James in Galice, a guide to Santiago, is included in Purchas's Collection.

[p. 251, n. 1.]

Sene, namely Siena, is the form used in the Prayer.

[p. 252, l. 1.]

The pilgrims ranged themselves before the altar of the Cathedral in companies, according to their nationality. "Some sang to the accompaniment of the . . . lyre, some to the timbrel, others to the flute, others to the British and Welsh harp and crwth." *Codex of Pope Calixtus II* in the archives of Santiago Cathedral (circa 1140).

[p. 254, l. 5.]

In the times immediately following that of Strongbow Ireland was evidently connected with Galicia. The Irish were in close communication with Corunna, and found the Bay no obstacle.

Rymer's "*Foedera*" gives the names of ships and shipmasters conveying pilgrims from Bristol.—1428, Thomas Fysh, 100 pilgrims, "The St. John". William Coton, Jordan Sprynge, John Monk (owners), 100, "Mary". 1434, J. Wouderoufe, master, 80, "Christopher". William Weston, 60, "Trinity". 1448 (23 Henry xxvi), Henry May, 120, "Mary". Robert Storry, 200, "St. Anne". John Burton, 100, "Catherine".

The following allusions to vessels plying between Cornwall and Compostela indicate the chief Cornish ports whence pilgrims sailed:—

A.D.	Master.	No. of pilgrims.	Name of ship.
1413	J. Russell	50	"Mary," of Penzance.
1428	Thos. Adam	50	"Mary," of Fowey.
1433	John Nicoll (owner)	50	"Cok John," of Fowey.
1434	J. Williamson	40	"Michael," of St. Michael's Mount.
1434	John Slug	60	"Thomas," of Saltash.
	Thos. Gerard	60	"Julian," of Fowey.
1445	Nicholas Wandre		"Nicholas"
	Roger Anys*		"Christopher," of Saltash.
1450	Thos. Tregyn	100	"Mary," of Fowey.

[p. 256, n. 2.]

Scallopshell. The legend is given in the Church of Ara Celi in Rome. Traders in these shells were called *conchiarii*, *concheiros* or *latoneros*.

The images of St. James, carried home by pilgrims (Cf. 289, l. 33), were generally made of jet. The jet workers of Santiago (Azabacheros) gave their name to a street and a door of the Cathedral. Dr. F. Keller, of Zurich (Cf. 435n., 502, n. 1), in 1868 described two of these figures which he had found near the chapel for leprous pilgrims at Einsiedeln, in Switzerland; a similar miniature has been found in Scotland.

[p. 257.]

Photograph. The town of Marazion, on the coast opposite St. Michael's Mount, owed its prosperity to the pilgrims making their way to this resort.

[p. 262, l. 25.]

Cf. M. V. Taylor, *Liber Luciani de laude Cestriae* (ab. 1195), in the Bodleian: "Habet preterea nostra Cestria ex Dei munere ditantem atque decorantem amnem secus urbis muros pulcrum atque piscosum, et a meridiano latere receptorium navium ab Aquitania, Hispania, Hibernia, Germania venientium . . . ut modis omnibus consolati per graciam Dei nostri, etiam frequenter uberius, et profusius bibamus vinum quam illa regionum loca que gaudent proventibus vinearum." The author was a monk of the Benedictine house

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* One of them to carry 100 pilgrims.

of St. Werburgh. Cf. R. Morris, *Chester in the Plantaganet and Tudor reigns*, p. 11.

[p. 264, l. 6.]

For the wine trade between France, Spain, and Ireland, *see* A. Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland*.

A proof of the frequent intercourse between Ireland and Spain lies in the fact that when Chester wanted to communicate with Spain in haste, the messengers went by way of Ireland. H. E. Kenny, a lecture entitled *Mediæval Life in Ireland*.

Every port in the circuit of Ireland was full of ships engaged in the Continental trade, and in 1570 there were "88 chief haven towns". Hollinshed, *Chronicle*, vi, 35.

Dublin carried on a brisk trade with the Continent; its great "Fair of St. James" was crowded with foreign merchants. Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, i, 8-16, 233. Compostela was the centre of the Galway trade. Camden appears to have derived Galway from Galicia.

[p. 265, l. 4.]

The remark that commerce followed the track of pilgrimage is true of the mediæval Irish. *See* A. Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland*, 13.

At Dingle, once a prosperous town, some Spanish merchants carried on their trade and built a church, which they dedicated to St. James of Compostela. *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, 1852, II, i, 133.

[p. 268, l. 17.]

In the English settlements in Ireland, like Galway, Wexford, or Kinsale, the mayor and bailiffs required special permission before joining the Irish in an expedition to Compostela in time of famine or pestilence. Smith, *Waterford*, 130, 131; 12, 13 Edw. IV, c. 27; 1 Rich. III, c. 24; *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report x, App. v, 313. The officials and citizens of Waterford frequently visited Compostela.

The peasants of Kerry wear the same kind of garments, made of straw, to protect them against the rain as are used by the Gallegans. C. Gasquoine Hartley (Mrs. W. M. Gallichan), *Santiago*, p. 72.

Irish chiefs used to go on pilgrimage to Santiago; some of them accomplished the journey two or three times.

A hospital was founded by Henry de Londres, the second Norman Archbishop of Dublin (13th century), on the Liffey, near where the Bank of Ireland now stands, for the convenience of pilgrims awaiting fair weather or a ship for Compostela. This shows that the pilgrimage was at that date well established.

At a later period than the 13th century many Spaniards were baptized and married in the Church of Old Townsend Street, on the Steyne. See *Short Histories of Dublin Parishes*, by the Bishop of Canea, Part vii, pp. 136-137, 145. Before embarking for Compostela each pilgrim was required to swear on the Eucharist not to take or cause to be taken more gold, either in mass or in money, than was reasonably required for the journey.

[p. 269, l. 25.]

The British pilgrims had an *hospitium* and a church for their use near Cebrero, in the province of Lugo. Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Iglesia de Santiago*, vol. iv, p. 307. Pope Alexander III conferred upon them the privileges of Santiago.

[p. 273, l. 4.]

"Pilgrimages fell off after the Reformation, when the damned doctrines of the accursed Latimer (? Luther) diminished the number of Germans and wealthy English." A MS. in Bristol Archives.

[p. 290, l. 20.]

"Alexander of Wales," alias Cuhelin, wrote a Latin account of the martyrdom of St. Thomas.

[p. 294, n. 2.]

The name Roodee (namely Rood-eye, "island"), however, refers to a different image.

Willett, *History of Hawarden*, p. 3, quotes from what purports to be a Saxon MS. a curious legend to the following effect:—"In the sixth year of the reign of Conan (ap Elis ap Anarawd), king of North Wales, about 946, during a drought, the Lady Trawst, wife of Sytsylht, Governor of Hawarden Castle, went to pray to the Holy Rood, held by an image of the Virgin Mary in that parish. The image, which was "old and done," fell down and killed the suppliant. Arraigned on a charge of murder, it was pronounced guilty of the crime and of refusing to answer. The image was laid on the sands of the sea, and was washed to Caer Leon." This incident recalls the primitive Athenian custom (a survival of animism) of putting on trial the axe with which a murder was perpetrated.

[p. 301.]

Cf. Ellis Roberts, *A Roman pilgrimage*, describing a recent visit and containing valuable criticisms on Art in the Roman capital.

[p. 339, n. 1.]

Images were hidden in trees in the days of persecution and forgotten for generations. The discovery of "Nuestra Señora del Rocío" (Our Lady of the Dew) gave rise to intense enthusiasm and the establishment of the famous shrine.

[p. 355, l. 2.]

Quoted below.

[p. 360, n. 9, l. 1.]

Read "a Calvary",—such as one often sees in Brittany.

[p. 372, n. 2.]

It should be mentioned, however, that shells are not infrequently found in graves in Wales.

[p. 425, l. 19.]

Beuno and Elian. Cf. *Cal. of State Papers*, May 30th, 1589.

[p. 431, n. 2.]

Preussische Jahrbücher, Jan. 1887.

[p. 440, l. 16.]

The "sanctuary of Ireland," according to a mediæval proverb, was "The House of Cairnech upon the Road of Asal," from Tara across West Meath. Cf. Kuno Meyer, *The Triads of Ireland*, 1906.

[p. 446, l. 4.]

Many votive tablets in roadside churches on pilgrim routes depict a poor man in pilgrim garb struggling with armed men.

[p. 452, l. 4.]

For bridge-building in Ireland, *see* Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland*, p. 10-11 A famous pilgrims' way ran from the east of Ireland to Clew Bay, for the use of pilgrims to Croagh Patrick and merchants bound for Westport and Burris.

[p. 457, l. 27.]

For Irish pilgrims in the rôle of newsagents, cf. A. Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland*, 241.

[p. 473.]

The footnote should end with Lhuyd.

[p. 480, l. 9.]

The Benedictine Rule of Downpatrick Abbey (re-founded 1185) was taken from the house of St. Werburgh, Chester, of which it was a daughter. The latter entertained travellers to and from Ireland. Taylor, *Lib. Luciani de laude Cestrie*, pp. 23-58.

[p. 494.]

The Gaelic version of Marco Polo (abridged), from the Latin of Francesco Pipino, has been edited by Whitley Stokes in *Zeitschrift der Celtischen Philologie*, i, 245.

For an Irish version of *The Travels of Manderville*, edited by Whitley Stokes, see *Zeitschrift der Celtischen Philologie*, ii, 1.

[p. 498.]

Evidence exists of a knowledge of Greek in Ireland before the 7th century. See *Proverbia Græcorum*, a collection of sayings translated from the Greek into the Latin. Kuno Meyer, *The Triads of Ireland*, 1906. Whitley Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus palæohib.* ii, 285. *Revue Celtique*, xxvi, 384-5.

[p. 499, l. 14.]

Other Irish scholars on the Continent: Petrus Hibernicus, scholar; Thomas Hibernus of Paris, "a deep clerk and one that read much, as may easily be gathered by his learned works." Hollinshed, vi, 63-65.

David Obuge (1320), a native of Kildare; "for his learned lectures and subtle disputations openly published in Oxford and Trèves . . . he was taken for the gem and lantern of his country; he engaged in a theological duel with another Irishman of European fame, and 'Italy and England resounded with their controversy'." A. Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland*, 245.

Radulphus Kelly, another native of Kildare, and a famous canonist, was sent to Pope Clement VI as the spokesman for all the Carmelite Order. Hollinshed, vi, 61; Maurice De Portu or O'Fihely; Thomas O'Hurley. *Ibid.*, vi, 63.

Hugo de Hibernia, a Grey Friar, wrote an itinerary, A.D. 1360. Hollinshed, vi, 61. Cf. the case of David Fitzgerald, commonly called David Duff (Black Daniel). *Ibid.*, vi, 60.

[p. 499, l. 19.]

For a version of the *Æneid* by an Irishman, *see* Calder, *The Irish Æneid*, London, 1907, p. 15. Cf. Madden's *Early History of Classical Learning in Ireland*, 1908. *Uilix mac Lertis*, a version of the story of Ulysses, has been edited by Kuno Meyer,—the *Irish Odyssey*. London, 1885.

[p. 503, l. 1.]

The seven Abbots of Whitland, Strata Florida, Cwmhir, Strata Marcella, Aberconwy, Cymmer, and Valle Crucis wrote in 1274 to Pope Gregory X warning him against the Bishop of St. Asaph, who endeavoured to defame Llewelyn. *Red Book of St. Asaph* (Peniarth). The unpopularity of the alien bishops in Wales is seen on every hand, *e.g.*, a Bishop of Bangor was captured in his church and ransomed for 200 hawks.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 1, l. 9.—*Read* "entwined with".

p. 14, n. 1.—*Read* "Ierosolyma".

p. 53, l. 14.—*Read* "he is believed".

p. 66, l. 26.—*Read* "Romam".

p. 78, n. 1.—*Read* "Old Testament".

p. 81, l. 7.—*Read* "was applied".

p. 93, n., l. 11.—*Read* "προεόρτια".

p. 103, n. 4, l. 2.—*Read* "Rishanger".

p. 109, n.—*Read* "xxii, 494, n. 2".

p. 133, l. 24.—*Read* "directly due".

p. 147, n. 6.—*Read* "xxiv, p. 494".

p. 156, n., l. 3.—*Read* "on lines".

p. 170, n. 2, l. 7.—*Read* "The name *catacomb* . . . which has been popularly applied".

p. 171, l. 10.—*Read* "stun"; l. 24, "yield".

p. 192, l. 15.—*Read* "Pyr".

p. 194, l. 19.—*Read* "to Caedwalla".

p. 195, l. 10.—*Read* "Columbanus".

p. 202, n. 2.—*Read* "the independence".

p. 203, n. 2, l. 13.—*Read* "μετόχια".

p. 222, n. 6.—*Read* "Cf. p. 220".

p. 225, n. 1.—*Read* "north side".

p. 233, l. 30.—*Read* "demonstration against".

p. 245, l. 25.—*Read* "significance".

p. 264, l. 6.—*Read* "between France and Spain".

p. 264, ll. 24 and 26.—*Omit* "probably".

p. 279, n. 4, l. 21.—*Read* "Historiarum".

p. 304, n. 9.—*Read* "unblemished" (*asgen*, injury).

p. 313, l. 1.—*Read* "Knights Templars".

p. 317, l. 22.—*Read* "influence on".

p. 325, l. 8.—*Read* "varied ceremonial".

p. 336, n. 2, l. 2.—*Read* "the later hymnographers had no".

p. 341, l. 4.—*Omit* "at which" and *read* "Gwilym Tew at another of these literary tournaments".

p. 347, l. 11.—*Read* "frequententur (*sic*) ut".

p. 349, l. 15.—*Read* "The churches of . . . ".

p. 361, n. 17, l. 3.—*Read* "White".

p. 366, l. 14.—*Read* "place of embarkation".

p. 373, l. 6.—*Read* "A landing-place".

p. 391, l. 31 ff.—*Read* "season—proves".

p. 396, l. 6.—*Read* "the formula".

p. 397, l. 19.—*Read* "Poseidon proved".
p. 407, l. 10.—*Read* "Patrishow".
p. 407, l. 24.—*Read* "has been".
p. 408, l. 24.—*Read* "his Consort".
p. 420, l. 25.—*Read* "passed within".
p. 438, l. 19.—*Read* "belongs . . . shows".
p. 444, l. 21.—*Read* "those of".
p. 450, l. 18.—*Read* "pilgrims".
p. 476, n. 4, l. 1.—*Read* "submergence of".
p. 486, l. 17.—*Read* "numbered".
p. 502, n. 1, l. 1.—*Read* "Codex".
p. 507, n. 6, l. 21.—*Read* "seem".
p. 521, l. 17.—*Read* "worst".
p. 530, l. 17.—*Read* "St. Thomas de Cantelupe".

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